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Reform, development, and modernization in a belle époque.

A study into competing visions of urban renewal in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: c., 1898-1908

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Abstract

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This paper will analyze the Brazilian government's campaign for urban renewal at the turn of the twentieth century in Rio de Janeiro, with a focus on the opposition it inspired and the support it garnered. I will seek to illuminate how this period of urban development was defined by different elite groups, each expressing rival notions of change and modernity. The case studies of the *revolta da vacina* of 1904, and the *Exposição Nacional* of 1908, offer examples which illuminate both opposition to and support for the government's reforms in Rio, with a focus on public health and urban change. I will especially seek to highlight the motivations behind the competing perspectives of development that emerge from these debates. In doing so, I hope to build on the still limited historiography of the period, adding insight and context to turn-of-the-century urban renewal in Rio through sparsely explored cases studies.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This essay explores how elites in Rio de Janeiro sought to reform the city at the turn of the twentieth century (1898-1908), and analyzes the support and opposition that the pursuit for reform attracted. I will use two events, the *revolta da vacina* of 1904 and the *Exposição Nacional* of 1908, as examples to illustrate the competing notions about reform, development, and modernization. Support and opposition for the government's plans for urban renewal, when analyzed side by side, offer a revealing picture of an uncertain and volatile period in Brazilian history. Of note is that despite political differences, elites were united in regards to their aspirations for a great and modern Brazil. Both sides defined that idea according to European, and particularly French, examples of architecture and political and social organization.

Scholarship on urban reform at the turn of the twentieth century experienced a boom in the Brazilian academy in the early 1980s. Jaime Larry Benchimol, Maurício de Abreu, Niemeyer Lamarão, Lia de Aquino Carvalho, and Oswaldo Porto Rocha are well known scholars who have analyzed urban development and social change during the period. However, this early historiography has not been able to adequately distinguish the agency of different groups in the context of urban reform. More recent works by the Brazilian historians Sidney Chalhoub and André Nunes de Azevedo have attempted to remedy this glaring absence by exhibiting the authoritarian nature of the state, and illuminating the agency of different competing classes. U.S. scholars, such as Teresa Meade, have also added to the growing number of revisionist works. Meade emphasizes

the political and social struggle over the "allocation of urban space," as Brazil's elites sought to transform Rio into a "civilized" metropolis at the beginning of the twentieth century.[1] I will build on Meade's work to further analyze how Rio's urban landscape was defined by an elite class during the period.

There are a handful of excellent analyses on the *revolta* of 1904. Nicolau Sevcenko's historical analysis of the event is a notable example (first published in 1984).[2] In his account, Sevcenko uses impassioned rhetoric to explore the government's suffocating grip over Rio's population. It was this treatment, Sevcenko argues, that led to a particularly poignant and extensive movement against the state. Jeffrey Needell offered another history of the revolt, emphasizing the event as an anti-modernization movement.[3] These two historians represent two main analytical trends in studies of the *revolta.* The first focusses on the agency of the lower classes in the context of their broader opposition to the city's modernization at the turn of the twentieth century. The other trend treats the *revolta* as a conflict among the governing elite. The latter trend is how I interpret the event, examining the *revolta* as an episodic yet extremely important moment in an analysis of urban renewal and social control from 1898-1908. In slight contrast to Needell, I suggest that competing elites advocated for similar yet *divergent* paths of modern urban development.

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[1] Teresa Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio: Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889-1930* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 5.
[2] Nicolau Sevcenko, *A Revolta da Vacina: Mentes insanas em corpos rebeldes* (São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2010).
[3] Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

In contrast to studies on the *revolta*, there is very limited historiography surrounding the *Exposição* of 1908. The study of exhibitions overall, especially those in Britain, France, and the United States, has nonetheless attracted burgeoning interest in the last two decades. Paul Greenhalgh demonstrates that these three countries were the bastions of exhibition culture during the *fin-de-siècle*, responsible for defining the character and size of events the world over.[4] Rio's exhibition organizers, as representing a country on the margins of traditional exhibition culture, imitated the European and U.S. archetype for their own "particular political, economic, social, and cultural needs."[5] Over one million people attended the event in 1908, in a project which sought to affirm Brazil's place and importance in an international world. I will show how the attempt at European imitation often conflicted with the *reality* in Brazil during the period. Livia Rezende's recent article on "Nature and the Brazilian State at the Independence Centennial International Exhibition" analyzes Rio's exhibition of 1922 in the context of urban and national modernization. My analysis of the exhibition mirrors Rezende's theme, but for the 1908 showcase, adding to the growing yet still modest attention granted to exhibitions of Latin America.

To contextualize my analysis of the *revolta* and the *Exposição*, I will explore several government policies and reform proposals during the period. The policies I will highlight spurred both considerable opposition and support from a political and intellectual elite in Rio. My analysis will thus be divided into two main sections.

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[4] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 2.
[5] Lisa Munro, "Investigating World's Fairs: an Historiography," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 28, no. 1 (2010), 87.

The first section will explore the major actors and events associated with the reform campaigns in turn-of-the-century Rio. Throughout my analysis I argue for the importance of the European influence attached to this reform. I will show how this acted as a catalyst to the radical urban transformations of the city. First, President Campos Sales (1898-1902) will be shown to highlight the importance of a new Europeanized *belle époque* era, with Rio de Janeiro becoming his playing field for reform.[6] Sales's achievements in the realm of urban renewal pale in comparison to his successor President Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906). I will therefore prioritize Sales's efforts in *public health* policy as a means to better contextualize the *revolta* of 1904. Ultimately I ask why his effort at modernization was met by such considerable opposition. Scholarship points to the discriminatory nature of reform during the period, particularly in the realm of public health. Examples include citizens forced into isolation centers, and police ordered to shoot at public health protestors. Nonetheless, Sales must be credited for setting into motion the cogs which would drive the ambitious European-inspired urban renewal of the period.

When exploring the policies under President Alves, I will navigate many other aspects of urban reform. During his presidency, Alves continued and expanded Sales's efforts at urban renewal with projects that included the renovation of the city's port and the construction of the famous *Avenida Central*. Surrounded by a highly ambitious team, Alves, through swift and authoritarian rule, completely changed the urban face of Rio.[7] I

[6] *Carioca belle époque* – the name, originating from the French, to describe the epoch in Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the twentieth century. It focused on imitating a European ideal.
[7] Two members of his administration, Oswaldo Cruz and Pereira Passos, will be prioritized in my analysis.

will also demonstrate how the administration was guided by Haussmannian principles, charting yet another link between Rio and the European setting.

It was ultimately the proposal for obligatory vaccination, the centerpiece of Alves's public health campaign, which galvanized opposition forces to attempt a coup against the government. For Sevcenko, the fears of vaccination itself were small. The primary fear, he argues, surrounded the compulsory nature of the law and the effects it would have on citizens' lives. Through a dissection of primary sources including newspapers, publications, and government documents, and secondary historiography, support and opposition to Sales's and Alves's urban reform projects will be analyzed and highlighted throughout.

In the second section of this paper I will analyze the *revolta* (1904) and the *Exposição* (1908), treating them as major tests for the ruling elite following the relatively stable political period from 1898, the year Sales became president. As major tests to the government, these events spurred considerable debate among an elite class. I emphasize that the catalyst for their importance was the city's turn-of-the-century urban renewal that began in 1898. The political climate before Sales's administration, in contrast, has been remembered for its instability. After 1898, agro-export regional elites gained political control and enforced a political calm in Brazil. This ultimately ushered in the opportunity for widespread urban reform.[8] This reform would be characterized by a radical transformation, including but not limited to new buildings, wider avenues, a new port, and a new public health campaign. It was ultimately a transformation which looked to

[8] Robert Nachman, "Positivism and Revolution in Brazil's First Republic: The 1904 Revolt," *The Americas* 34, no. 1 (1977), 21.

embrace an international perspective and "*western"* market. I analyze the *revolta* and the *Exposição* as case studies which cannot be understood without the context of this radical transformation.

It must be noted that Sales and Alves, who I define as prolific actors in shaping Rio's urban landscape, were also inspired by a Brazilian intellectual elite. The *cronicas* of Olavo Bilac arguably compensated for the disappointments regarding the epoch's urban development prior to 1898. While Brazil did not emerge as a "civilized" capital, Rio's intellectuals could nonetheless fabricate, in their writing, a European façade for Rio's urban setting.[9] In other words, they helped construct a way of life which conformed to the ideal of "civilized" nations such as Britain and France. This provided a context for the emergence of a *belle époque*. Certainly, one could argue that this intelligentsia provided considerable impetus for Sales's and Alves's vision of reform. The rhetoric of these politicians, which disdained the lack of progress of the previous years, latched onto the European vision of urban reform promoted by the city's intellectuals. To end my analysis I will therefore prioritize intellectual figures, and in particular Bilac, as I illustrate the support for and opposition to the government's urban renewal.

[9] Nicolau Sevcenko, *Literatura como missão* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983), 96

PART 1

Contextualizing Urban Renewal in Rio's *Belle Époque*

1.1

Since the Encounter in 1492, the cities of Latin America were often conceived as utopias of the future. This highly symbolic vision, which used as inspiration the European archetype of urban renewal, acted as the framework for many urban reforms in the Latin American region. This is according to historian Angel Rama.[10] Following this line of thought, I argue that European urban reforms offered Brazil's ruling elite an excellent model to transplant into Rio de Janeiro. Understanding this, we must also appreciate that the animating ideas for turn-of-the-century reforms in Rio already existed in the actions and attitudes present from at least the 1870s in Brazil, when European "modern" notions began to proliferate in the country. The desire to make Brazil a more "civilized" country, emphasized most explicitly with the introduction of themes regarding the abolition of slavery, began to flourish in this decade.[11] According to Antonio Rodrigues and Julian de Mello, the 1870s in Brazil brought a systematic change in the process of urbanization, attributed to many factors including demographic expansion and economic growth.

I thus champion the argument that European models and influences formed the backdrop for reform in the region. After severing its ties with Portugal in 1822, Brazil remained in an informal economic colonial relationship with Britain in the nineteenth

[10] Antonio Rodrigues and Juliana de Mello, "As reformas urbanas na cidade de Rio de Janeiro: uma história de contrastes," *Acervo, Rio de Janeiro* 28, no. 1 (2015), 21.
[11] Ibid., 21.

century, and increasingly with the United States as the twentieth century got under way. It was French culture, however, which truly permeated into Rio's urban fabric. The French Revolution was a watershed moment in Europe, allowing for the emergence of a new consumer society on the European continent.[12] The arrival of this new commodity fetishism came to Rio a few years later, with the arrival of the Portuguese court and Brazil's opening to international commerce in 1808. Joao VI's Rio became a haven for French immigrants, who helped make French culture fashionable in Brazil.[13] Brazil's affair with France continued and ripened at the turn of the twentieth century. The very popularization of the French name *belle époque* to describe the city's urban face from 1898-1914, offers a direct association to the European ideal. The case study of the *Exposição* of 1908 grants an opportunity to explore the proliferation of French culture in relation to urban renewal. The influence of Europe on Brazil's elites cannot be underplayed, and should be considered a major inspiration behind the radical transformation of Rio's urban landscape.

The fascination with Europe, and the urban reform project which surrounded it, was enveloped by a reality of scientific racism. For Thomas Skidmore, scientific racism, transplanted from a European setting, became an accepted norm in Brazil. It drove the white elite of European descent to despair about the country's future. Overcoming the problem of the *inferior* races thus became a priority for many in the elite class. Urban reform offered an opportunity to conceal the unwanted and undesired races of the city. Historian Luis Edmundo affirms that, particularly before Pereira Passos's urban

[12] Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque,* 161.
[13] Ibid., 181.

development (Rio's mayor, 1902-1906), Rio remained a distasteful marker for elite white society. However, the seeming success of reform in the scientific racist project became evident. As one contemporary in turn-of-the-century Rio proclaimed, "*New immigration began to make its way here, augmenting our population considerably and, above all, greatly diminishing the number of blacks*." [14] It is therefore important to recognize the connection between urban renewal and scientific racism, particularly as the latter helped perpetuate the aspiration to a European-like urban ideal.

Arising alongside notions of white superiority was a dedication to eradicating a heritage of colonial backwardness. Elites were convinced that Rio had the potential to become a major cultural and economic center that could inspire urban transformations in the rest of the country. The belief in the progress of "civilization," in the projects which would help transition the city into a *better* future, captured the imagination of many contemporaries. Many among the elite joyously recounted this evolution, with one upper class citizen famously proclaiming, "*We changed everything, until we came to change, completely, our mentality, hobbled by long years of stubborn self-absorption and routine. They were right, then, when the country's papers… cried out: Rio is becoming civilized! It was indeed becoming civilized! Progress, which for a long time had hovered at the door, without permission to enter, was welcomed joyously.*"[15] This viewpoint proliferated, particularly after Campos Sales became president.

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[14] Costa, L. E. da, *De um livro de memórias, vol 1* (Rio de Janeiro: Nacional, 1958), 162, cited in Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque*, 50.
[15] Ibid.

1.2

Sales in his inaugural address of November 15, 1898, prioritized the country's "economic and financial decadence," in an impassioned rhetoric which pledged to open up Brazil to the world. Sales condemned the "inopportune" and "absurd" protectionism, which had contributed to Brazil's profound depression in previous years.[16] In this context of *backwardness* and economic retardation, Sales promoted a new *belle époque* era and his vision for urban renewal.

Another catalyst to the reconstruction of Rio under Sales was an urban demographic explosion. From 1872 to 1920, Rio's population surged from 275,000 to 1.15 million inhabitants.[17] The growth of working-class neighborhoods became an unsightly problem for an elite charmed by a modern European and sanitized ideal. This ideal would lead to the implementation of a series of policies, particularly in the realm of public health, which would help contribute to the popular revolt in 1904. Sales in his inaugural address declared that he "would show no weakness or hesitation in implementing repressive action, against *elementos pertubadores*."[18] This authoritarian rhetoric would provide the foundation for a modernization campaign which vilified dissidence. This dissidence would ultimately be found in an expanding urban lower-class, enticed to revolt by an elite uncomfortable with the political road map drawn out by the administrations of Sales and Alves.

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[16] Manifesto Inaugural de Manuel Ferraz de Campos Salles, 15 Novembro 1898 (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Leuzinger irmãos &c, 1898), 17.
[17] Brodwyn Fischer, *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth Century Rio de Janeiro* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2008), 50-54.
[18] Manifesto Inaugural de Campos Salles, 1898, 20.

Particularly evident was the racist undertone of Sales's policies. According to Sidney Chalhoub, urban reform, particularly in the realm of public health, was intrinsically linked to a *whitening* ambition. Sales promoted a modern public health campaign, then seen as one of the most effective perceived *remedies* for a country striving to become less "backwards." Public health policy, in particular before the turn of the twentieth century, did not vigorously target diseases such as smallpox and tuberculosis, which were conditions associated with the poor and *mestiço* populations of the city. Instead, resources were focused on eradicating indiscriminate diseases such as yellow fever. The influential politician, Rui Barbosa, described the city's targeted public health policy. "*[Yellow fever] is an evil, of which the negro race alone manages to be immune, a fact which is only contradicted in the course of the most violent epidemics, and in its obituary, in the centers where European immigration abounded, the contribution of foreign nationals reached 92 percent of the total death toll… it [the 'yellow plague'] gave us, in the eyes of the civilized world, the airs of a slaughterhouse for the white race*."[19] Public health policy for the interest of the city's *white* population thus became a foundation stone for urban renewal during Rio's *belle époque.*

During Sales's administration, the sanitation of the city stretched the authority of Rio's elites. Government public health efforts after 1900 continued to focus foremost on the eradication of non-selective diseases such as yellow fever and bubonic plague. The plague, a disease often described in history textbooks as a phenomenon of the European Middle Ages, ravaged Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the twentieth century. How could

[19] Sidney Cahlhoub, "The Politics of Disease Control: Yellow Fever and Race in Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25, no. 3 (1993), 462.

Brazil hope to compare with the modernity of a twentieth century European ideal, if the sanitation of its capital city encouraged the wrath of a disease long since curtailed in most of Europe? Sales looked to Europe for answers. An article published in the Belgium newspaper *L'independance Belge* on December 7, 1899, was translated into Portuguese and printed in *O Correio Paulistano*. The article summarized a "brilliant" conference on the fight against a recent plague outbreak in Porto, Portugal. The writers of *O Correio Paulistano* believed that the article would awaken in its Brazilian readers, especially those "well versed in the subject matter," the same interest and appraisal with which the conference was received when delivered to a roomful of eminent European politicians, policy makers, and medicine practitioners. In the conference, a Belgian health official passionately declared, "Death to rats, death to mice, death to fleas, and to all the parasites of all the rodents."[20] Through European rhetoric, a pro-government Brazilian press offered its readers a metaphorical picture of urban renewal in the form of European-inspired sanitation.

In this transcribed future, there was also a strong message which advocated for vaccination. The above conference brought to light a study exhibiting the benefits of a new anti-plague serum that significantly reduced the mortality rates in plague victims. In a recorded trial which examined 72 untreated patients, 45 (63 percent) died from the debilitating disease. After the implementation of the vaccine in a further 141 patients, only 21 (15 percent) died.[21] The Brazilian pro-government press was here reciting the success of European disease control as a model of progress and modernization. The

[20] *O Correio Paulistano,* 2 January 1900 (N. 13051), 1.
[21] Ibid.

state's legitimization of public health policy in Brazil, however controversial, was primarily modelled after successful vaccination campaigns in European countries – in Germany in 1875, in Italy in 1888, and in France in 1902.[22] Why, the Brazilian government would ask, could such a strategy not be implemented in Brazil, where the incidence of epidemics was much worse?[23] Why was there such great opposition?

The *carioca* people were encouraged to enthusiastically participate in the government's public health campaign from early on in Sales's term in office. This, I argue, was an attempt to make urban reform a collective endeavor, offering a shared notion of what Rio's urban renewal should look like. After the implementation of a policy which encouraged citizens to hunt, slaughter, and incinerate the city's rodents, the people were galvanized to play a vital role in disease control. On January 2, 1900, the Secretary of the *Serviço Sanitario* (Sanitary Services), João Rodrigues de Sousa, declared that anyone who presented a dead rat at the *Disinfectorio Central*, would receive 400 réis in compensation.[24] This was not a vast amount by any measure, far less, for instance, than the daily wage of the average Brazilian city worker.[25] Nonetheless, the incentive for a collective public health effort was successfully implemented. On New Year's Day of 1900, 450 rats were reported exterminated at the *Disinfectorio*, with 33,700 rats incinerated in total. In total compensation, the state had up to that point distributed

[22] These particular cases refer to vaccination against the smallpox virus.
[23] Sevcenko, *A Revolta da Vacina*, 18.
[24] *O Correio Paulistano,* 2 January 1900 (N. 13051), 3.
[25] For a detailed analysis of real wages in a thriving Brazilian city during the Old Republic see: C. Phil, "Real Wage Evolution in São Paulo, Brazil (1891-1930)" in 2012 EHA Annual Meeting, Molly Ball, http://eh.net/eha/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Ball.pdf [accessed 02/29/2016].

14:225$400 réis.[26] Exterminating 450 rats a day, however, seems minimal and insignificant to a larger urban renewal campaign.

Ultimately, the government's urban reforms did not insist on the population's consent. Increasingly during Sales's administration, the state's public health policies would discriminate against the city's poor. As an organized attempt to prevent the spread of disease, one policy saw an increased level of security and border control at the city's perimeter. Beginning on January 2, 1900, all passengers riding the Central Railway were required to have their baggage presented for inspection and disinfection at the "immigration building."[27] Other policies proved more severe, and explicitly targeted and discriminated against those living in poor neighborhoods. One such policy forced individuals to be quarantined if found infected with disease. On January 2, 1900, *O Correio Paulistano* reported that a twenty-eight year old *cortiço*-dwelling (working class neighborhoods) Italian man had become infected with plague and forced into an isolation center. There he was administered an anti-plague serum. The conditions in Rio's isolation centers did not favor recovery, and the man was soon pronounced dead. *O Correio Paulistano* reported that eighteen more individuals were scheduled for removal from the same *cortiço,* to be taken to the "Isolation Hospital" without their consent.[28] Significantly, when epidemics struck, it was almost exclusively the poor who contracted disease, and only they who were forced into the "terrible" isolation centers.[29] It is from

[26] *O Correio Paulistano,* 2 January 1900 (N. 13051), 2.
[27] *O Correio Paulistano,* 2 January 1900 (N. 13051), 3.
[28] *O Correio Paulistano,* 2 January 1900 (N. 13051), 2.
[29] Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio,* 91-92.

these details that historians such as Teresa Meade build a picture of a highly discriminatory public health policy at the turn of the century.

Moreover, the *Correio da Manhã's* writers suggested that on multiple occasions the government was using public health concerns as an *excuse* for authoritarian action. This, journalists of the period argued, was an administration that sought urban renewal through the implementation of repressive action against dissidence. One particular case saw the *Companhia de S. Christovão,* a meat company, sell products which many alleged were causing tuberculosis and carbuncle. The majority of allegations were not grounded in concrete scientific data. Nonetheless, the state's heavy-handed reaction illuminates a highly aggressive public health campaign.[30] Newspaper reports reveal that the police were ordered to shoot at those found protesting the meat company. The government justified its actions by claiming that the victims of carbuncle were in fact suffering from bubonic plague.[31] The *Correio da Manhã's* writers painted a tyrannical picture of Sales's administration, which had seemingly advocated for political and economic interests over the wellbeing of Rio's population. In this example, writing in the *Correio da Manhã* proclaimed the paper to be a "defender of the people," bringing to attention the apparent tensions between the city's social classes during this period of urban renewal.

In spite of the opposition towards the government's documented repression, Sales can ultimately be credited with opening up the path to a turn-of-the-century urban renewal campaign; his presidency marking a stark contrast to the urban stagnation of the previous decade. My emphasis has been on Sales's efforts in the realm of public health

[30] Manifesto Inaugural de Campos Salles, 1898, 20.
[31] *Correio da Manhã*, "Um Escandalo," 10 July 1901 (N. 26), 1.

reform, as one of his most vigorous reform efforts. I have done so to build context for a widening rift among the elite in relation to what Rio's *belle époque* should look like. After Sales, the presidential mantle would pass to Rodrigues Alves, who would expand Sales's efforts of urban reform ten-fold.

1.3

Sales, in his attempt to implement a *belle époque* ideal, sowed the seeds for increasing dissent and competing notions of urban reform. However, it was during the administration of Rodrigues Alves that the seed sprouted and flowered. When Alves ascended to the presidency, he brought with him a party of influential figures who would sanction and continue Sales's mission to transform the urban landscape of Rio de Janeiro. Oswaldo Cruz, Francisco Pereira Passos, and Lauro Muller were three of the most important figures in the new administration. Their contributions to the modernization campaign, according to Needell, rested on three key developments. The first was a campaign of disease prevention and eradication under the guidance of Cruz, appointed Director of Public Health in March 1903. The second involved the Europeanization of Rio's architecture and general urban reconstruction under Passos, appointed in December 1902 as the Mayor of the Federal District. The third involved the reconstruction of Rio's major port under Muller, appointed Secretary of Transport, Industry, and Public Works.[32]

[32] Jeffrey Needell, "The *Revolta Contra Vacina* of 1904: The Revolt against "Modernization" in Belle-Époque Rio de Janeiro," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 2 (1987), 243-244

Alves, in a May 3, 1903 address to the country's national congress, declared that, "The defects of the Capital affect and disturb all of our national development. Its restoration, in the eyes of the world, will mark the beginning of new life, inciting a workforce in an extensive area of a country that holds lands for all cultures, climates for all peoples, and remunerative explorations for all capitals."[33] In this capacity, Alves linked the retardation of all of Brazil to the "backwardness" of Rio de Janeiro. He also reemphasized Sales's rhetoric of opening up Brazil to the world; in particular for the opportunity this would grant to further the country's economic interests. The aspiration to a foreign ideal during the middle period of the Old Republic was also strongly articulated by the Barão do Rio Branco, Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1902-1912. He declared in 1904:

> *"From Europe we came; Europe has been our teacher, from her we receive continued support and example, the light of science and art, the commodities of her industry, and the most profitable lessons of progress."*[34]

It can be reemphasized, therefore, that the European vision acted as a major catalyst for spearheading urban renewal in the capital during Alves's presidency.

In this European context, Alves, not unlike Sales, focused on public health as a marker for urban renewal. In Alves's manifesto to the nation on November 15, 1902, he declared that "our economic development is intrinsically related to the need to sanitize

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[33] Annaes do Senado Federal, *Primeira sessão da quinta legislatura*, Livro 1, 1903 (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1904), 23.
[34] J.C. Oakenfull, *"Brazil" a Centenary of Independence 1822-1922* (Freiburg: C.A. Wagner, 1922), 131.

the capital… It is necessary that the powers of the Republic make of this its most serious and constant concern, making use of all of the elements at its disposal."[35] Based on this premise, I emphasize public health policy in my analysis. However, it is important to note that Alves granted his administration wide authority to undertake major changes in *all* aspects of urban development, to a much greater extent than his predecessor. A widespread and authoritarian urbanization effort was epitomized by a December 29, 1902 federal decree (N. 939) promulgated shortly after Alves assumed office. This bill suspended the Municipal Council in Rio for six months and granted the president's administration absolute freedom to institute legislation, ignore processes of municipal administration, and access federal coffers without the consent of the legislature. According to Jaime Larry Benchimol, this policy was heavily denounced by both the media and the opposition forces in the Brazilian congress, who accused the government of implementing a "dictatorship" in the capital.[36] From very early on in his tenure, Alves surpassed Sales in his intent to reform the capital with absolute authority. He did this without sanction from those with competing views.

First on Alves's agenda was the reconstruction of the port. This was important for its implication of opening up Rio further, particularly in economic terms, to the outside world. Alves declared, "It seems to me that the services must begin with the works for the reconstruction of the port… evidently necessary to improve the conditions of our work and of our commerce."[37] In the spirit of Rio becoming an increasingly international

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[35] Manifesto Inaugural de Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves, 15 Novembro 1902 (Rio de Janeiro, 1902), 12.
[36] Jaime Lary Benchimol, *Pereira Passos: um Haussmann Tropical* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Carioca, 1992), 269.
[37] Annaes do Senado, Livro 1, 1903, 23.

friendly market, the main contract for the construction of the port, worth £4,500,000, was issued to the British firm C.H. Walker & Cia.[38] The firm had ample experience in port construction throughout the world. Previous projects included the English docks in Swansea, a naval canal in Manchester, and the port in Buenos Aires.[39] The latter is particularly significant, as many elites in Rio competed with that city in the realm of urban beauty and modernization. The influence of the French planner Haussmann proliferated in the urbanization efforts of both cities, and was patent in the ideals of Muller's team.[40]

The reconstruction of Rio's port was not a singular project. The portworks itself only began after the *Avenida Central* was inaugurated.[41] Muller entrusted the port-oriented reforms to two individuals. Paulo de Frontin was charged with the construction of the *Avenida Central* which would connect the *cidade velha* to the northern dock area. Francisco de Bicalho was assigned the port reconstruction.[42] The two projects were linked; both projects, once completed, would create better conditions for communication between the commercial center of the city and the outside world. Another main motivation behind the reconstruction was that the old port was working over capacity, and thus limiting the passage of goods. As Bicalho declared, "The moment will arrive in which arriving cargo ships will be left without a place to dock."[43] It was an ambitious

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[38] The reconstruction of the port would last from 1904-1911.
[39] Benchimol, *Pereira Passos*, 217.
[40] Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque,* 34.
Haussmannian principles, in the context of a *carioca belle époque,* illuminate a direct connection between an elite conception of Paris, and its transplantation into Rio. This will be explored more thoroughly in the apparent influence over Passos.
[41] Benchimol, *Pereira Passos*, 217
[42] Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque,* 34.
[43] Ministério da Indústria, Viação e Obras Públicas, 1908, cited in Benchimol, *Pereira Passos*, 225.

project which was not to be completed during Alves's term in office. In November 1906, just prior to Alves leaving office, the first stretch of the port was opened. The head of the British company in charge of the construction promised a completion year of 1910, but failed to reach even that target; the port officially being inaugurated in 1911. By focusing on ambitious reforms that would strengthen the federal capital into a port city suitable for modern commerce, Alves and his associates aimed to attract a greater influx of foreign capital into the city.

Just as important for the conception of a *belle époque*, was the job of Pereira Passos. For Passos it was clear that the city's urban infrastructure, still in the typical colonial style, had not adapted to the economic expansion of recent times. This demanded greater accessibility for trade, and that the city's poor and *inferior* races be hidden from view.[44] Passos was directly inspired by the French urbanist Georges-Eugène Haussmann in his plans for Rio's urbanization. Haussmannian architectural standards made waves in France following the 1848-1851 counterrevolution which ushered in the Second French Empire. The new administration in Rio was obsessed with mimicking this high French ideal. David Harvey examines Paris from this time as a dynamic hub of cultural, social, political, economic, and geographic change.[45] One can interpret parallels between Haussmann's legacy in Paris, and Passos's legacy in Rio, charting yet another link

[44] Rodrigues and Julian de Mello, "As reformas urbanas na cidade do Rio de Janeiro," 28.
[45] Harvey talks about the myth created by Haussmann, in which immediately upon taking up the position of Prefect of the Department of the Seine in Paris in June 1853, he drew out plans for the reconstruction and remodeling of Paris's streets. In spectacular fashion, the following two decades would witness these plans put into practice. For Harvey however, Haussmannian change was an exaggerated legend. He suggests that Haussmann inflated his own personal role in France's urbanization. Harvey's is part of a literature which has started to discourage the view of Haussmann as an idol, while encouraging the reader to side with the plight of the masses. As Haussmann becomes a quasi villain, the working classes are expressed as downtrodden. See: David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

between Rio and the European setting. In the context of urban renewal, both Haussmann and Passos were designated the important role of transforming their respective cities, albeit in different capacities. The freedom granted Passos as a result of federal decree N.939 gave him the scope and capability to undertake his mission in the meagre four-year tenure granted him as mayor. Passos's urbanization plans ultimately forced the displacement of many of those living in the city's *cortiços*, to make way for the construction of new roads, gardens, and modern buildings. Highly socially divisive, Passos's policies relegated the city's poor to the perimeter of the market economy.

Alves, with Muller and Passos working in his shadow, completely transformed the urban face of Rio de Janeiro. Under Alves, the *belle époque* urban ideal gained considerable momentum, expressed most explicitly in projects such as the city's new port and the *Avenida Central*. Of note was the implementation of authoritarian policy allowed through decree N.939, which imposed a vision of urban renewal which deterred competing notions of reform. Nonetheless, as will become clear, the authoritarian nature of such laws inspired much opposition, especially in the realm of public health reform.

1.4

It is important to note that vaccination as a means to eradicate disease, transplanted from the European setting, was used extensively in Brazil in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Chalhoub, in fact, faults Needell and Sevcenko for failing to study the earlier history of vaccination efforts in explaining the *revolta* in 1904. Chalhoub's is a *longue duree* history which looks beyond the short-term factors of urban

dissent. The Brazilian government had announced its desire to vaccinate Rio's population from as early as 1822.[46] Writers of the paper *O Paiz* declared vaccination to be the only existing mechanism to fight certain diseases, evidenced through its prior implementation in more "advanced regions" of the country.[47] The late nineteenth century in Brazil saw the establishment of strong biomedical institutions to research and develop vaccines, so that come Cruz's appointment as Director of Public Health, the state was primed and ready for an extensive internationally-inspired program of disease prevention and eradication.[48]

The measures adopted for Alves's public health campaign, as one part of a wider program for the beautification of the city of Rio, were seen as one of the most essential aspects for modernization. Alves had a personal aspiration to improve the city's public health, having himself lost a son to yellow fever.[49] Importantly, Alves also explicitly linked the city's economic development to the city's sanitation. In 1903, Alves reiterated this economic link, declaring that, "in previous statements, I have alluded to the public health campaigns of the city, and every time, I become more convinced that it is in this that the fundamental element for the resuscitation of the economic vitality of the country lies."[50] Granting an apocalyptic economic vision to the lack of adequate public health gave particular priority to this element of Rio's urban renewal during the city's *belle époque.* Alves's rhetoric, particularly in his pledge to use "*todos os elementos de que*

[46] Nachman, "Positivism and Revolution," 21.
[47] *O Paiz*, 22 July, 1904, (N. 7227), 1.
[48] For establishment of biomedical research institutions in Brazil, see: World Health Organization, http://www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/91/3/13-030313/en/ [accessed 02/20/2016].
[49] Marissa Gorberg, "Parc Royal: um Magazine na Modernidade Carioca" (MA diss., Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2013).
[50] Annaes do Senado, Livro 1, 1903, 23.

puderem dispôr," is a precursor to the broad authority he would grant Cruz in his public health campaign to change the urban face of the city.

Ultimately, Cruz's public health campaign saw the displacement of thousands of working-class people from their homes. This context contributed to the people's suspicion and opposition towards government policy related to urban renewal; even one which claimed to improve the health and sanitation of the city and its people. This suspicion became especially pronounced following the December 29, 1902 decree, which had granted the government unrestricted authority to conduct its modernization campaign. The new decree was submitted without any debate in Brazil's congress, while removing the resources and rights of communities to protest against government plans. As a result, Sevcenko described this law as ambiguous, arbitrary, and visibly unconstitutional, granting extensive powers to the likes of Passos and Cruz.[51]

One group of citizens who offered a subtle form of resistance to the government's policies came from the educated class. By 1903, despite a concerted effort by Cruz, the plague returned to overwhelm the city. Cruz directed the blame at the clinicians and doctors who neglected to report cases of infectious disease as they came across them. *O Commercio's* writers interviewed Cruz to determine the Director's plans moving forward. Cruz intended to continue with a full-scale annihilation of the rat population of Rio. Here he adopted a system put forward by the Americans in the Philippines. The plan saw a brigade of fifty vaccinated employees sent out with rat traps and poison. It demanded that each man return with five rats per day, remunerated at three hundred réis for every rodent

[51] Sevcenko, *A Revolta da Vacina,* 68-71.

collected. Cruz emphasized that these measures would not be successful without the full compliance of doctors; demanding from them *compulsory* notification if they came across any victims of plague.[52] Competing notions of urban renewal is here emphasized by non-compliance with the government's sanitation policies.

It was ultimately the proposal for obligatory vaccination which fully galvanized opposition forces against the government's modernization campaign. In 1900, during Sales's presidential term, the *Instituto Vaccinico Municpial* was charged with a widespread vaccination campaign. Rio's population at this time stood at 691,565.[53] That year, the institute conducted a total of 8,471 vaccinations, a figure much lower than the number of unvaccinated citizens. This most certainly generated an anxiety, which led to the health administration being brought under federal authority in July 1902. Applied at the end of Sales's term, it rested with the presidency of Alves to fully implement the policy. Under Alves, the institute sought to reach out to citizens in their homes and places of business. This measure proved much more successful than previous policy. *O Paiz* published a 1902 report revealing the institute's success. It declared that in 1902, while 2,737 vaccinations were administered at the institute itself, 21,867 vaccinations occurred as a result of the Institute's door-to-door visitations.[54] A decree establishing a policy of obligatory vaccination had not yet been put into effect, yet one can appreciate how the government was moving towards this policy. The institute was ten times as effective at administering vaccination directly to people in their homes as it was in waiting for people

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[52] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, 17 September 1903 (N. 3423), 1.
[53] Sidney Chalhoub, *Cidade Febril: Cortiços e Epidemias na Corte Imperial* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996), 161.
[54] The report found the Institute to have visited 459 roads in Rio, from which it administered vaccinations in 3056 private homes, 193 schools, 3234 business establishments, and 5 factories.

to come to the institute. A sense of urgency was established by reaching out to people, increasingly undeterred by individuals' motivations to stay away. The government was becoming ever more uncompromising in its enforcement of a modern public health ideal.

Although vaccination was not obligatory during this period, the government through its institutions, made sure that it became mandatory for participation in numerous forms of civic life. One example saw this take effect in universities, which began to require vaccination as a prerequisite to matriculation.[55] An advertisement in *O Paiz* in March 1903, listed four requirements for enrollment into the *Escola Nacional de Belas Artes.* After "certificate of exam results", "evidence of vaccination" came second in this list. This preceded "receipt of payment for matriculation," and "proof of identity."[56] The government, in making higher education dependent on inoculation, took a bold step towards an agenda which would soon insist on obligatory vaccination, long before the decree which would seek to implement it into law. As Martine Jean articulates, the government was increasingly given precedent to intervene not only in periods of misery, but also in times of tranquility and peace.[57] The government's policies of urban renewal were becoming increasingly compulsory in nature.

The pursuit of a policy of obligatory vaccination found its greatest justification in yellow fever and smallpox, jointly the most pressing public health issues during Alves's administration.[58] Only after Cruz was appointed Director of Public Health was an

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[55] Although a miniscule percentage of the population attended schools of higher education, this example epitomizes the increasing reach of public health policy in Rio during the period.
[56] *O Paiz*, 8 March, 1903, 4.
[57] Martine Jean, "Guardians of Order: Police and Society in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1907-1930"(PhD diss., Yale University, 2010), 36.
[58] Yellow fever attacks the human body with an unscrupulous disregard for class or status, to the misfortune of a benevolent *carioca* elite at the turn of the twentieth century. The victim, after being

effective plan for their eradication implemented. Diseases and viruses which require populations to travel are endemic to urban centers and port cities. In Rio, Yellow fever had thus been granted the perfect environment to flourish. Another location in which yellow fever proved pervasive was in Havana, Cuba. Cruz would cast his eyes to this Caribbean city for the questions and answers he required for the fever's eradication in Rio. In particular, he looked to the efforts conducted by the U.S. government in its suppression, following countless epidemics of yellow fever which had hit the southern region of the United States. One of the worst of these epidemics struck in 1878. This saw the death of over 2,000 people following the disembarkation in New Orleans of a passenger steamship which had arrived from Havana. After the U.S. invasion of Cuba in 1898, the federal government established the Yellow Fever Commission to eradicate the virus. This body immediately sought improvements to the sanitation conditions of the island, while enforcing the destruction of mosquitos and their nests. It achieved this by dispatching Special Disinfectant Brigades. These groups were met with resistance from the local inhabitants, as the brigades set about quarantining victims and killing mosquitos,

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infected with the virus, first suffers from a high fever, before being overcome by bodily pain and nausea. At this point, the victim might recover. This is the moment the wealthy Rio aristocrat might fly to his villa in Petropolis to recuperate, away from the squalor and disease of the city. See: Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio,* 92. The victim may also however take a turn for the worse, as the virus continues to attack the immune system and ravage the body from the inside out. See: Mariola Espinosa, *Epidemic Invasions: Yellow Fever and the Limits of Cuban Independence, 1878-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 1-2. Yellow fever attacked the northeast of Brazil in the 1600s until finally making its way to Rio in the mid-nineteenth century. For a definitive history of the introduction of yellow fever into Recife, Brazil, see: J.R. McNeill, *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For the virus' introduction into Rio, see: Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque*, 251. Brazil would experience epidemic after epidemic, as the virus devastated urban populations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1873, Rio saw five percent of its population killed from a particularly prolific scourge of the virus. These episodes prompted government attention, although social reform and public health policy would prove ineffective for a long time yet. See: Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque*, 251.

with little concern for the people or their possessions.[59] These methods were so effective that by 1901, yellow fever had disappeared from the island. It was this U.S. public health strategy that Cruz aspired to transplant onto the streets of Rio. For Teresa Meade, the Brazilian government believed that the eradication of disease could be achieved, even if this meant disregarding the feelings, possessions, and lives of the citizens of Rio.[60] The social cost of urban renewal here becomes apparent.

For Cruz, the question of how to eradicate yellow fever from Rio had already been answered by those "wise Americans" in Havana, according to *O Correio Paulistano's* journalists.[61] Cruz proposed a series of actions to be taken during periods of epidemic, based on this American success story.[62] The first of these would see those infected quarantined in order to curb the spread of the virus, a policy continued from its use in cases of plague. Despite being highly controversial, this measure would continue into 1904 and see up to 1,800 patients interned in Rio's Isolation Hospital in the first six months of that year.[63] Another of Cruz's policies, to be instituted in times of "extra epidemic", would include measures to hunt down mosquitos and their nests, oftentimes inside peoples' homes. *O Correio Paulistano* reported that such measures should be "continuous" and "uninterrupted" for them to be effective.[64] It is difficult to conceptualize a population backing a proposal which would see victims subjected to quarantine and forced entry. The writers of *O Correio Paulistano* advocated for such

[59] For a detailed analysis on U.S. public health policy to eradicate yellow fever in Cuba, see: Espinosa, *Epidemic Invasions.*
[60] Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio*, 91.
[61] *O Correio Paulistano*, "Notas," 3 April 1903 (N. 14233), 1.
[62] *O Correio Paulistano*, "Notas," 3 April 1903 (N. 14233), 1.
[63] Sevcenko, *A Revolta da Vacina,* 18.
[64] *O Correio Paulistano*, "Notas," 3 April 1903 (N. 14233), 1.

measures through the justification of their efficacy and speed in the eradication of the virus, often drawing on the U.S. success story. In spite of this, vocal opposition to the practice of isolating victims arose from inside the Brazilian government. One example points to the congressman from the state of Rio Grande do Sul (1900-1911), Germano Hasslocher. The isolation measure was revoked from a 1903 decree which had sanctioned Cruz's original public health proposals. Hasslocher argued for its repeal on the basis of its overt discrimination and targeting of Rio's poor.[65] Instead of forcing the poor into isolation centers, he argued that quarantine could be achieved just as successfully in the safety of one's own home.[66] This view articulated a competing and less discriminatory vision of urban renewal.

Alves's administration nonetheless justified their controversial measures through recourse to European examples. The supposedly irrefutable findings of the *Institut Pasteur* were used to garner support for Cruz's campaign. The *Institut Pasteur,* founded in 1887 in Paris, was –and still is– dedicated to the study of vaccines, and has been at the forefront of the fight against infectious disease. The Brazilian elite saw in this institute an authority from which to acquire the latest information on disease control, and develop from this a successful public health program. The federal government often sent doctors and officials to the institute in Paris, and eventually inaugurated a Brazilian branch of the Institute in São Paulo in November 1903.[67] Rio welcomed a French commission from the Institute in 1902 to conduct a direct study on yellow fever in the city. This commission remained in Rio for almost two years, studying both the victims of the virus and the

[65] Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio,* 91-92.
[66] *Correio da Manhã*, "Saude Publica," 26 November 1903 (N. 898), 2.
[67] *Revista da Semana*, 6 November 1904, Instituto Pasteur de S. Paulo (N. 234).

mosquito vector. The commission also obtained data from the studies conducted by medics in the United States expeditionary force in Cuba. After rigorous field work, it was confirmed that the virus was spread by the bite of an infected mosquito from the species *stegomyia fasciata* (later renamed *aedes aegypti*). From January 1, 1904, *O Correio Paulistano* began publishing the results of the study conducted by the *Institut Pasteur*.[68] The publication educated its readers on the causes and dangers of yellow fever. With the awareness that mosquitos were definitively culpable for the spread of the virus, Cruz justified his heavy-handed public health campaign; it gave him precedent to quash competing notions of public health policy.[69]

More of the institute's findings were displayed on January 2, 1904, as *O Correio Paulistano* divulged a large body of information on the subject matter. The message was clear: the ruthless disease was running rampant, defying an elite vision of a sanitized city. The article took up most of two pages of the paper.[70] The report described Rio as having the perfect conditions for an epidemic, primarily due to its climate. The nature of this rhetoric might have instigated fear in a population, particularly in a city whose urban infrastructure incentivized the spread of the virus. The implication was that if no measures were taken to prevent further epidemics, devastation would most certainly ensue. The article would go on to claim that 1903 had been a particularly favorable year for the spread of *stegomyia fasciata* in both the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

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[68] *O Correio Paulistano*, "A Febre Amarella," 1 January 1904, (N. 14504), 3.
[69] Cruz would use this knowledge acquired by the *Institut Pasteur* to employ *mata mosquito* (mosquito killer) brigades, sent out to kill mosquitos in their nests.
[70] The *Institut Pasteur* was highly respected. The *Correio da Manhã,* a republican opposition paper, on many occasions also heralded the importance and reputation of the *Institut Pasteur.* For an example, see: *Correio da Manhã*, "Saude Publica," 29 July 1904 (N. 1142), 4. This suggests that the messages conveyed by the institute were taken seriously by all fronts, even by one which often discredited government policy.

This was primarily due to the absence of rain during the summer months.[71] What could the people do against such an accident of geography, but look to a *benevolent* elite for guidance?

Nonetheless, when Cruz requested that the government pass legislation to implement obligatory vaccination to eradicate the smallpox virus, the people were incited to resist. Only after considerable congressional debate was it implemented in a government bill in October 1904. The level of opposition raises an important question: why was the measure so controversial? Anxiety arose towards the compulsory nature of the policy, and its effects on and violations of people's lives and civil liberties. The anxiety had less to do with the effects of vaccination itself, but rather on the intrusion into the personal lives of Rio's citizens. Even so, anti-government media such as the *Correio da Manhã* would often rally the population with claims of vaccination dangers. One such case occurred on July 23, 1904. A woman was reported to have died from septicemia caused by inoculation, as testified by the doctor who carried out the post-mortem examination for the police. Cruz reportedly discredited the diagnosis, and the *Correio da Manhã's* writers retaliated by attacking Cruz's judgment.[72] The government was forced to continuously address the efficacy of vaccination as an effective means for disease eradication in its promotion of obligatory vaccination as a policy in the city's urban renewal.

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[71] An abundance of rain produces an unfavourable condition for the mosquito, as a result of the cooling night temperatures which accompany this rain. As a result, 1903 saw *stegomyia fasciata* thrive in locations and altitudes where in previous years it did not exist. See *O Correio Paulistano, "*A Febre Amarella," 2 January 1904 (N. 14505), 1-2*,* for full article.

[72] *Correio da Manhã,* 23 July 1904 (N. 1136), 1.

O Commercio's editors on September 14, 1904, attempted to dispel any fears of vaccination by publishing a segment criticizing an article printed in the respected English magazine, *Westminster Review*. This latter paper recounted the findings of an English physiologist by the name of MacCormick, who had started a campaign against vaccination in England. MacCormick did not deny that vaccination provided relief from smallpox. But in doing so, he argued that vaccination "scourged" humanity by inflicting terrible ailments upon its "victims." Through an impassioned and inflammatory rhetoric, MacCormick declared that vaccination caused tuberculosis, cancer, influenza, leprosy, myopia, anemia, and all manner of other diseases. MacCormick advanced his argument through the use of "statistics" and "algorithms," to explicate the dangers of vaccination, referring in particular to mortality rates among young soldiers in the army. *O Commercio* responded with the views of a Dr. Roux, who sought to expose MacCormick as a farce. Roux suggested that to implicate vaccination as the cause of such diseases was reckless. Roux asserted that if MacCormick truly collated accurate "statistics", he would be a witness to the success of vaccination in all of the countries where it had been made obligatory. Roux pointed to unsanitary housing conditions as the main determinant in the spread of tuberculosis; while diseases such as cancer had no correlation whatsoever.[73] MacCormick's assertions were presented as misinformation; his proposed correlations between the infection of disease and vaccination scientifically proven by the international community to be false. Consequently, *O Commercio* asked the *povo do Brasil* to listen to the facts and not to the scaremongering.[74] Sevcenko argues that the fears of vaccination

[73] Importantly, Dr. Roux suggested that incriminating vaccination in such a way made it unworthy to even be refuted. The fact that this article is in fact refuting such claims, and at length, suggests the opposite. For article, see: *O Commercio de São Paulo*, 14 September 1904 (N. 3785), 1.
[74] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, 14 September 1904 (N. 3785), 1.

itself were minute. The real fears stemmed above all from the compulsory nature of the law and its effect on peoples' lives. Articles such as *O Commercio's* diverted the issue away from the latter.

The government had paved the way for a targeted public health campaign through its federal decree of December 29, 1902. Cruz, after assuming his directorate position, set about using this authority to put into practice his campaign of disease prevention and eradication. Even *O Commercio*, whose writers were enthusiastic supporters of vaccination itself, reported on October 1, 1904 a lack of empathy shown by Cruz's public health officials towards the city's working-class. An example of this can be seen in the extermination of mosquitos in people's homes. The *mata mosquito* brigades entered without consideration or prior warning, incinerating all items they felt to be contaminated. The newspapers reported daily cases of intoxication and even death from the fumes created from the burning. When the residents of *cortiços* complained, the Directory of Public Health turned a cold shoulder.[75] *O Commercio's* editors, ardent supporters of vaccination, saw such a policy as conceivably discriminatory, and susceptible to alienating a population from a campaign which was unquestionably necessary for the public health of the city.[76] The government, in overstepping its authority, was putting its urban reform project at risk, by galvanizing an opposition which might otherwise support its campaign.

Cruz had been granted inordinate authority, contributing to an insensitive treatment of the city's population. I have emphasized a ruling government which believed

[75] Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio*, 91.
[76] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, "Notas Fluminenses," 1 October 1904 (N. 3802), 1.

it could adopt any measure it saw fit for a *belle époque* ideal. The proposal for obligatory vaccination insisted on the deployment of "vaccination doctors," something *O Commercio* considered "an unqualified violence against all principles of liberty."[77] Despite the fear of smallpox, the insensitive disregard of the public health officials meant that the residents of the city's *cortiços* would not consent to such a policy.[78] The city's papers incited the opposition, the *Correio da Manhã* reporting that a popular response was necessary lest everyone but those in good favor with the government be subjected to the "lancets" of the vaccinators.[79] Even *O Commercio's* writers, strong supporters of vaccination, encouraged the government to act with prudence, and place restrictions on the proposed law in order to diminish the likelihood of considerable popular unrest. However, if the law was followed "by the book", and official vaccinators given free reign, revolt would be inevitable.[80] This foresight is illustrative of a period of extremely anxious social tensions in the months leading up to the *revolta* itself, and epitomizes the controversial nature of the law.

[77] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, "Notas Fluminenses," 10 October 1904 (N. 3811), 1.
[78] Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio*, 91.
[79] *Correio da Manhã*, "Resistencia Legitima," 12 October 1904 (N. 1217), 1.
[80] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, "Notas Fluminenses," 10 October 1904 (N. 3811), 1.

PART 2

Case Studies

The Revolta da Vacina

2.1

Two years into his presidential term, Alves faced a major test to his political authority as an opposition movement rose up in defiance of many of his policies. This opposition articulated its dissent most powerfully in a failed *coup d'état* in November 1904. This, one could argue, represented the pinnacle of opposition to the government's modernization campaign during the first decade of the twentieth century in Rio. I interpret this crisis as the result of an elite class at war with itself. The government's urban reforms provided the catalyst for revolt and conflicting notions of what the city's urban renewal should look like.

Support for Cruz's public health campaign seemingly disintegrated in the week of the November *revolta*, as innumerable protestors and rioters took to the streets. Yet the significance of those who marched on the streets of Rio those five fateful November days would be suppressed from the history books. From November 11, 2014, the pro-government press sought to instill an air of serenity. Certain papers such as the *Revista da Semana* ignored the disturbances all together. There was no mention of the *revolta* in either the November 13 or the November 20 editions of this weekly paper. As the pinnacle of a publicized atmosphere of tranquility and government authority, *O Paiz*, in

its November 20 issue, declared that there was "Absolute calm in Rio de Janeiro".[81] However, the reality of opposition to the government's efforts at urban reform contradicted the media's efforts to downplay the hostility.

The opposition was organized by a faction of the elite class, represented by prominent intellectual and political figures of the time. Their campaign against Alves began in Brazil's national congress. In this setting they emphasized a competing perspective toward urban renewal, spearheading a movement which defined itself in "positivist" ideology. This elite group was not proposing a radical shift in the hegemonic order. Rather, as a means to attain political influence and power, these figures encouraged dissent by attacking certain government policies affecting the urban environment. This begs the question whether the Positivists in fact took positivist ideas seriously in relation to the appropriate form and method of achieving modernity. Many of the Positivists were seemingly disillusioned by the government's attempts at political and social regeneration in the 1890s.[82] This disillusionment only intensified in the years following the turn of the century. Positivist rhetoric preceding the *revolta* of 1904 was an indication of this antagonism. However, their ultimate goal was to get rid of the *política dos governadores*, which had been introduced under Sales's administration, and involved the exchange of political favors between the president of the republic and state governors. In exchange for political support, the president had gradually limited his interference in state issues.[83] This system helped maintain the overarching influence of governors from the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. The political marginalization of certain elite groups, and

[81] *O Paiz*, "Sublevação da Escola Militar," 20 November 1904 (N. 7348), 1.
[82] Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque*, 218.
[83] Nachman, "Positivism and Revolution," 21.

most likely not an idealist vision of positivist modernization, inspired the Positivist backlash.

In articulating opposition, what vision of urban change did the Positivists promote? Ironically, in terms of its similar reliance on European models, positivism can be analyzed as complementing the socio-economic, political, and cultural representations of the *carioca belle époque.* Positivism in Brazil was a branch of thought which based itself on scientific reason. Importantly, it acknowledged this scientism as fundamentally European, taking as inspiration the likes of Auguste Comte, Ernest Renan, Herbert Spencer, and Charles Darwin.[84] It was an ideology which spread in Brazil before the Old Republic, and would remain an influence after its collapse.[85] Many of the individuals who defined themselves as Positivists - in the context of turn-of-the-century government opposition - were trained in Brazil's *Escola Militar* (Military School), and pursued careers in government following the establishment of the republic in 1889.[86] This career path granted opposition elites a strong rhetorical platform on which to promote their view of an industrializing and modern nation.[87] The very motto of the new republican state, *Ordem e Progresso,* was taken from the positivist motto: "love as principal, order as the basis, progress as the goal." Positivists, through government channels, thus promoted a

[84] Auguste Comte (1798-1857) was a French philosopher, known for founding the doctrine of positivism, a doctrine grounded in the sciences; Ernest Renan (1823-1892) was a French intellectual known for his political theories on nationalism; Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was an English intellectual who developed theories on evolution; Charles Darwin (1809-1882) was an English naturalist best known for his theories on evolution.

[85] Nachman, "Positivism and Revolution", 21.

[86] Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque*, 8.

[87] From the latter years of the monarchy and into the republic, positivism became the leading philosophical paradigm in the military schools of the country, not least due to the influence of Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães. He was one of the first to promote and teach a positivist scientific education in Brazil, influencing a generation of military officers and engineers. See: Richard Graham, *Britain and Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 36-37.

European notion of modernity and change which can be considered ideologically compatible with Sales's and Alves's vision of a Europeanized Rio. This, however, did not prevent the Positivists from executing an aggressive campaign against government policy.[88]

Positivist influence and presence in government allowed dissent against the government's urban policies to be articulated (and proliferated) initially through legal channels. Competition among an elite plurality, in the context of policy implementation, can best be described through the theorization of political scientist Robert Dahl (1967, 1972). For Dahl, the existence of numerous elites, challenging and proposing different ideals through government channels, contributes to maintaining a stable democratic order. Bargaining, negotiation, and compromise among elites can strongly influence peaceful solution to policy and crisis.[89] Dahl based his ideas on the pluralistic democracy of the United States and not on the limited democracy in Brazil at the turn of the twentieth century.[90] Nonetheless, I argue that these ideas can be transplanted into the Brazilian context, particularly as Brazil's constitution was molded and inspired by the political system in the U.S.[91] Positivist opposition to the Alves administration thus arose through a conflicting, yet legal, vision of urban change.

Prominent anti-government Positivists, whose voices echoed in Brazil's congressional chambers, included Vicente de Souza, Lauro Sodré, Barbosa Lima, Erico

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[88] There was no ideological cohesion in Positivist doctrine during this period. Under the Positivist slogan of *Ordem e Progesso,* there was very little in ideology preventing the movement from joining the conservative government and its civilizing mission. See: Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio,* 98.
[89] Martin Marger, *Elites and Masses: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, *Second Edition* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company)*,* 77.
[90] This limited democracy can be defined most explicitly as such based on the restriction of the franchise.
[91] Clayton Cooper, *The Brazilians and their Country* (London: William Heinemann, 1919), 76.

Coelho, and Barata Ribeiro. The focus of their opposition centered on Cruz's public health campaign, and specifically on the proposal for obligatory vaccination. They denounced the proposed law's violation against citizens' individual rights. These individual rights, laid out during the conception of the republic, promised to expand educational opportunity and to safeguard the population's health.[92] The Positivists argued that obligatory vaccination, a major proponent of Cruz's campaign, acted against these rights. The fact that the government's public health policies were entrenched in scientific reason, the basis of Positivist thought, did not deter the Positivist effort to eventually use public health as the pretext for garnering support for an anti-government movement.

One of the most vocal opposition voices in the Brazilian national congress came from Ribeiro. He was one of the leaders of the anti-vaccination campaign. However, similar to the views of other opposition elites, there was considerable inconsistency in Ribeiro's articulated beliefs. When he acted as Rio's first mayor from 1892 to 1893, his policies very much mirrored Passos's ideals of a decade later. Ribeiro sought to reform and sanitize the capital city through the destruction of *cortiços* and other urban reforms.[93] Ribeiro's opposition is also interesting for the fact that while attacking the vaccination law for its seeming violation on the rights of individuals, he offered no opposition to President Sales's laws of November 1902. These policy implementations had outlawed perceived maladies such as vagrancy, alcoholism, and prostitution. The inconsistency in articulated beliefs did not diminish Positivist disapproval towards Cruz's public health

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[92] Joseph Love, "The Brazilian Federal State in the Old Republic (1889-1930): Did Regime Change Make a Difference?" *Lemann Institute of Brazilian Studies,* http://avalon.utadeo.edu.co/comunidades/grupos/ache/pdf/love-brazilian-federal-state1.pdf [accessed 02-20-2016], 7.

[93] Jean, "Guardians of Order," 30-31.

campaign. Until at least the *revolta*, Positivists highlighted the apparent discrimination of Cruz's policies on citizens' individual rights.

Like Ribeiro, Lima and Coelho also relentlessly spoke out in government against the proposed obligatory vaccination law. Lima, Governor of Pernambuco until 1896, tenaciously criticized the methods of the country's reform campaign both during and after his term in office. On August 28, 1904, he spoke of the profound differences in the professional opinions of doctors in relation to the efficacy of vaccination. The Positivists themselves, he concurrently proclaimed, were truly tolerant and defenders of the principles of democracy.[94] Coelho was just as resolute. He had graduated from Rio de Janeiro's School of Medicine in 1870, after which he assumed numerous prominent positions in government. During the time of the *revolta*, he occupied a seat in the republic's House of Representatives. Coelho on October 5, 1904, spoke out against obligatory vaccination to the government's Chamber of Deputies, while emphasizing a nostalgia for the monarchical period.[95] A report by *O Commercio de São Paulo* suggested that Coelho, in reminiscing on the monarchy, was championing a "dead cat," and was serving simply to "shame" the Republic.[96] The paper's rhetoric sought to disregard assertions such as Coelho's and Lima's as irrational.

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[94] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, "Telegramas," 28 August 1904 (N. 3768), 1.
[95] "In a formal sense, some have argued that the Empire, for most of its life, was more democratic than the early Republic in that a much broader suffrage prevailed than under the early Republic", see: Love, "The Brazilian Federal State in the Old Republic (1889-1930)", 6.
[96] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, "Notas Fluminenses," 6 October 1904 (N. 3807), 1.

Revista da Semana, 2 October 1904 (N. 228). A cartoon mocking Barbosa Lima for his outspoken anti-vaccination views. It depicts him as a frail figure dreaming of "knives, daggers, cannons, vaccine lancets, medical vaccinators, and a multitude of other bloodcurdling things."

2.2

Anti-government newspapers of the period provided an effective channel for the Positivists to articulate dissent. Articles regularly professed that the constitutional rights of the individual were under threat and inhibited by an aggressive public health policy. Many newspapers, articulating this Positivist rhetoric, emphasized the maladies a person

could contract in being subjected to vaccination, alongside the despotic implications of the proposed law. Journalists from the *Correio da Manhã,* on October 12, 1904, suggested that the obligatory vaccination bill was one of the most appalling proposals to arise from the "forges of the legislative powers," described particularly as a threat against the "Brazilian family."[97] The Positivist endeavor was to illuminate the illegality in the urban changes sought by Alves's administration.

This viewpoint was not limited to newspaper channels. Positivists fervently distributed their propaganda by various means. One method involved the distribution of leaflets on streets, at homes, and on street-cars, in an attempt to stir a deep-rooted anxiety in opposition to the state. On August 3, 1904, *O Commercio* reported the seizure by the police of a large amount of Positivist anti-vaccination leaflets, rousing people to resist the proposed law for obligatory vaccination. The newspaper brought to attention rumors of "public order disturbances," a precursor to the turmoil that would unfold three months later in the November *revolta*. The police force was placed on high alert. Cardoso de Castro, the chief of police, had been given strict orders to repress any disorder; the police brigade and the marine infantry corps were ready to act at a moment's notice.[98] The state was prepared to use force as a means to prevent anarchy in the face of impending violence in protection of the government, its institutions, and the urban change it sought to implement.

The pro-government press riposted Positivist rhetoric with extensive reporting surrounding the absurdity of Positivist assertions. *O Paiz,* for example, reported that

[97] *Correio da Manhã*, 12 October 1904 (N. 1217), 1.
[98] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, "Rio," 3 August 1904 (N. 3743), 1.

Positivist sectarianism was encouraging people to resist the "despotism" of vaccination, on the false implication that it caused tuberculosis, diphtheria, and syphilis. It is important to note that the Positivist leadership used such claims liberally and dishonestly. For example, the Positivist Sodré, Senator of the Federal District in 1904, had in fact vaccinated his own children against smallpox.[99] Lima, as governor of Pernambuco from 1892 to 1896, also widely distributed vaccine to repel smallpox.[100] The pages of *O Paiz* concluded that "it would be a sad reality for our society, if they [Positivists] prevailed over the foresight of its [obligatory vaccination] authorization by the Senate."[101] As well as accepting the efficacy of vaccination, the paper resoundingly acknowledged the authority of the government and its legal institutions, over the "subversive propaganda" employed by the Positivists.

The implication from the government was that not only was obligatory vaccination a necessity, but that the direct actions of the Positivists were exacerbating the spread of disease. Many papers would uncompromisingly advise that vaccination was the only means by which its spread could be effectively curbed.[102] A rhetorical assault on Positivist ideology was defensible; the repercussions of an unvaccinated population could devastate the city. In October 1904, *O Commercio* reported the Positivists' theories to be "illusory" and "illogical," in particular in their claim that they were acting from "altruistic" motivations. Altruism, *O Commercio's* authors would declare, should not

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[99] Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio,* 97.
[100] Barbosa Lima, because of this smallpox outbreak, sent a doctor to the *Institut Pasteur* in Paris to learn the most up-to-date information in the prevention of microbiological disease. See: Meade, *"Civilizing" Rio,* 97.
[101] *O Paiz*, "A Vaccina," 22 July, 1904 (N. 7227), 1.
[102] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, 27 July 1904 (N. 3736), 1.

subject people to avoidable illness.[103] This criticism held the Positivists' claims to be dishonest and hazardous to the collective health of the population.

The Positivists' attack on Rio's proposed modernization through an obligatory vaccination campaign was judged by writers of *O Commercio* to be both "unreasonable" and "disastrous". Unreasonable because their claims were not based on scientific criteria; disastrous because less informed individuals, easily convinced by contrary and exaggerated information, let themselves be influenced by Positivist rhetoric.[104] The implication was that the *masses* needed to be educated, and that the government was there to provide this education in place of a Positivist indoctrination. *O Commercio* reported that people were being blindly led astray by Positivist claims. The conflicting attitudes in the newspapers (one side – i.e. *Correio da Manhã* – suggesting the government's actions to be inimical to the Brazilian people, while the other – i.e. *O Commercio* – incriminating the Positivists), reflects a highly ambiguous conflict, with both sides seeking to defame the other's credibility in the pursuit of modernization and urban change in a *belle époque* Rio.

2.3.

What happens when negotiation through legal channels proves unsuccessful? Here we must recall decree N. 939 implemented by Alves in 1902, and its granting of authority to those in his administration to bypass congressional debate. Lacking legal

[103] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, 1 October 1904 (N. 3802), 1.
[104] *O Commercio de São Paulo*, 27 July 1904 (N. 3736), p. 1.

channels to propose policy alternatives, an elite opposition would find alternate methods to encourage dissent. In November 1904, the month in which the bill for obligatory vaccination was to take effect, the anti-vaccination movement approached its apogee. The anti-government Positivists under the principal leadership of Souza, Sodré, and Lima,[105] formed the *Liga Contra a Vaccinação,*[106] (League Against Vaccination) and through it, directly incited the people to revolt using public concerns on vaccination as a smokescreen for their aspirations to overthrow the government.[107]

The state and the pro-government *carioca* elite put all efforts into discrediting this Positivist endeavor. On November 6, 1904, *O Paiz* reported on the formation of the *Liga*, which had taken place in the *Centro das Classes Operarias* a day before. The report addressed the violence encouraged by the Positivist leadership. Sodré was shown to rouse spectators into operating above the law to overturn the imminent obligatory vaccination bill. Souza, in turn, seemingly painted a "horrible picture" of the maladies caused by vaccination, ending his speech by inciting the *Centro's* crowd to act devoid of inhibitions against the government's urban and public health policies.[108] *O Paiz's* writers expressed anguish at the unpredictability of Positivist thought and action. They represented the rhetoric employed in the meeting as an incitement to violence, damaging to the government's positive change executed upon the city's urban fabric.

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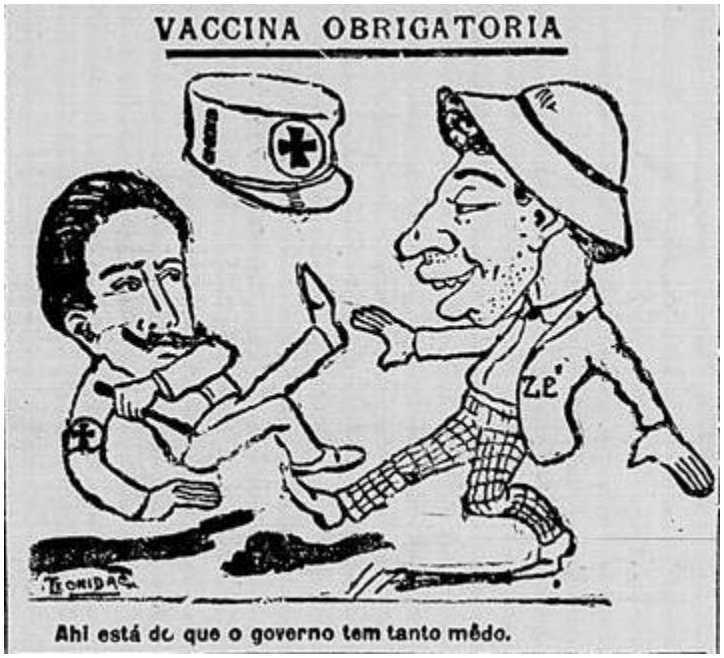
[105] For a more detailed narrative of these key Positivist figures during the *revolta da vacina* of 1904, see: Nachman, "Positivism and Revolution".
[106] *O Paiz*, "Liga Contra a Vaccinação," 6 November 1904 (N. 7334), 1.
[107] Souza was President of the *Centro das Classes Operárias* (Center for the Working Classes) during the campaign against obligatory vaccination. During this time, he gave exclusive access to the Centro's platform for use by the Positivists. He effectively tied working-class concerns to those of the middle-class Positivists.
[108] *O Paiz*, 6 November 1904 (N. 7334), 1.

Two thousand people attended the meeting in the *Centro* on November 5. Police presence in the vicinity was overwhelming, as patrols on foot and horseback scoured the area to combat imminent disorder. A transcript of Sodré's and Souza's speeches by the *Correio da Manhã*, reveals a rhetoric inciting people to resist the government's policies both within and without the law, and to disregard possible heavy-handed reaction by the government.[109] The spectators, upon leaving the *Centro* that day, unable to contain their "justifiable indignation," became involved in several demonstrations. The government's plans for modernization were struck a damaging blow. Articles in both *O Paiz* and the *Correio da Manhã* highlighted how Sodré and Souza had encouraged rebellion; *O Paiz* denouncing the incitement, the *Correio da Manhã* advocating for its necessity.



Correio da Manhã, 11 October 1904 (N. 1216), "That is what the government is so afraid of."

[109] *Correio da Manhã*, "Liga Contra a Vaccinação Obrigatoria," 6 November 1904 (N. 1242), 1.

On 10 November, Sodré denied to the senate that he had incited resistance "by the gun" against the government's proposed vaccination law, in the November 5 *Liga* meeting. Sodré reaffirmed that he would succeed in his goals by employing strictly "legal" measures. *O Paiz*'s writers pleaded with their readership to repudiate such claims. For the pro-government press, Sodré's message was clear: the annulment of the law or "revolution!" For the state and for its supporters, the anti-vaccination movement had submitted a violent threat, which had proposed that all government powers bow down to the revolutionists' "sword." For *O Paiz,* no "benevolent" motive could be used to justify such provocation.[110]

O Paiz's writers vilified Sodré's rhetoric. In doing so, they described him as a disgrace to his "class" position, and as a manipulator of the "simplicity and ignorance of the masses of the population." This perfectly emphasized the class dynamics of the conflict. The *revolta* was motivated and manipulated by class divisions and an intra-elite rivalry. Thus, it seems highly unlikely that the Positivist opposition was completely motivated by science and reason, the foundations of Cruz's public health policy. *O Paiz's* attack on Sodré became grounded in the insistence that obligatory vaccination was law, following the definitive vote by the National Congress on the matter. This law sought the adoption of urbanization policies that had already been implemented to great success in other "more advanced countries." The Brazilian public, *O Paiz* would report, was on the government's side.

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[110] *O Paiz,* "O Dilemma do Sr. Sodré," 10 November 1904 (N. 7338), 1.

O Paiz authoritatively summed up the position of a pro-government disposition in its November 20, 1904 issue:

> *"The focus is on serving the people. We would not be serving the people, if by speculation or weakness, we had fed the deceitful, revolting, of bad faith, perfidious and vile, propaganda that was distributed with the purpose of bringing people to the streets, to cause riots, to put lives at risk, to circumvent the public spirit, to create an atmosphere of distrust and fear that would weaken the government, so that the final assault would be made that much easier. On the contrary, we have always told the truth…. The blood of his [Sodré] victims, the bodies of those unlucky people who believed in him, the cadavers of those sacrificed for his ambition, should weigh on his conscience as an eternal regret… this is indeed an effectively stable government, capable of ensuring internal order against all manner of surprises and against all conspiracies."*[111]

Competing notions of urban renewal, this paper's writers claimed, were incapacitating the progress of a stable government, as well as upsetting the very fabric of the social order. All the people were required to do was educate themselves on the benefits of government policy, and in so doing, "smile."[112] Of course, this perspective neglected the authoritarian nature of the state; a reality the reader must be continually reminded of. Whether the motivation for the Positivist backlash was driven by noble intentions or

[111] *O Paiz*, "A Conspiração," 16 November 1904 (N. 7344), 1.
[112] *O Paiz,* "O Dilemma do Sr. Sodré," 10 November 1904 (N. 7338), 1.

otherwise, this was ultimately an elite power-struggle, with both sides exploiting a disenfranchised population.

The Exposição Nacional

2.4

Rio's *Exposição Nacional* of 1908 can be considered an epitome of the success of government urban renewal, according to the definitions given for urban reform by the exhibition organizers. Ricardo Amaral and Raquel Oguri describe the 1908 exhibition as "an incredible and well organized cultural *miscelânea*." They affirm that the mere fact that Rio could host more than a million people at the exhibition was proof enough of the significance of the event, for Brazil and for the world.[113] In the context of urban transformation, the organization of an exhibition to officially commemorate the opening of Brazil's ports to international commerce and free trade, can be seen as the grand finale of the project of urban renewal that took place from 1903 to 1906 under Alves's administration. The debates surrounding Rio's urban renewal continued after Alves left office. The exhibition symbolized the embodiment of the ambitions of Rio's ruling elite, representing an urban display case of a modern Brazil for both a national and international audience, with Sales's and Alves's urban reforms providing the backdrop for the motivations for mounting the exhibition.

[113] Ricardo Amaral and Raquel Oguri, *A Cara do Rio* (Rio de Janeiro: Sextante, 2016), 381.

The exhibition was a showcase of urban renewal. The newspaper, *A Notícia*, affirmed that, "Yesterday, Rio de Janeiro observed the joy of some 60 thousand people strolling through enchanted avenues on the sea shore, while experiencing the luxurious salons in which the energy and the *força brasileira* are flaunted gloriously." The magazine *Kosmos*, less bombastically, yet still enormously suggestive of the positive urban change enacted upon the city, suggested that: "It seems still a dream the unexpected appearance of that small city on the shores of the Urca […] The great national fair, that President Afonso Pena organized, under the lavish pretext of commemorating the centenary of the opening of Brazil's ports to international commerce."[114] Both perspectives praise Rio's modern urban development, focusing on the exhibition as the pinnacle of urban renewal.

Praise and support for a *belle époque* project, which would culminate in an exhibition, relied on the transplantation of Europeanized notions of development into Brazil. Before hosting the National Exhibition of 1908, Brazilians participated in most international exhibitions around the world. I argue that this encouraged an exhibitionary culture to develop in Brazil.[115] This also offered the country's citizens the opportunity to be gradually joined into a network of international relationships, shaped by the processes of modernization.[116] The motivations for participating in international exhibitions were determined by nation-specific agendas.[117] For Brazil, the showcasing of its products and

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[114] Amaral and Raquel Oguri, *A Cara do Rio*, 381.
[115] The term "exhibitionary culture" was coined by Tony Bennett in 1988 in his dialogue of the "exhibitionary complex." It has been used in most studies of international exhibitions since.
[116] Guido Abbattista (ed.), *Moving Bodies, Displaying Nations: National Cultures, Race and Gender in World Expositions, Nineteenth to Twenty-first Century* (Triestte: Edizioni Universita di Trieste, 2014), 10.
[117] Livia Rezende, "Nature and the Brazilian State at the Independence Centennial International Exhibition in Rio de Janeiro, 1922," in Marta Filipova, ed. *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 166.

manufactures promoted to the world the image of itself as an economic powerhouse. For this purpose, Brazil erected pavilions in Philadelphia's Universal Exhibition of 1876, in the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889 in Paris, in the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893, and in the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904, each granting it a platform of display alongside other nations. The exposure to an exhibitionary culture, in Europe and in the United States, may well have influenced the Brazilian government's displays of modernization and urban development in Rio. The Brazilian government, under Alves and Afonso Pena (President, 1906-1909), thus aspired to a standard set by international powers, which influenced a *belle époque* ideal.

This ideal was intrinsically economically motivated. Just as the construction of the *Avenida Central* and Rio's modern port under Muller's and Passos's reforms had served an economic purpose, the exhibition represented an effort to tie Brazil economically with western powers. In Philadelphia's Universal Exhibition of 1876, the United States' organizers described Brazil as a promising participant on the world's stage. "If, as yet, Brazil has not appeared as a competitor at Universal Exhibitions, it will be admitted, that they have afforded to the country opportunities of becoming known."[118] Brazil was attempting to assert its place as a competitor in an ever-more economically interdependent network.[119] Furthermore, the official report of the 1908 Exhibition declared that the hosting of an exhibition would help determine the country's economic

[118] Guidebook, *The Empire of Brazil at the Universal Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia e Lithographia do Imperial Instituto Artistico, 1876), III.
[119] Heloisa Barbuy, "O Brasil vai a Paris em 1889: um lugar na Exposição Universal", *Annais do Museu Paulista* 4, no. 1 (1996), 211.

development over time, and as a consequence, its current economic state.[120] The exhibition was thus rooted and legitimized in a display of the country's economic development.

A commemoration to demonstrate the country's economic development was accomplished by prioritizing four sectors of display: "agriculture", "pastoral industry," "other industries," and the "fine arts."[121] All except the last represented explicit representations of industry and commerce, particularly promoting advances in urban policies. The financial credit for the exhibition was approved in the country's December 30, 1906 budget report, which allowed the government to prioritize and promote the country's successes in these main industries.[122] What official reports failed to indicate was that Brazil's economy had been dependent, for most of its post-colonial life, on the vagaries of an external market.[123] Brazil's industrialization in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had been contingent on foreign investment and loans, particularly from Britain. By 1914, there was a public external debt in Brazil of 717 million US dollars, eighty-three percent of which was owed to the United Kingdom.[124] An exhibition celebrating Brazil's economic prowess, without declaring the importance of and reliance

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[120] *Relatorio do Ministerio da Industria, Viação e Obras Publicas, Volume 1* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1908), 25.
[121] *Relatorio do Ministerio da Industria, Viação e Obras Publicas,* 27.
[122] By this time Rodrigues Alves had been succeeded by Afonso Pena as president of the republic. Pena would serve until 1909.
[123] Otto Solbrig, "Structure, performance, and policy in agriculture", in Victor Bulmer-Thomas, John Coatsworth, and Roberto Cortes-Conde, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America: Volume 2, The Long Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 484.
[124] Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence: Third Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 174.

on international investments into Brazil, concealed the foreign dependence surrounding the country's urbanization campaign.

This dependence reinforced Brazil's incorporation into a western market. This undeniably influenced the representations of elite European- and U.S.-inspired culture at the exhibition. The economically and internationally motivated representations, gleaned as mentioned from Brazil's participation in other exhibitions around the world, were what the Brazilian organizers believed to be the pinnacle of progress and modernization. In this endeavor, the 1908 exhibition represented the epitome of urban renewal of the previous years.

2.5

In order to complete this analysis of urban reform and its many supporters and challengers, it is important to note the reception and rhetoric of both foreign and national invitees to the exhibition. The U.S. traveler to Rio, Marie Robinson Wright, was tasked with writing the official U.S. souvenir book of Rio's National Exhibition of 1908. Wright "rejoice[d] in the success of a magnificent exhibit of national industries so artistically arranged in the handsome palaces and smart pavilions on the historic grounds of the *Praia Vermelha."*[125] Wright's account of the exhibition emphasized the aesthetic character of the fair. As I will demonstrate, her articulation very much mirrored the principal motivations of the organizers themselves.

[125] Marie Robinson Wright, *The Brazilian National Exposition of 1908* (Philadelphia: George Barrie & Sons, 1908), 4.

Bilac, the Brazilian *cronista* and editor of the *Jornal da Exposição*, the official newspaper bulletin of the exhibition, epitomizes in his writing this focus on the aesthetics of Rio and the Exhibition environment in the project of national affirmation. In many of his *cronicas*, Bilac encouraged his readers to engage in Rio's evolving urban and social environment. In this endeavor, Bilac portrayed Brazil as a country that had finally entered into the cohort of civilized nations. In order to embrace the advancement of civilization, Bilac saw as essential a population's compliance with material and aesthetic progress. This was a position which went hand in hand with the government's plans of beautification and sanitation, representative of the *carioca belle époque*. Antonio Dimas concisely summarizes Bilac's relationship with Rio's government: "Fitting together so harmoniously, and coinciding in their motivations for national affirmation, Bilac and the Exhibition became a cohesive unit, to the point that the *cronista* became the official journalist of the event."[126] It is interesting to note also how perfectly Wright's foreign account mirrored the message of praise for the urban aesthetic ideal. This representation became prevalent to a national and international audience.

Thus, the epitome of urban renewal and modernization was displayed in the exhibition façade, designed to fully appeal to international visitors. The location of the exhibition was intrinsic to this façade, helping to confirm the government's Europeanization project. The organizers settled for the *Praia Vermelha*, the location of an abandoned military school, as the exhibition site. The *Praia* was chosen primarily for its "beautiful panoramas."[127] Fittingly, the beach location looked out upon the Atlantic

[126] Antonio Dimas, *Bilac, o Jornalista: Ensaios* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2002), 15.
[127] *Relatorio do Ministerio da Industria, Viação e Obras Publicas, 1908,* 30.

Ocean, in true commemorative fashion of the opening of the country's ports. Amidst the ongoing construction works, on July 12, 1908, writers of the *Revista da Semana* declared that the National Exhibition would become one of the "proudest national events the world had ever seen." This endorsement, it claimed, would come from foreign visitors, thousands of whom had already arrived in Rio in anticipation of the exhibition's inauguration.[128] For the organizers, it was the international presence which was most important. Visitors to the exhibition such as Wright would help confirm the success of Brazil's *belle époque* and the government's project of urban renewal.

While Wright strongly praised the 1908 exhibition as the pinnacle and success of the urban reform implemented by Alves and Afonso Pena, other countering perspectives would also proliferate. The U.S. delegate to the exhibition, Eugene Seeger, was infuriated at his receiving an "unsatisfactory" reception by his Brazilian hosts. Seeger was purportedly not granted an invitation to partake in the many official functions of the Exhibition. He describes his experience as a "flagrant discourtesy as a guest at your Exposition, sent as a representative of the United States of North America." He contrasted this to the reception foreign delegates would receive at equivalent U.S. exhibitions.[129] Adding fuel to the fire, Seeger declared that the U.S. had shown greater hospitality to even the most "semi-barbarous peoples of Asia and of Africa."[130] Brazil here is granted a second-class status, in contrast of the exhibition organizers' aims.

[128] *Revista da Semana*, "Chroniqueta," 12 July 1908 (N. 426).
[129] In this instance, Seeger draws reference to the expositions of Chicago and Saint Louis.
[130] Letter from 25 October 1908, from Eugene Seeger to Secretary of the Directorio Executivoda Commissão da Exposição Nacional Brasileira de 1908, Arquivo do Palacio do Itamaraty.

Bilac, in isolated incidences, can be seen to inadvertently reinforce the second-class status granted to Brazil by the U.S. delegate. Bilac in one instance engaged with a disheartened U.S. tourist at the exhibition site. The foreigner confronted Bilac by declaring that in hosting a "great fair," there should not be "a country, or city, or community, that does not sacrifice everything to highlight their power, fortune, and desire to prosper." The foreigner pointed at the failure to achieve this in Rio. In the *Jornal,* Bilac suggested to his readers that the foreigner's complaints were unjust. Bilac suggested that Brazil had only recently achieved a status of political and social unity. The picture Bilac provided, while attempting to sanctify a political and social convergence in Brazil, only reinforced an image of disunity by highlighting divergences in the level of success in Rio's urban development.

One ambition behind the hosting of an exhibition in Rio was to compete with elites in Buenos Aires in the urbanizing endeavors of the *porteños*. It was not lost on the Brazilian organizers that they had beaten the Argentinians by two years in hosting a centennial celebration (of independence, in the Argentines' case).[131] National unity against the Argentinians, however, did not translate into regional harmony. The exhibition hosted in 1908 was first and foremost a *national* exhibition. As such, the federal government in Rio demanded the full support and participation of Brazil's regional governments. Here we must recall the elite power struggles caused by the *politica dos governadores,* which granted a skewed authority to the states of Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais. To the anxiety of an elite in Rio, regional dissatisfaction resulted in conflicting representations at the exhibition. For oversight purposes, an exhibition

[131] Joseph Love, *The Revolt of the Whip* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 4.

commission in charge of the exhibition's organization was set up. This commission was voted in on October 10, 1907, and consisted of a president (Dr. Antonio Olyntho), a secretary-general, three vice-presidents, and thirty-six members, all nominated by the Ministry of Industry, Roads, and Public Works. Seven of the commission members were sent to work alongside the state governments in order to promote the exhibition in the participating states. The official exhibition report declared that full state cooperation was essential to ensure that the "event shine bright".[132] The federal government hoped that each state would represent itself to its greatest capacity. Supervision by the commission members ensured that state representatives did not stray from the urban ideal promoted by Pena's administration, enforcing regional accord for the urban renewal of the *belle époque.*

Gilberto Freyre exposes a gulf in this mission, claiming in a 1957 book that the exhibition project only benefitted richer states such as São Paulo and Minas Gerais. This caused tensions in different regions of the country. At one level, the exhibition represented an industrial development campaign which sidelined many state governments.

> *"The Exposition of 1908 seemed almost pretentiously self-deceptive, and those from Amazonas and Paraná who came to visit it on the proudly nationalistic ships of Lloyd Brasileiro must have felt the cruel injustice of*

[132] *Relatorio do Ministerio da Industria, Viação e Obras Publicas, 1908,* 26.

> *a protection which meant nothing for nonmanufacturing regions like their own.''*[133]

A government platform which fundamentally celebrated and incentivized the international export of coffee, in the protective politics of *café-com-leite*, did not favor the interests of the majority of Brazil's state governments.[134] Consequently, only the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Bahia, Santa Catharina, and the Federal District of Rio, erected private pavilions for the promotion of their products at the exhibition site.[135] Many regional governments, such as Paraná or Amazonas, evidently had very little to offer in a celebration of European-inspired rhetoric, aesthetics, and industrial development promoted by the exhibition organizers in Rio.[136]

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For many of the city's intellectual elites, the exhibition represented an opportunity to showcase the urban transformations that had changed Rio from a perceived *backwards* colonial tradition, into a modern *civilized* state. This transformative mission of the

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[133] Gilberto Freyre, *Order and Progress: Brazil from Monarchy to Republic* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1986), 267.
[134] *Café-com-leite* refers to the domination of the Brazilian political system by regional oligarchies in São Paulo and Minas Gerais, the major coffee and dairy producers in the country.
[135] *Relatorio do Ministerio da Industria, Viação e Obras Publicas*, *1908,* 32.
[136] The organizers also permitted the display of foreign agricultural machinery in the exhibition complex, with Germany and the United States at the forefront of this display. (See: *Relatorio do Ministerio da Industria, Viação e Obras Publicas*, *1908,* 32) This can be seen to inhibit the production of internal manufactures and expressions of innovation.

exhibition would many years later be officially articulated in international exhibition rhetoric. *Article 1* from the 1928 Paris Convention of the *Bureau International des Expositions*, the regulatory body for international exhibitions around the world, described the main aims of an exhibition. It declared that an exhibition may "demonstrate the progress achieved in one or more branches of human endeavor, or show prospects for the future."[137] Bilac in his exhibition *cronicas* emphasized the above ideals by championing the success of the government's urban reforms in turn-of-the-century Rio. As an example of the intelligentsia in support of the government's Europeanized urbanization, Bilac became, through his *cronicas*, the government's mouthpiece in his promotion of Rio's transition from a supposed barbarity into "modernity."[138]

Bilac is a perfect representation of the *belle époque* intellectual elite in Rio. As the intellectual Coelho Netto suggested, to be accepted as a man of letters in Brazil during the period required living, or at least publishing, in Rio. For Netto Rio was "a sumptuous, cultured, intellectual, and noble city, where intellectuals were looked at with admiration and respect, like in Florence in the time of the Medicis."[139] Bilac entirely immersed himself in the day-to-day life of the city, devoting an enormous amount of his work to analyzing and praising the development of Rio's urban landscape. Brito Broca (1903-1961), a famous scholar of the *fin-de-siècle* tradition in Rio, suggests that the topic and style of the intellectual elite's work was more vital than the content of the literature

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[137] "The 1928 Paris Convention", *Official site of Bureau International des Expositions*, http://www.bie-paris.org/site/images/stories/files/BIE_Convention_eng.pdf [accessed 01-15-2017], 7.
[138] Of note: during the time of Passos's reforms, Bilac had been granted a position in Passos's municipal administration, championing the mayor's reforms. For Needell, "the racism and Eurocentricity of his prose is egregious, and typically *belle époque."* See: Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque,* 202.
[139] Coelho Netto, *A conquista,* Biblioteca Virtual de Literatura, http://www.dominiopublico.gov.br/download/texto/bi000137.pdf [accessed 03-20-2017].

itself.[140] Bilac's narrow emphasis on a European notion of modernity, and his subsequent success in gaining favor with Rio's governing elite, particularly in being made editor of the *Jornal da Exposição* in 1908, highlights the relevance and importance of the European vision of urban renewal. Needell suggests that Bilac was a Republican, an Abolitionist, and a Francophile.[141] Bilac's success represents the potency in advocating for a modern European tradition during the period, built off of these three ideals.

Needell perfectly captures the sentiment of a white Brazilian elite class, desperately motivated to stand shoulder to shoulder with Londoners and Parisians across the Atlantic. For Needell, Rio's intelligentsia "lived out a fantasy of the Paris of which they all dreamed, within the thin, pulsing artery of Ouvidor… There they made their reputations and reigned, rhyming, declaiming, gossiping, and debating their ideals and dreams."[142] In this intellectual setting, Bilac helped initiate the Brazilian *Academia de Letras* in 1897, an organization inspired by "Francophile savants… an organization *à la Française*."[143] Here we see an example of the powerful expressions of a pro-European agenda from the city's intellectual elites, with Bilac at the helm. The pro-European vocalization represented a pledge for the importance of European-inspired urban renewal.

The bias in news coverage in support or opposition of the government's urban renewal campaign led to great attempts at transparency inside the exhibition. This was reflected in the exhibition displays. According to Marta Scherer, Bilac had an underlying

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[140] Brito Broca, *A vida literaria no Brasil, 1900* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1956), 3-4.

[141] Bilac shared these facets with intellectuals such as José do Patrocínio, Coelho Netto, and Aluísio Azevedo.

[142] Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque,* 189-190.

[143] It was founded as an institution to model *the Académie Française de Lettres.* See**:** Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque,* 192-194.

desire to paint an honest and objective picture of Rio's modern urban life, expressed most explicitly in his writing. Scherer references one of Bilac's *cronicas* from the *Correio Paulistano,* in which he claims that the "newspaper, written, composed, and printed in the *Exposição,* in full view of the public, will be a great lesson of things."[144] Illuminating a *transparent* newspaper was one way this could be achieved. The "pavilion of the press," a building made of great glass panels, revealed to a spectating exhibition audience the inner-workings of a modern publishing house. It allowed passers-by to witness the writing and publishing of the *Jornal da Exposição* in real-time, before the paper's daily distribution. The pavilion represented the epitome of a didactic project: to educate a Brazilian audience. Exhibition *flaneurs* would walk past the pavilion, peer through its many windows, and appreciate and learn about the journalists and printing-press at work. For readers, the pages of newspapers had become an informative vehicle of information, opinion, and publicity, for a new "civilized" Brazil. For exhibition organizers, it became essential that people learned to trust the medium.[145]

Alongside the printing-press pavilion, Bilac's *cronica* itself was a major avenue in which the project of urban renewal was communicated. Bilac wrote of his own role in effectively communicating the exhibition as a modernizing project through his writing, declaring that without the publication of the *Jornal da Exposição,* the Exhibition would be "irremediably lost."

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[144] Marta Scherer, *Imprensa e belle époque: Olavo Bilac, O Jornalismo e suas Historias* (Palhoca: Ed. Unisal, 2012), 132.
[145] Scherer, *Imprensa e belle époque,* 52-59.

> *"The first thought that comes to a carioca as he wakes up in the morning is this: "what will the Exposition have in store today?" – And quickly they turn to read what the journalists have to say. And in reading the newspaper texts, curiosity is revived, enthusiasm reanimated, rekindling the desire to sustain this brilliant manifestation of our nation."*[146]

Bilac interpreted his writing as a "guide to the masses," successfully succeeding in "animating" the Exhibition, while defining its purpose of conveying the government's project of urban renewal.

Thus Bilac focused the exhibition *cronica* on positive analyses of the government's turn-of-the-century urban reforms. One example which epitomizes this perspective involved a chance encounter Bilac had with an old friend in the Exhibition grounds. Bilac described this friend as a "dreamer of the past."[147] The *cronica* as a journalistic genre allowed for an amalgamation of fact and opinion.[148] In the narrative of this particular *cronica*, the amalgamation is strikingly present, in which the reality of the city's urban changes is presented in two dialectic viewpoints. For Bilac's friend, Rio had been devastated by the progress of civilization, to the extent that he became "overwhelmed" at the vanishing of the city's "*natural* beauty." Bilac challenges this view, explicitly favoring urban reform. The *cronica's* narrative sees both men look up to the *Pão de Açúcar*, as the friend laments the mountain as one of the last remnants of Rio's natural wonders: *"O unico recanto virgem que ainda temos e o Pão de Assúcar!"*

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[146] Antonio Dimas, *Bilac*, *O Jornalista: Cronicas, V. 2*, (São Paulo: Editora Cultrix, 1994), 289.
[147] *Jornal da Exposição,* "Cronica," 8 September 1908, (N.3.), 1.
[148] Luciana Nascimento, "Cartografias Urbanas: Literatura e Experiencia Urbana na Belle Epoque Carioca," *Mestrado em Letras: Linguagem, Cultura e Discurso – UNICOR* 12, no. 1 (2015), 3.

In articulating this heartache, the friend declared that rail tracks would allow Rio's citizens to soon climb to the mountain's summit, leaving in their wake an inevitable filth. He remarked that this is exactly what transpired with the Corcovado Mountain.[149] Bilac riposted, suggesting to his friend that if a track did exist, Rio's citizens would be presented with a greater beauty than that which they had ever encountered before. For Bilac, the friend was evidently ignorant of the potential in urban reform. The *cronica* emphasizes how modernization did not detract from the beauty of the city, but enhanced it. Bilac was lecturing his audience on how to respond to the reality of urban reform.

Bilac again encouraged his readers to embrace the city's urban reforms in a *cronica* which saw him welcome to the exposition the French artist and painter Georges Scott, a representative of the Parisian magazine *L'Illustration.*[150] In this case, Bilac's pro-European agenda is also emphasized. Scott is asked to describe his thoughts regarding "Rio, the exposition, the people, everything!" In response, Scott removed a briefcase and extracted from it a series of photographs. He suggested that pictures tell much more about a city than words could ever hope to achieve. While on the one hand the *cronica* narrative advocated for the advances in photographic technology, it also delivered a more significant message. Bilac explicitly highlighted the opportunity granted by Scott's photographs to reinforce a relationship between Rio and Paris. "*L'Illustration* features in Paris and in all of France, on all the shelves, on everyone's work table, in all the elegant salons, in all the *brasseries,* in all the homes." Bilac's words expressed the apparent need for a European affirmation of Rio's status as a modern city. A slight irony and self-

[149] Atop this mountain today now sits the *Cristo Redentor.*
[150] *Jornal da Exposição,* "Cronica," 19 September 1908, (N.14.), 1.

deprecation arises when Bilac declares that the most embellished words could never be valued as highly as pictures in describing a civilization and its people. It would be Scott's images which would grant the projection of urban projects such as the modern *Avenida Central* to a world-wide audience.

Underscoring Bilac's *cronicas* of 1908 was an aesthetic preoccupation in subject matter. This was often expressed quite explicitly. During the time of the Exhibition, a popular vote in the *Jornal do Commercio,* a widespread newspaper in Rio, encouraged audience members to vote on their favorite pavilion inside the exhibition grounds. Bilac suggested that voters would lack impartiality in the casting of their ballots.[151] For Bilac, however, this disingenuous voting was of little consequence. The importance of the competition lay in its success in popularizing the question of *"esthectica."* Bilac suggested aesthetics to be of intrinsic importance, particularly when judged next to other "misguided" preoccupations such as "*political* debate." Bilac declared that, "Even ten years ago, this competition would have been impossible. Because if ten years ago we had an exhibition like this one, there would be merely heinous sheds made of ordinary pine…" Bilac's emphasis on aesthetics in his *cronicas* is an attempt to unite people from all of Brazil along a shared superficial paradigm, in a country with deep political and socio-economic differences. Aesthetics is what united all of Brazil, according to Bilac, with Rio and its exhibition at the forefront of that aesthetic reality.

[151] While citizens of São Paulo would most likely vote for the pavilion of São Paulo, citizens of Minas Gerais would vote for the pavilion of Minas Gerais. See: *Jornal da Exposição*, "Cronica," 15 September 1908, (N.10.), 1.

Alongside the endeavor of uniting Brazilians along a common aesthetic preoccupation, Bilac also attempted to showcase Brazil's diversity. "The truth is that this great *patria* is made up of many small *patrias*."[152] Bilac suggested that while the "political constitution" might apply equally to all people, the Brazilian people were heavily divergent in their "modes of living, and in modes of experiencing sadness and delight." This, Bilac suggested, would both impress and seduce an audience in the Exhibition.[153] It is worth noting that while Bilac highlighted Brazil's *regional* diversity, it is restricted to focus on the higher echelons of society. In discussing Bahia, for example, a region known for the vibrancy of its African tradition, Bilac emphasized the state's musical talents in violins and *modinhas.*[154] Bilac thus reinforced a social stratification. I interpret Bilac's perceived discussion of diversity as a contradictory element in his writing. Bilac's *cronicas* invited readers to contemplate the differences and ambiguities of turn-of-the-century Rio and its citizens, but ultimately in a manifestation skewed towards the expressions of an upper class, without highlighting the reality of social differences. This can be paralleled to the analysis of the 1904 *revolta*, which exposed predominantly *elite* preoccupations of Rio's urban reforms.

While Bilac wrote extensively about the success of national regeneration, Bilac prioritized a dialogue with *foreigners* visiting the exhibition. This dialogue enforced notions of a foreign-inspired urban-renewal project. After exploring the exhibition for eight consecutive days, a tourist conveyed to Bilac his surprise at finding not all Brazilian

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[152] *Jornal da Exposição,* "Cronica," 16 September 1908, (N.11.), 1.
[153] Bilac declared, "A *riograndense* of the south for example, doesn't speak, doesn't eat, doesn't drink, doesn't have fun, like a *mineiro*, neither like a *paulista*, neither like a *bahiano*, neither like a *cearense*."
[154] The *modinha* is a form of Brazilian music of a Portuguese elite tradition.

states equally represented in the exhibition space. This manifestation was evident in the fact that not all representatives of states had constructed pavilions to exhibit their products.[155] Bilac chose not to reply to the foreigner, opting instead to directly engage with his *cronica* readership, declaring that an adequate response would be far too complicated for such a hurried conversation. Bilac distanced himself from the foreigner and his inability to grasp the social and political reality of Brazil during the period.

It might seem contradictory for Bilac to create distance between himself and the *foreigner* in his *cronica.* After all, it was an important facet of *belle époque* culture that Brazilians embrace western standards of urban and social life. It is true that an important motivation for the exhibition organizers was to situate Brazil in the circus of modern nations. It is also true, however, that the exhibition provided an opportunity, in particular in relation to Portugal, to emphasize Brazil's exceptionality. The Portuguese government was the only foreign government to be invited to construct a pavilion inside Rio's 1908 exhibition. It was thus granted an exalted position as friendly nation to Brazil. Wright, in her official account of the exhibition, emphasized the Portuguese's "advantageous position among the principal buildings of the Exposition… attract[ing] immediate attention as a handsome and artistic edifice."[156] Wright's focus is on the appreciative and reciprocated enthusiasm surrounding Portuguese participation. Bilac adopted an alternate vision of Brazil; one which did not shy from emphasizing Brazil's prominence in urban renewal. In one *cronica,* Bilac described Portugal as the only country with the "right" to enter Brazil without permission. Yet in doing so, Bilac personified Portugal as a "frail

[155] *Jornal da Exposição,* "Cronica," 9 September 1908, (N.4.), 1.
[156] Wright, *The Brazilian National Exposition of 1908,* 65.

grandparent;" one who would never be a stranger in the house of his grandchildren. It is an emphatic declaration which severs the strings tying Brazil to its colonial past. Bilac suggests that the time in 1908 was ripe for "a celebration of Brazil," explicitly "for *Brazilians*." Alongside the Portuguese pavilion, a statue of the Portuguese monarch D. Joao VI was also erected. This statue provided further fuel for Bilac's affirmation of Brazilian ascendancy: "D. Joao VI discovered Brazil for Brazil *itself*. It is only fair that the statue of *our* Prince Regent should be situated there, dominating a magnificent construction of a Portuguese palace on Brazilian territory."[157] While Bilac tied Brazil to a Portuguese heritage, he was not shy in amplifying the distance between the two countries. There was no subtlety in Bilac's conclusion: the exhibition and its urban renewal project represented a "festa *Brasileira!"*

While Bilac emphasized this "Brazilian party," it must be noted again that exhibition organizers ultimately wanted to showcase a Brazil that could welcome the outside world. The newspapers and magazines of the period reveal the mentality that presided over the commemorations in 1908, guided always towards the glorification of a country in search of international affirmation. External influences were orienting Brazil's desire to be inserted into the western world.[158] With the exhibition providing an affirmation of the country's commercial viability and its political maturity, the ruling elite believed that they could accentuate Brazil's international status.

For readers both international and national, Bilac's *cronicas* offered a symbolic, moral, social, and aesthetic critique of the *belle époque*, and the position that the

[157] *Jornal da Exposição,* "Cronica," 7 September 1908, (N.2.), 1.
[158] Scherer, *Imprensa e belle époque*, 12.

exhibition and its audience members played in the wider framework of society and urban renewal. Bilac as editor of the *Jornal* was granted a platform to communicate his ideas. The *Jornal*, and consequently Bilac's *cronica,* was distributed to a large audience in the exhibition grounds. In total, over one million paying fair-goers attended the exhibition, granting them first-hand access to the paper. Rio's citizens, already accustomed to the genre of the *cronica* from the daily and weekly newspapers of the city, would have found in the *Jornal's cronica* a familiar genre. Bilac therefore offered to his exhibition readers an engrossing critique of the urban and social fabric of Rio de Janeiro, as a form of entertainment and media. Thus, in a time before the advent of radio and television, Bilac was granted a sizeable stage on which to execute an analysis of Rio's urban renewal.

For Bilac, Rio's turn-of the-century urban renewal represented a transition to a more "civilized" Brazil. In one *cronica,* he described the massive urban construction in the center of Rio as a "stride towards our rehabilitation."[159] Projects such as the construction of the *Avenida Central* represented the epitome of this transition. For Bilac, Rio's turn-of-the-century reforms therefore offered an essential medicine to a *backwards* past, with the exhibition representing the epitome of this renewal project.

[159] *Kosmos*, "Cronica," March 1904, cited in Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque,* 203.

CONCLUSION

The urban renewal which took place in turn-of-the-century Rio de Janeiro, explored in this paper from the years 1898-1908, was characterized not only by an aesthetic transformation, but also by political, economic, and social changes. These culminated in a vision of Rio de Janeiro which ultimately looked to Europe as inspiration. This vision very much permeated internationally, with the scholar Clayton Cooper in 1922 suggesting that, "The Brazilians in many senses as to their customs are simply old European races transplanted."[160] Nonetheless, in spite of many of Brazil's elites agreeing on a European ideal, many competing actors and ideas contested the government's plans for urban reform. As the central theme in my analysis, I have consequently explored both support and opposition to the government's plans for urban renewal during Rio's *belle époque*.

The paper has been divided into two sections. In the first section, I offered an overarching analysis of the urban renewal in the city from roughly 1898 to 1904. This covered the presidential administrations of Campos Sales and Rodrigues Alves. The urban stagnation of the decade prior to Sales's administration encouraged a European-inspired reform package which sought to make Brazil a *modern* and *civilized* state. When analyzing Sales's term in office, I focused particularly on the theme of public health in order to provide better context for the *revolta* of 1904. When analyzing the administration of Alves, there were many other urban reform campaigns which could not be sidelined because of their significance in the existing historiography, such as the reconstruction of

[160] Cooper, *The Brazilians and their Country*, 128.

the port and the city's redevelopment under Pereira Passos. On top of the government's public health campaign, Passos's reconstruction of the city provides essential context to an analysis of both the *revolta* and the *Exposição* of 1908.

In the first section I also pointed to the importance of Oswaldo Cruz, and his justification of policy through recourse to the findings of the French *Institut Pasteur* and the United States government's eradication of yellow fever in Havana. Ultimately, I asked why his public health policy, and in particular the proposal for obligatory vaccination, tipped the scales and incited people to revolt against the government. Opposition arose, I argued, because of the compulsory nature surrounding this urban renewal policy. Even writers from newspapers who strongly advocated for the importance of vaccination, for example, warned government enforcers to proceed with prudence and to tone down their repressive actions.

While in section one I aimed to put into context the urban renewal of Rio's *belle époque,* in section two I used the case studies of the *revolta* and the *Exposição* to directly analyze support for and opposition to the urban renewal in Rio during the period. In exploring the *revolta,* the focus was predominantly on opposition. Guided by *positivist* ideology, a faction of the elite class fervently opposed, through multiple channels, the government's reforms and policies. This faction incited many of Rio's citizens to strike at the heart of the ruling elite in an attempted coup. I analyzed how an elite-power struggle exploited a disenfranchised population for the opportunity to wield political influence. In doing so I illustrated multiple perspectives of urban renewal, in particular surrounding the implementation of public health policy.

Then, in the case study of the *Exposição,* I focused predominantly on support for the *belle époque* reforms. This I expressed mainly through the *cronicas* of Olavo Bilac. Through an analysis of Bilac's writings, I also highlighted the contradictions in the government's urban renewal campaign, and proposed the exhibition to be a highly aesthetic and internationally-oriented project. Through these two case studies, and through evaluating competing notions of a *civilized* and *modern* Brazil during the period, I have analyzed the ambiguities of Rio's *belle époque* urban reality. In doing so, I have aimed to build upon the existing historiography, in particular the work by Nicolau Sevcenko and Jeffrey Needell. By not sufficiently analyzing the 1908 exhibition as an expression of elite culture, I believe Needell and Sevcenko limit themselves in their endeavor. I interpret the *Exposição* as the epitome of the Europeanized *belle époque* agenda, and an ultimate showcase of the city's urban renewal which took place from 1902-1906.

By building on the existing historiography, I have hoped to illuminate the volatility and contradictions surrounding projects of urban renewal. The case of Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the twentieth century offers abundant analytical possibilities. I have only scratched the surface. It is easy to interpret the actions by politicians such as Campos Sales and Rodrigues Alves, who opened up their country to the world, as benevolent. Yet, what has become evident is that the *carioca belle époque* was marked by massive transformations which garnered both support and opposition. My mission has been to illuminate that change comes at a cost, measured differently depending on the observing actor. With both national and international players and influence, Rio de Janeiro became a playing field for competing visions of urban renewal.

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