

RECENT WORKS ON MODERN BRAZILIAN HISTORY

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- THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE: MYTHS AND HISTORIES.* By Emília Viotti da Costa. (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1985. Pp. 287. \$29.00.)
- BRAZIL: THE FORGING OF A NATION, 1798-1852.* By Roderick J. Barman. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988. Pp. 334. \$34.50.)
- IN PURSUIT OF HONOR AND POWER: NOBLEMEN OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRAZIL.* By Eul-Soo Pang. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988. Pp. 341. \$41.95.)
- BRAZIL, EMPIRE AND REPUBLIC, 1822-1930.* Edited by Leslie Bethell. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Pp. 353. \$44.50 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)
- HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT: SÃO PAULO, 1765 TO 1836.* By Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1986. Pp. 216. \$27.50.)
- COFFEE PLANTERS, WORKERS, AND WIVES: CLASS CONFLICT AND GENDER RELATIONS ON SÃO PAULO PLANTATIONS, 1850-1980.* By Verena Stolcke. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988. Pp. 344. \$55.00.)
- HOUSE AND STREET: THE DOMESTIC WORLD OF SERVANTS AND MASTERS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RIO DE JANEIRO.* By Sandra Lauderdale Graham. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Pp. 212. \$42.50.)
- THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE AFTERMATH OF EMANCIPATION IN BRAZIL.* By Rebecca J. Scott, Seymour Drescher, Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro, George Reid Andrews, and Robert M. Levine. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988. Pp. 173. \$12.95 paper.)
- THE ELUSIVE EDEN: FRANK MCMULLAN'S CONFEDERATE COLONY IN BRAZIL.* By William Clark Griggs. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987. Pp. 218. \$25.00 cloth, \$9.95 paper.)
- BRAZIL AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RUBBER: A STUDY IN ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY.* By Warren Dean. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Pp. 234. \$29.95.)

Several recent books on Brazilian history offer a variety of perspectives on the colonial heritage that helped mold the social, economic, and

political institutions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Trained in disciplines ranging from anthropology and history to sociology, the authors draw a collective portrait of a nation that has yet to escape its colonial roots. Although writing from different perspectives about diverse topics, most of the authors are able to demonstrate clearly how and why the Brazilian colonial legacy has prevented the country from becoming the great nation commonly envisioned as its natural destiny.

Perhaps the most thoughtful analysis of nineteenth-century Brazil comes from one of the country's foremost academicians, Emília Viotti da Costa. *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* makes available to the English-speaking public her now classic theses, originally presented in *Da Senzala à Colônia* (1966) and *Da Monarquia à República* (1977). The earlier works have been revised to incorporate recent scholarship into her sweeping overview of nineteenth-century Brazilian history. Viotti da Costa provides a cohesive picture of the social, political, economic, and intellectual currents that have shaped the nation. In her view, the Brazilian elite deliberately participated in forming self-serving political, economic, and social institutions that molded nineteenth-century Brazilian society and that of the twentieth century as well.

Viotti da Costa's thesis is not unique, nor should it be considered unusual that an interest group like the Brazilian elite would want to protect and promote its hegemony over society. What is intriguing about her analysis is her demonstration of how the conservative elite used nineteenth-century European liberalism to buttress its social and economic control of society. In the 1820s, liberalism played a revolutionary role in overthrowing Brazil's colonial overseer, yet less than a decade later, it was used by conservatives to quell radicals in 1831. The elite's wide-ranging interpretations of liberalism serve as a revealing window on nineteenth-century Brazilian politics.

The conservative elite proved equally adept at maintaining the system of clientelism and patronage that characterized colonial society. The skill with which these favors were dispersed enabled the elite to manage disparate agents of socioeconomic change, ranging from the educated *bachareis* to the poor nonwhites. Even when the elite was divided by significant social and economic issues during the last two decades of the empire, the lower and middle classes were unable to erode elite power and influence because of its control via clientelism and patronage. Even today, the remnants of these colonial social and political institutions continue to color the structure and functioning of modern Brazil's institutional relations. Viotti da Costa highlights the ebb and flow of a variety of influences in nineteenth-century Brazil, including independence, José Bonifácio, liberalism, land policies, sharecroppers and plantation owners, masters and slaves, town and country, the fall of the monarchy, and racial democracy. All these topics have indelibly

marked the course of twentieth-century Brazilian social, economic, and political relations.

Viotti da Costa is to be commended for the manner in which she presents nineteenth-century Brazil's institutions and their interconnected effects on modern Brazilian society. She gives the reader individual bits that are skillfully combined to yield an exacting mosaic of the era that molded modern Brazilian institutions. Nor does she overlook the crucial role of the lower classes who built the nation. Viotti da Costa's perspective thus facilitates comprehension of the linkages between modern Brazil and its colonial and monarchical past. In an era when social scientists are pre-occupied with studying minutiae, Viotti da Costa reminds us that these often fragmented pictures of society are of little value unless they can be related to the workings of the larger society.

Roderick Barman's *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852* equals the scope and breadth of Viotti da Costa's work in exploring the nation's formation. It also examines the elite's role in this formation, a process that Barman shows to have been anything but inevitable. He questions two basic assumptions about nationalism: that it is innate and that peoples and territories always benefit from being included in a nation-state. At the time of independence, Brazil was far from a unified nation in the modern sense. Barman describes both the "official and real nation": the former consisted of the elite who held the colony's money and power, and the latter, the slaves and free nonwhites, the powerless of Brazilian society. Barman clearly shows that formation of a nation-state depended not on the slaves and freedmen who formed a plurality but on the elite who had money and exercised power. The concept of a nation appealed to the disaffected elements in the elite who welcomed the opportunity to rule. Barman indicates that a national identity formed rapidly among disgruntled members of the elite in the years after 1808 (when the Portuguese monarchy moved to Brazil to escape Napoleon), accelerating so rapidly that it paved the way for political independence in 1822–23.

Barman also indicates that the declaration of independence was only the first step in a long, tortuous political process that would ultimately result in the nation's formation. The ruling elite initially presented the national ideal in terms paralleling existing loyalties by substituting the emperor in place of the king. Even so, conflicting concepts of nationhood in various parts of Brazil led to almost thirty years of conflict that threatened the young state's tenuous existence. Barman's study highlights the fragility of the new state and its limited power. Various regional interest groups posed significant threats to the nascent government, which was unable to provide a foundation for security and prosperity. Regional elites manipulated the masses in their various bids for autonomy but soon realized that the lower classes would not always be so easily controlled. Fear of widespread social unrest and class conflict actually helped forge

common bonds among the regional elites, who gradually realized that unifying would guarantee their tenuous hold on the nation's wealth and power. Barman's thought-provoking analysis thus provides a unique perspective on the formation of a modern nation that was not necessarily destined to be.

Eul-Soo Pang's *In Pursuit of Honor and Power: Noblemen of the Southern Cross in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* provides yet another perspective on the elite that controlled nineteenth-century Brazil, although his work focuses on the *crème de la crème*, the select circle to which only the very rich and powerful were admitted. The nobility comprised a small group of 980 men and women who, despite their limited numbers, exercised undue influence over Brazil's nascent economic, social, and political institutions in their various roles as landowners, merchants, politicians, diplomats, and intellectuals.

Pang's study traces the foundation and development of the nobility, its geographic and demographic ties, and the socioeconomic disparities that prevented the group from forming a corporate identity. Approximately 80 percent of the nobles came from four major economic and geographic centers: the sugar-producing North, the coffee-producing south-central states, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. Neither the geographic concentration of the nobility nor their local loyalties, however, could overcome familial and economic differences that grew as time passed. Most nobles were either merchants or part of the landowning elite. The latter were wealthier as a group than merchants, who tended to have more individual wealth. Landowners tended to marry within their circle to prevent dissipation of wealth, in contrast to merchants who married outwardly, thus reinforcing class bonds while building new ties. The advent and spread of capitalism in Brazil enabled the merchants to amass sizable fortunes, but the landowners' wealth tended to diminish over time, forcing some of them to live in genteel poverty.

Pang's study highlights significant divisions in the nobility that were symptomatic of their less fortunate untitled peers. He shows that the elite was far from a monolithic group agreeing on the nation's political and economic agenda. *In Pursuit of Honor and Power* demonstrates that neither the agrarian nor the capitalist elite was able to dominate the monarchy totally, a situation that forced both groups to share power. The idea of the failure of either group to exercise economic hegemony challenges the traditional historiography, which has assumed that the economic elite dictated the nation's politics. Pang's thesis also contradicts the work of Viotti da Costa and Barman, which tacitly assume elite uniformity and consensus regarding a national political and economic agenda.

In Pursuit of Honor and Power is also important in illustrating the anachronistic nature of the Brazilian elite in a New World society that was urbanizing and industrializing. These new influences and circumstances

prevented the Brazilian nobility from assuming the usual European trappings. Brazilian titles were granted for one lifetime only, and as time went by, they were awarded in recognition of social status. Pang's enlightening analysis of the nobility's socioeconomic differences, which were common to the elite as a whole, reminds scholars that elites must be studied with care.

Leslie Bethell's *Brazil, Empire and Republic, 1822–1930* offers excerpts of essays originally written for the *Cambridge History of Latin America*. When read together, these contributions make a good general history of Brazil from independence to the founding of the second republic. The compilation's strength derives from expertise of the authors, all of them noted scholars on Brazil. Editor Bethell has brought together essays by José Murilo de Carvalho, Boris Fausto, Richard Graham, Warren Dean, and Emília Viotti da Costa to compile a work that will capably serve as a general text for students and teachers. The text's chronological order and survey of events makes it easy for the reader to grasp the important changes and major events in Brazilian history over the century between 1822 and 1930. *Brazil, Empire and Republic* should be valuable to all students of Brazil, especially those unfamiliar with its history.

Three other recent books offer new insights into the structure, function, and economy of the Brazilian household. They also provide perspectives on the changes enveloping Brazilian households from the late eighteenth century to the present, particularly the changing role of women over time. Elizabeth Kuznesof's *Household Economy and Urban Development, São Paulo, 1765 to 1836* traces the state's transition from a subsistence economy to a market economy and its effects on regional households. She utilizes census material, property inventories, and genealogies to examine the effects of urbanization and market economy on families living in São Paulo. The era of subsistence agricultural production had been characterized by small, nuclear households, which became larger and more complex by 1802, as the economy shifted to simple market exchange. Prior to that time, the household was an interdependent unit of production and consumption locked into a wider system of kinship and neighborhood through which mutual aid flowed and communal action was organized.

Kuznesof shows that women who were once part of a traditional household migrated to the city to participate in household industrial production and the manufacture of textiles. In her view, the disruption in family life caused by the market economy ended an era of almost idyllic familial organization. Clan structure, bilateral kinship, and inheritance systems that preserved property for the family of origin were all disrupted by economic changes geared to plantation agriculture. Marriage and consensual unions, which had been common in 1765, declined by 1802. The number of unmarried adult males and females rose substantially, as did the number of abandoned children. The information Kuznesof

presents suggests that the kinship-clan system broke down under pressures from the developing market and export economy, which appeared after 1802.

São Paulo's dramatic economic changes were paralleled by equally important shifts in landownership, another harbinger of change. In 1765 almost every household was involved in subsistence agriculture, and the land itself had little value, thus enabling everyone to earn a living from the land. But by 1836, the egalitarian society of subsistence farmers had been replaced by a landowning elite who prevented squatters from settling on land they claimed as their own. Peasants who formerly tilled the land when and where they chose became dependent on the sale of their labor for income and on the generosity of landowners for a place to live.

Kuznesof's insightful analysis of the roots of São Paulo's economic and political changes and their effects on family and household structure yields a rewarding perspective on how macroeconomic decisions affected basic family organization. She makes it clear that these changes in the mode of production were intentional inventions of the emerging merchant and planter elites, who hoped to extend their dominance and control over Paulista society. It would be interesting to learn just how these economic and social changes affected the lumpen proletariat. Kuznesof describes the negative effects of the emerging market economy on subsistence agriculture, from the breakdown of the nuclear family to increasing dependence on landowners for their livelihood. Her arguments are indeed convincing, although her assumptions that all of these changes had deleterious effects on the lower classes may be questioned. Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro's work on subsistence agriculture in Capivary (to be reviewed subsequently) shows that these sectors did have options open to them that enabled them to maintain their existing lifestyles. As for those who moved to the urbanizing city, did they migrate because they had no other options or were they seeking new opportunities that would enable them to improve their circumstances? Although these questions remain unanswered, Kuznesof's *Household Economy and Urban Development* is an important addition to scholarship on Brazil, which has previously failed to take into account the effects of macroeconomic changes on family life and structure.

In some respects, Verena Stolcke's *Coffee Planters, Workers, and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations on São Paulo Plantations, 1850–1980* takes up where Kuznesof's study ends. Stolcke traces the growing fortunes of the Paulista coffee elite, its adaptation to changing domestic and international conditions, and its control of the state's labor supply. Without the unrestricted supply of labor guaranteed by the *colonato* system, the Paulista coffee elite could not have amassed or maintained its political and economic fortunes. Stolcke contends that coffee's dominance of Paulista society did not end with the crash of 1929 but continued through the late

1950s, when it was finally supplanted by the forces of industrialization. The coffee elite's absolute domination of society had far-reaching effects on family organization, gender relations, and the very forces that transformed the state's productive relations. Stolcke's findings run counter to Kuznesof's claim that the emerging market economy broke down traditional nuclear family relationships. Stolcke demonstrates instead that the colonato labor system became a means by which planters could more efficiently exploit family labor.

Coffee Planters, Workers, and Wives highlights the often ignored fact that the colonato labor system was a form of exploitation that utilized the family's structure and moral values to make profits for plantation owners. Stolcke traces the colonato or piece-rate system from its beginnings in the 1860s to its demise and replacement by wage labor during the 1960s. The colonato system mixed task and piece-rate systems of payment in that workers were guaranteed a fixed minimum wage for tasks like weeding but were paid at a piece rate during the harvest. Thus under the colonato system, workers and their families worked much harder to earn smaller increases in their overall income.

Stolcke's work explores the links between the colonato system and the family that enabled the colonato to endure until the 1960s. *Coffee Planters, Workers, and Wives* examines status and behavior in the workplace that were controlled by socially constructed gender roles. For example, a man's identity rested on his ability to work, but within the colonato system, a woman never ceased being a wife. Consequently, when technological innovations forced changes in the labor system, traditional gender relations were modified. The adjustment brought about by the transition to wage labor caused changes in family structure and organization for all rural workers. Wage labor strained and changed the traditional family relationships evident under the colonato system. Stolcke's study provides a new angle on the effects of macroeconomic changes on family structure and gender relations in rural São Paulo. Kuznesof's and Stolcke's studies also highlight the need for future research on differentials existing between urban and rural households and their adaptations to socio-economic change over time. Stolcke's mixing of historical analysis with modern anthropological techniques make a strong contribution to the literature on Brazilian rural workers and their changing family structure.

House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro by Sandra Lauderdale Graham is a short work that focuses on these servants, the majority of them poor black women. Her vivid descriptions of "house and street" provide an intimate glimpse of the structure and function of nineteenth-century household operations and relationships. Graham describes how the presence or absence of urban services dictated servants' duties and their understanding of the hierarchy that awarded better food and clothing to maids, nannies, and

laundresses than to those relegated to doing dirty or outdoor work. She indicates that few distinctions existed between slaves and free persons who worked as domestics. The generally female domestic servants were not automatons carrying out their employers' wishes but sharp women who became indispensable to the functioning of their households. The domestic servants described were able to achieve a modicum of independence that traditional scholars have previously failed to consider. Graham also shows how the bonds that formed between domestics and their employers never really eased or erased the tension existing between two groups from such disparate worlds.

Graham's rich account offers unprecedented insight into domestic households, but it fails to place these relationships within the context of society at large, as do the works of Kuznesof and Stolcke. How, for example, did the requirements exacted by employers affect the lives of the domestics, and what were the implications for the larger society? Kuznesof and Stolcke show how the elite's economic and political decision making has affected family structure and gender relations from the late seventeenth century to the present. Other literature on Brazilian blacks has shown that nonwhites were less likely to come from traditional nuclear families and were less educated than either native whites or immigrants. Were these factors liabilities that they bore throughout their lives, or did the mere fact that they were employed become the first step toward independence? Did the influx of white European immigrants displace nonwhite domestics in much the same manner that nonwhite males were displaced in Rio's urban labor force? The living and working arrangements of Rio's domestics likely had significant effects upon nonwhite family life, yet these and other questions remain unexplored in Graham's *House and Street*. Nevertheless, her work along with that of Kuznesof and Stolcke have paved the way for future research on the changing role of women in modern Brazil.

Two other recent books explore aspects of Brazilian slavery from contrary viewpoints. *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* is a reprint of the August 1988 issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review (HAHR)*, which marked the centennial of Brazilian abolition by exploring its causes and consequences. The second work, William Clark Griggs's *The Elusive Eden: Frank McMullan's Confederate Colony in Brazil*, examines what the existence of Brazilian slavery at the end of the U.S. Civil War meant to a group of Texans who immigrated to Brazil. Griggs's study focuses on McMullan's and William Bowen's desperate attempt to recreate U.S. southern society in the state of São Paulo. Ironically, McMullan and his band of emigrés viewed Brazil as a place where they could begin their former lives anew, replete with slavery, at a time when Brazilians were beginning to realize that slavery's days were numbered.

This irony is unfortunately lost on the author, who concentrates

instead on the trials and tribulations besetting the emigrants on their long journey to Brazil. Griggs ably documents his colorful narrative, but he never manages to explain fully the motivation and commitment of the emigrants. Did the Texans really expect to recreate the glory of the old South in a culture so radically different from the one they had left? Nor does Griggs adequately explain Brazil's accepting colonists who represented a doomed way of life. What did the Brazilians hope to gain from the Southerners? Were they to become part of a bulwark protecting Brazilian slavery or an educated white pool of labor that would somehow uplift the nation?

These questions and others are raised, but they remain unanswered in *The Elusive Eden*, a work with unprecedented opportunities for comparative historical study. Griggs never seems to comprehend Brazilian society in the latter half of the nineteenth century. For example, he claims that the emigrants were able to "overcome the problems of a primitive society." But did they really view Brazil as a primitive society in need of civilization, or did it represent an ideal way of life on which they hoped to capitalize? The importance of these emigrants and their niches in Brazilian and U.S. history are obscured by the details of the story, which alone cannot answer the broad historical questions underlying the topic.

As noted, *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* was intended as a retrospective on slavery and race relations in modern Brazil. Rebecca Scott, who has conducted comparative work in the post-abolition societies of Brazil, Cuba, and Louisiana, provides an introductory essay highlighting the work of her fellow contributors while suggesting new paths for future research. Her essay is followed by Seymour Drescher's analysis of Brazilian abolition from a comparative perspective. His article compares and contrasts abolition in Brazil with its counterparts in the Caribbean and the United States, ably discussing demographic, economic, and political similarities and differences. The slaveholding provinces' inability to unite in opposing gradual termination of slavery was counterbalanced in a sense by the abolition movement's inability to bring about social change following slavery's demise.

The special issue's most compelling analysis is Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro's "Beyond Masters and Slaves: Subsistence Agriculture as Survival Strategy in Brazil during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century." She indicates that most studies of Brazil have focused on the master-slave relationship while ignoring the role played by the free poor in the development of the Brazilian economy and society. Mattos de Castro's analysis of Capivary, a small municipality in the state of Rio de Janeiro, shows how these poor men and women were able to not only make a living but participate fully in the local economy. The rural poor, even when evicted from the lands they were occupying, could reestablish their life-style in another part of the state's frontier.

The frontier's slow expansion and the relative abundance of land in

the state of Rio de Janeiro enabled the rural poor to maintain their lifestyle and economic independence. Thus they did not become dependent on landowners for either income or a place to live. It was the relative independence of the rural poor and the availability of land that determined slavery's persistence in the Brazilian Southeast. According to Mattos de Castro, subsidized immigration permitted joining "the useful to the agreeable" in that it solved labor shortages in the rural work force while bringing Europeans to Brazil. Her arguments here contradict scholarship claiming that the market economy and plantation agriculture narrowed the options of the rural poor. Mattos de Castro's work is an important addition to the expanding historiography and debate surrounding Brazilian slavery in the nineteenth century. The one aspect not found in her essay is an explanation of just who these rural people were. Were they recently emancipated slaves who no longer cared to do the bidding of their former masters or economic fugitives fleeing the declining Northeast? A fuller description of Capivary and its inhabitants would have enhanced the essay's innovative thesis and research.

George Reid Andrews, in his essay "Black and White Workers: São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1928," indicates that any attempt to explore contemporary racial problems in Brazil must address the new social, political, and economic arrangements that transformed, yet preserved, the racial hierarchy in existence at the time of abolition. According to Andrews, the elite's investment in European labor made its ethnic and racial preferences clear. He indicates that blacks were marginalized and discriminated against in the era following abolition, a conclusion already established by other research on Brazilian blacks. One would like to know whether or not the situation of nonwhites in São Paulo paralleled that of their counterparts in other large cities like Rio de Janeiro. This essay fails to address pertinent literature on the era after abolition in Brazil.

The *HAHR* special issue concludes with "'Mud-Hut Jerusalem:' Canudos Revisited" by Robert Levine, a thought-provoking perspective on the rise and fall of the religious settlement that mushroomed around Antônio Conselheiro. Levine paints a portrait not of a reckless fanatic but of a humble and pious Conselheiro whose lifelong dedication as an orthodox Catholic made him a symbol for the rural poor of the Brazilian Northeast. The sudden growth of Canudos changed the balance of power in the Northeast by creating a large town that monopolized the local labor force and threatened the power of the local *coroneis*. Conselheiro also posed a substantive threat to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. The government ended the socioeconomic and religious threats by destroying Canudos and Antônio Conselheiro. Levine's essay also explores masterfully the racial implications of this episode. Canudos left an indelible mark on the developing Brazilian psyche, one that continues to affect race relations in modern Brazil.

It seems ironic that a collection seeking to explore race relations in Brazil lacks any Brazilian perspectives. The recent *abertura* in Brazil initiated a lively discussion of race relations in popular as well as scholarly journals. "Quilombismo" and the "Movimento Black" are only two of the manifestations of recent nonwhite activism that have been ignored. Significant work in the field of Brazilian race relations has been conducted by scholars like Carlos Hasenbalg, Nelson do Valle, Florestan Fernandes, and Abdias Nascimento, yet this Brazilian aspect remains conspicuously absent from *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil*.

Warren Dean's excellent *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber: A Study in Environmental History* details the nation's battle to cultivate and market rubber despite an uncooperative environment and a competitive world market. Although Brazilian social and economic institutions have long been blamed for the country's failure to maintain its leadership role in the international rubber market, Dean demonstrates that Brazilian environmental factors proved to be the greatest impediment to expanding and dominating the lucrative international rubber market.

Dean's rich tapestry portrays plant domestication, the exchange of crops, and the transfer of foods from continent to continent. The growing sophistication of nineteenth-century agriculture paved the way for domesticating rubber trees. The industry quickly became a mainstay of the Brazilian economy, generating 40 percent of the nation's export revenues. Unfortunately for Brazil, however, the rubber boom was soon curtailed when competition from plantations in southeast Asia rapidly eroded Brazil's preeminence in the world rubber market. Dean creates a rewarding narrative with his account of the transfer of rubber from Brazil, the success of Asian plantations using Brazilian seedlings, rubber gathering in the Amazon, and the repeated failures of both domestic and foreign capital to commercialize rubber production.

Dean explains that commercial rubber failed as a crop in Brazil because of a fungus that destroyed the trees planted by domestic and foreign capitalists. South American leaf blight attacks rubber trees in their native range and is partly responsible for their physical isolation in the wild. The space separating one wild rubber tree from another actually helps insulate them from the deleterious effects of this fungus, which thrives in the close quarters of commercial agriculture. Although the blight has crippled Brazilian rubber agriculture for decades, it did not appear in southeast Asia, enabling growers there to reap substantial profits while the Brazil rubber industry languished in a series of failed attempts. It is ironic that the country that first capitalized on rubber has been unable to exploit one of its potentially rich natural resources.

Dean also discusses how the disappointments affected Brazilian perceptions of the problem, particularly following large-scale failures by

major multinational firms like Ford and Firestone. If well-capitalized, technologically advanced companies like these failed, how could Brazilian producers expect to succeed? Brazil's inability to domesticate rubber became yet another onus that the national psyche had to rationalize because of the expectations of greatness. Dean's story nevertheless reveals Brazilian resilience in the country's ongoing efforts to find a solution to the leaf blight problem. The high production costs of synthetic rubber, coupled with international demand for natural rubber, point to a potentially rewarding venture if the leaf blight problem can ever be resolved. *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber* also reminds us that modern technology, despite its wonders, may not be able to resolve all the environmental problems that we will face in the future. Dean's comprehensive, well-written history of Brazilian rubber will be valuable for students of Brazilian history, and it will also serve as a compelling model for other studies in environmental history.

In general, the books reviewed here provide intriguing perspectives on Brazilian history, from Viotti da Costa's work on nineteenth-century Brazilian society to Warren Dean's environmental history of rubber in the Amazon. The socioeconomic studies by Kuznesof, Stolcke, and Mattos de Castro demonstrate the effects of Brazil's macroeconomic changes on such aspects as family structure and function and gender relations. Their enlightening theses will also pave the way for future research and debate. If kinship and clan relationships broke down in urbanizing regions like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, then what replaced them and what were the effects on society at large? The breakdown in traditional family structure may have begun in urbanizing areas, but the studies by Stolcke and Mattos de Castro suggest that these family structures remained intact in the rural Brazil as a consequence of economics. Stolcke shows how family structures were undermined by the transition to wage labor, but one is left wondering how these changes paralleled or diverged from those beginning in urbanizing nineteenth-century Brazilian cities. Mattos de Castro's research indicates that the rural poor were able to maintain an unprecedented (and heretofore unrecognized) degree of economic and familial independence as a consequence of the expanding rural frontier. If the rural poor were able to achieve social and economic independence like that described by Mattos de Castro, then why did so many of the rural poor migrate to the cities in the face of continuing unemployment and underemployment? The urban labor markets were already saturated with immigrant workers, and considering the problems of housing, food costs, and contagious diseases, the benefits seem marginal at best. Yet rural migrants continued to flock to the cities in the generations following abolition. The question then becomes, who stayed and why? Existing research indicates that most of the internal migrants were nonwhites seeking a better life. Their migration to the urbanizing

cities suggests that the economic opportunities of the frontier may not have been as great as Mattos de Castro has suggested.

Investigations into these areas will also elucidate the changing circumstances of Brazil's nonwhite population in rural and urban areas. The paucity of research on the nation's Afro-Brazilian population indicates that social scientists have substantial work left to do if they are to comprehend Brazilian race relations fully. Although theories abound on race relations in Brazil, little empirical research has documented scholarly speculation.

Similarly, Warren Dean's research has shown that modern technology and science do not always prevail over nature, which has resisted man's best attempts at domesticating rubber in Brazil. Dean's study also raises larger environmental questions of global proportions. For example, how has Brazil's developmental drive compromised its future? Cities like Rio and São Paulo are choked by smog and industrial wastes. These and other environmental issues are major unexplored topics of investigation in Brazil and the rest of the developing world. The books reviewed here, while offering new insights into Brazilian history for academic debate, should also stimulate new areas of significant research.