

The key words here are “moderate conservative.” Tôrres sees the admirable conservatism of his favorite statesmen as the result of a judicious, pragmatic political approach. These men avoided political extremes, and although conservative, they accepted necessary reforms so long as these were consonant with national experience. Thus they rejected both *imobilismo* and *reacionarismo*. Recognizing the need to end the slave trade and later the need to abolish slavery itself, Conservative leaders sponsored the three great laws which struck down slavery. Recognizing the need for national unity, this same leadership and party favored, unlike their Liberal opponents, the retention of the *Poder moderador* as prescribed by the Constitution of 1824, the life-term Senate, and the Council of State, and they emphasized the theme of national grandeur at the expense of provincial autonomy. Therefore, the Conservative party and its leaders “consolidaram a autoridade do Govêrno Imperial e fizeram do Brasil uma nação unida e coesa, encerrou a sua aventura com a Abolição, que uniu o povo brasileiro, destruindo as distinções legais entre filhos da mesma terra.”

What can be said for this interpretation? Not a great deal. Tôrres has added little to what he previously asserted in his *A democracia coroada*, unless it be a new conviction that the Conservative position was more suitable to nineteenth-century Brazil than the Liberal. He has told us nothing about the structure of the Conservative party, or of the socio-economic origins of its leaders and supporters. He does say that Liberal power flowed from urban centers, while Conservative strength waxed in the countryside, a generalization which needs considerable refinement. As usual, he has not bothered to look beyond readily available and thrice-familiar published works, be they primary or secondary sources. Indeed, *Os construtores do império* provides about as much new information on the Imperial period as the next rerelease of *Gone with the Wind* will offer on antebellum life in the South.

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Civilian-Military Relations in Brazil, 1889-1898. By JUNE E. HAHNER. Columbia, 1969. University of South Carolina Press. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xiii, 232. \$7.95.

On November 15, 1889, a small group from the upper echelons of the army overthrew the Brazilian Empire, proclaimed the Republic, and assumed control of the national government. A few pro-Republic civilians, who hoped to utilize the military as a means of attaining

their aims, supported the revolution and participated in the new regime, only to discover that they could not exercise decisive influence. Officers who distrusted and disdained civilian politicians dominated the new order. They substantially increased the numerical strength and the budgets of the armed forces, established control of national and state administrations, and severely restricted civil liberties, especially freedom of the press. For five years they maintained their commanding position.

On March 1, 1894, with much of the country under a state of siege, the southern part of the nation in the hands of insurgents, and the naval revolt still a factor, although nearing its end, a civilian was elected president. On November 15 he was inaugurated without incident, and by 1898 civilian control was reestablished. The armed forces continued to influence political decisions, but civilians ruled the nation until 1930.

This monograph seeks to explain why and how civilian politicians were able to regain command of the government by a peaceful transfer of power. Investigations of the role of the military, particularly in emerging nations, have focused on the behavior of the armed forces while they were in power or on the means by which they achieved their ascendancy. Little has been done on the process by which the civilian elements have been able to ease the military from direct political control. June E. Hahner's case study is of interest, therefore, not only to students of Brazilian history but also to specialists in other areas and to the general public.

The key to her argument is the Paulista oligarchy. By the 1890s the state of São Paulo had emerged as the leading economic unit of the nation. The large landowners of the region wanted political and social stability as an environment for continuing economic growth, and this, they felt, could not be attained as long as the armed forces dominated the government. The tactic which they eventually evolved stemmed from the factionalism which developed among the military. Within each branch of the armed forces prestigious leaders commanded rival groupings of fellow officers, and these hostile factions struggled for dominance. To oust the group in power by supporting one of the rival factions, a policy advocated by a number of civilians, would result only in an exchange of masters, as the coffee planters realized. The Paulista approach was to support the group in control of the government against opposing military factions with the view to effecting an orderly transfer of power to civilians. The support which they could give was substantial. Under the federal regime

inaugurated by the Republic a larger portion of state revenues remained at home, and states exercised a greater degree of autonomy than under the Empire. This enabled the oligarchy to expand the militia into an effective state army and provided funds which could be lent to the hard-pressed central government. The military and economic support of the coffee planters made it possible for them to exact concessions from the Floriano Peixoto regime which led eventually to the restoration of civilian rule.

The monograph is based on manuscript collections in the archives of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Petrópolis and on a wide range of contemporary printed sources. Secondary materials are comprehensive and pertinent. Organization is effective; the style is lucid; and the ideas are coherent. The result is a readable, authoritative treatment of a crucial period in Brazilian history.

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The Shaping of Modern Brazil. By MANOEL CARDOZO *et al.* Edited by ERIC N. BAKLANOFF. Baton Rouge, 1969. Louisiana State University Press for the Latin American Studies Institute. Tables. Figures. Notes. Index. Pp. xviii, 164. \$6.50.

In February 1967 Louisiana State University sponsored a colloquium on the "modernization of Brazil." Eric Baklanoff has gathered the seven papers under the provocative title *The Shaping of Modern Brazil*. The contributors attempted somewhat unevenly to span the five hundred years from 1500 to 2000, and Manoel Cardozo had the difficult task of summarizing the 308-year colonial period in 15 pages. He did an admirable job, providing a succinct introduction to Brazilian history and one of the two best papers.

The other was Kempton Webb's look into the future by analyzing the geography of modernization. He writes with authority derived from much field work and a sensitivity for the Brazilian milieu. Webb predicts that the success of Belo Horizonte, Brasília, and the new highway system will lead to other bold ventures in which the Brazilians will put "their imprint upon their landscape with even greater confidence" (p. 156).

Eric Baklanoff exudes less confidence in his "External Factors in the Economic Development of Brazil's Heartland: The Center-South, 1850-1930." Writing almost entirely from materials in English (the exception being the *Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*), he gives major credit for Brazilian development to foreigners and for-