

The Raw and the Manufactured

Brazilian Modernity and National Identity
as Projected in International Exhibitions
(1862–1922)

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Abstract

This thesis discusses nineteenth- and early twentieth-century representations of Brazil, with emphasis on Brazilian national identity and the country's engagement with modernity. It addresses these broad themes by focusing on the national participation in key international exhibitions, from Brazil's first official appearance at the International Exhibition of 1862 in London to the Brazilian Centennial Exposition held in Rio de Janeiro in 1922. Using a multidisciplinary theoretical and methodological framework, this thesis examines 'national objects' – exhibits, exhibition displays, publications and pavilions – shown at home and abroad. It questions what sort of national identity these objects materialised and how they propelled Brazilian experience of modernity.

Despite being a multicultural and diverse country, from 1862 to 1922 Brazil was frequently represented by its exhibition commissioners as a homogeneous and cohesive nation. In less than a hundred years, Brazil turned from being a liberal but slavery-bound Empire to become an oligarchic Republic. Alongside manumission, urban expansion, and industrialisation, the nation underwent unprecedented political, economic, and cultural changes. These changes, however, were displayed differently at home and abroad. This thesis, thus, is concerned with the cleavages in the national representation from the Empire to the Republic and questions what sort of nation was being represented abroad, and why.

This thesis reveals that the Brazilian exhibitionary efforts during this period largely excluded representations of its population, especially of those who did not conform to the modern and civilised images attributed to the nation by the state. It also sustains that, despite their commercial and economic imperatives, exhibitions were used by the Brazilian state, during Empire and Republic, for the affirmation and conservation of political power. This thesis is tested in five chapters. The first discusses previous attempts at studying exhibitions in Brazil and abroad, and defines the concepts considered in this thesis. The second chapter addresses issues of agency and representation by examining the imperial representation sent to the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. The third chapter focuses on two exhibitions, one Imperial and one Republican, to enquire about ruptures and continuities in the Brazilian representation abroad. This chapter centres on the displays of Brazilian raw materials mounted at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867 in Paris, and at the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St Louis in 1904. The fourth chapter examines objects that communicated Brazilian 'civilisation and progress' at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. These objects were used by the newly instated republican government to manipulate national historical symbols that legitimised their ascension to power and promoted them as the future. The final chapter investigates the Rio exhibition in 1922 as a place where modernisation and modernity were made visible for a Brazilian audience.

| | | |
|------------------------------|--|-----|
| List of Illustrations | | 05 |
| Acknowledgments | | 10 |
| List of Abbreviations | | 13 |
| Introduction | | 14 |
| Chapter one | Locating Exhibition Studies | |
| Part one | Locating period, sources and methods | 32 |
| Part two | Brazilian exhibition studies | 36 |
| Part three | Exhibition studies outside Brazil | 40 |
| Part four | Exhibitions as sites for the affirmation of Brazilian modernity | 49 |
| Part five | Exhibitions as sites for the intensification of nationalism and of internationalism | 58 |
| Chapter two | A Nation in the Making | |
| Part one | Networks of representation | 64 |
| Part two | Brazilian exhibition commissioners at the Centennial International Exhibition, 1876 | 69 |
| Part three | Mobile agents: scientific and propaganda publications | 81 |
| Part four | Fixed agents: Brazilian orientalism at the Centennial International Exhibition, 1876 | 94 |
| Chapter three | The Raw and the Manufactured | |
| Part one | Commodities, raw and cooked | 113 |
| Part two | Encyclopaedism and capitalism at the <i>Exposition Universelle</i> of 1867 | 119 |
| Part three | The National Exhibition in 1866: a display of technical progress | 129 |
| Part four | 'Sui Generis' Brazilian representation in Paris | 134 |
| Part five | Racialised landscaping at the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904 | 153 |
| Part six | Preparatory exhibition in 1904: urban reforms and de-tropicalisation | 160 |
| Part seven | An oligarchic Republic in St Louis | 167 |
| Chapter four | Changing the National Past | |
| Part one | Civilization and progress, difficult concepts | 195 |
| Part two | Preparatory exhibition: conflicting national projects | 200 |
| Part three | A show of abundance and of republican patriotism in Rio, 1892-1893 | 207 |
| Part four | The republicans set camp at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893 | 215 |
| Part five | Displays that changed the past and promised the future | 217 |
| Chapter five | The Artifice of Nature, the Naturalisation of the State | |
| Part one | The <i>Exposição</i> in Rio: an inter-war exhibition | 252 |
| Part two | The ' <i>constructores da nacionalidade</i> ' | 256 |
| Part three | Brazilian modernity on display | 264 |
| Conclusion | | 294 |
| Bibliography | | 302 |
| Appendix I | List of Brazilian exhibitions | 314 |
| Appendix II | Brazilian national exhibitions during the Empire in numbers | 316 |

List of Illustrations

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 1 | Group portrait of Thayer Expedition, c1866 In: http://hul.harvard.edu/cmtes/ulc/aac/via/desc-MCZ.html [Accessed 23 September 2009] | 76 |
| 2 | Watercolour of Brazilian flora by José dos Reis Carvalho, c1861 In: <i>Comissão Científica do Império, 1859-1861</i> , ed. by Lorelay Kury | 76 |
| 3 | Lithograph depicting artefacts from Ceará, Brazil, c1861 In: <i>Comissão Científica do Império, 1859-1861</i> , ed. by Lorelay Kury | 78 |
| 4 | Photograph of the Brazilian enclave, London International Exhibition, 1862 In: Maria Inez Turazzi, <i>Poses e trejeitos</i> | 78 |
| 5 | Drawing of the Brazilian emperor, Pedro II, inaugurating the Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. In: <i>Frank Leslie's Historical Register</i> , ed. by Frank Norton | 83 |
| 6 | Drawing of Brazilian emperor, Pedro II, in plain dress during the Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. In: <i>Frank Leslie's Historical Register</i> , ed. by Frank Norton | 83 |
| 7 | Map of Centennial Grounds, Fairmount Park, Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. In: Westcott Thompson, <i>Centennial Portfolio</i> | 97 |
| 8 | Black and white drawing of the Brazilian pavilion designed by Frank Furness, International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. In: <i>Frank Leslie's Historical Register</i> , ed. by Frank Norton | 97 |
| 9 | Coloured drawing perspective of the Brazilian pavilion at the Fairmount Park Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876 In: Westcott Thompson, <i>Centennial Portfolio</i> | 97 |
| 10 | Photographic perspective of the Brazilian enclave designed by Frank Furness inside the Main Building, Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876 In: Bruno Giberti, <i>Designing the Centennial</i> | 100 |
| 11 | Photographic perspective of the Brazilian enclave designed by Frank Furness inside the Main Building, Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876 In: George E. Thomas, <i>Frank Furness</i> | 100 |
| 12 | Photograph of the interior of the Brazilian enclave in the Main Building, Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. In: Bruno Giberti, <i>Designing the Centennial</i> | 102 |
| 13 | Photograph of the French enclave in the Main Building, Centennial International Exhibition Philadelphia, 1876. In: Bruno Giberti, <i>Designing the Centennial</i> | 102 |
| 14 | Photograph of the Swedish enclave in the Main Building, Centennial International Exhibition Philadelphia, 1876. In: Bruno Giberti, <i>Designing the Centennial</i> | 102 |
| 15 | Drawing depicting the Netherlands' enclave next to the Brazilian one, Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. In: Bruno Giberti, <i>Designing the Centennial</i> | 104 |
| 16 | Lithographic drawing depicting architectural Orientalism, <i>Exposition Universelle</i> , Paris, 1867 In: <i>Grand album de L'Exposition Universelle, 1867</i> | 104 |
| 17 | Photograph of the Horticultural Hall, Centennial International Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876 In: Bruno Giberti, <i>Designing the Centennial</i> | 106 |
| 18 | Photograph of the Champ de Mars exhibition building, <i>Exposition Universelle</i> , Paris, 1867 In: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Exposition_Universelle_1867.jpg [Accessed 5 May 2009] | 123 |
| 19 | Lithograph of the Krupp Cannon exhibited by Prussia, <i>Exposition Universelle</i> , Paris, 1867 In: <i>Grand album de L'Exposition Universelle, 1867</i> | 126 |

- 20 Lithograph depicting raw materials exhibited by Prussia, *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, 1867 126
In: *Grand album de L'Exposition Universelle, 1867*
- 21 Lithograph depicting timber from Canada exhibited in the British colonial court 128
Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867. In: *Grand album de L'Exposition Universelle, 1867*
- 22 Photograph of raw materials from Victoria, Australia, *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, 1867 128
In: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Victorian_stand_in_1867.jpg [Accessed 5 May 2009]
- 23 Photograph of Brazilian manufactures exhibited in the Second National Exhibition 131
Rio de Janeiro, 1866. In: Barboza & Lobo, *Recordação da Exposição Nacional de 1866*
- 24 Photograph of cotton-gin machine exhibited in the Second National Exhibition 131
Rio de Janeiro, 1866. In: Barboza & Lobo, *Recordação da Exposição Nacional de 1866*
- 25 Photograph of hides and leatherworks exhibited in the Second National Exhibition 132
Rio de Janeiro, 1866. In: Barboza & Lobo, *Recordação da Exposição Nacional de 1866*
- 26 Photograph of agricultural products exhibited in the Second National Exhibition 132
Rio de Janeiro, 1866. In: Barboza & Lobo, *Recordação da Exposição Nacional de 1866*
- 27 Photograph of agricultural products exhibited in glass jars, Second National Exhibition 132
Rio de Janeiro, 1866. In: Barboza & Lobo, *Recordação da Exposição Nacional de 1866*
- 28 Lithograph depicting the entrance to the Brazilian enclave, *Exposition Universelle*, 137
Paris, 1867. In: *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing
- 29 Lithograph depicting mannequins of 'gauchos', *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, 1867 137
In: *Grand album de L'Exposition Universelle, 1867*
- 30 *Panorama do Rio de Janeiro Visto da Ilha das Cobras* by George Leuzinger 140
Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867. In: *Porto do Rio de Janeiro*, ed. by Augusto Pinheiro and Nina Maria Rabha
- 31 Photograph of Amazonian indigenous people, by Albert Frisch, *Exposition Universelle* 143
Paris, 1867. In: Maria Inez Turazzi, *Poses e trejeitos*
- 32 Photograph of the Amazon River, by Albert Frisch, *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, 1867 143
In: Maria Inez Turazzi, *Poses e trejeitos*
- 33 Lithograph depicting the Brazilian timber display, *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, 1867 145
In: *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*, ed. by François Ducuing
- 34 *A Mata Virgem*, by Johann Moritz Rugendas, c.1830 150
- 35 Photograph of the Palace of Education, Louisiana Purchase International Exposition 154
St Louis, 1904. In: John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions*
- 36 Photograph of 'Civilised and Uncivilised Indians', Louisiana Purchase 154
International Exposition, St Louis, 1904. In: *Snap Shots of the Saint Louis Exposition, 1904*
- 37 Ground plan of the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, St Louis, 1904 157
In: Dorothy Daniels Birk, *The World Came to St Louis*
- 38 Photograph of a replica of an Irigot village at the Philippine Reservation, Louisiana Purchase 157
International Exposition, St Louis, 1904. In: Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*
- 39 Photograph of a native from the Philippine Islands, Louisiana Purchase 159
International Exposition, St Louis, 1904. In: Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*
- 40 Photograph of Rio's *Avenida Central*, c1910. In: George Ermakoff, *Rio de Janeiro, 1900-1930* 161
- 41 Photograph of Rio's *Avenida Central*, c1910. In: George Ermakoff, *Rio de Janeiro, 1900-1930* 163
- 42 Photograph of Rio's *Avenida Central*, c1910. In: George Ermakoff, *Rio de Janeiro, 1900-1930* 164

- 43 Photograph of Rio's *Avenida Central*, c1910. In: George Ermakoff, *Rio de Janeiro, 1900-1930* 164
- 44 Photograph of the title page of the *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904* 170
In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904*
- 45 Photograph of the interior of the governmental Palace in Rio 172
In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904*
- 46 Photograph of the Tacoaral Bridge in Brazil 172
In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904*
- 47 Photograph of 'Sugar cane plantation in the State of Matto Grosso' 172
In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904*
- 48 Photograph of an ornate page of the *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904* 176
In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904*
- 49 Photograph of a cotton mill. In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904* 176
- 50 Photograph of the Brazilian enclave in the Forestry, Fish and Game department 179
Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904. In: *Brazil at the World's Fairs*
- 51 Photograph of the Brazilian enclave in the Agricultural department 179
Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904. In: *Brazil at the World's Fairs*
- 52 Photograph of Brazilian tree fibres exhibited 181
Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904. In: *Brazil at the World's Fairs*
- 53 Photograph of parts of trees exhibited separately 181
Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904. In: *Brazil at the World's Fairs*
- 54 Photograph of tree barks exhibited 182
Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904. In: *Brazil at the World's Fairs*
- 55 Photograph of large tree trunks, Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904 182
In: *Brazil at the World's Fairs*
- 56 Photograph of the Brazilian pavilion designed by Souza Aguiar 189
Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904. In: *Brazil at the World's Fairs*
- 57 Photographic montage showing the Brazilian pavilion interior 190
In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904*
- 58 Photograph of the coffee exhibition held in the Brazilian pavilion 191
In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904*
- 59 Photograph of the Brazilian pavilion interior, Louisiana Purchase International Exposition 191
St Louis, 1904. In: *Brazil at the World's Fairs*
- 60 Photograph of coffee plantation in São Paulo, Brazil. 193
In: *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St Louis, 1904*
- 61 Montage of pages from *The Graphic* magazine with Brazilian exhibition commissioners 202
World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. In: *The Graphic*
- 62 Photograph of the Brazilian section in the Fine Arts building 222
World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. In: *The Graphic*
- 63 *A Primeira Missa no Brazil*, by Victor Meirelles, c1860 222
Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893
- 64 *A Proclamação da República*, by Henrique Bernardelli, 1890 224
Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893

| | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 65 | <i>Os Bandeirantes</i> (detail), by Henrique Bernardelli, 1889 Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 | 224 |
| 66 | <i>O Martírio de Tiradentes</i> , by Aurélio de Figueiredo, 1893 Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 | 225 |
| 67 | <i>Proclamação da Independência or O Grito do Ypiranga</i> , by Pedro Américo, c1887 Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 | 225 |
| 68 | <i>Tiradentes Esquartejado</i> , by Pedro Américo, 1893 | 227 |
| 69 | <i>Mater</i> , by Henrique Bernardelli, 1885 Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 | 231 |
| 70 | <i>Messalina</i> , by Henrique Bernardelli, c.1890 Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 | 231 |
| 71 | <i>Marabá</i> , by Rodolpho Amoedo, 1882 Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 | 233 |
| 72 | <i>Cristo e a Adúltera</i> , by Rodolpho Bernardelli, 1881 Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 | 233 |
| 73 | Allegorical drawing depicting civilisations and the United States' founding fathers at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. In: Neil Harris et al, <i>Grand Illusions</i> | 235 |
| 74 | Photograph of the Brazilian pavilion designed by Souza Aguiar. World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. In: <i>The Columbian Gallery</i> | 235 |
| 75 | Photograph of the Brazilian pavilion by the lake, World's Columbian Exposition Chicago, 1893. In: <i>World's Fair through a Camera</i> | 238 |
| 76 | Photograph of the interior of the Brazilian pavilion, World's Columbian Exposition Chicago, 1893. In: <i>The Graphic</i> | 238 |
| 77 | Drawing depicting the grand stairway of the Brazilian pavilion, World's Columbian Exposition Chicago, 1893. In: <i>The Graphic</i> | 239 |
| 78 | Photographs of indigenous figural sculptures from the Brazilian pavilion, <i>Exposition Universelle</i> Paris, 1889, In: MNH, 61/64L | 239 |
| 79 | Photographs of a Brazilian imperial carriage displayed in the Transportation building World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. In: <i>The Columbian Gallery</i> | 242 |
| 80 | Montage of photographs of various modes of transport, World's Columbian Exposition Chicago, 1893. In: <i>The Magic City</i> | 242 |
| 81 | Photograph of replicas of the three caravels commanded by Columbus, World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893. In: <i>The Magic City</i> | 244 |
| 82 | Photograph of a British locomotive, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 In: <i>The Magic City</i> | 244 |
| 83 | Photograph of the pyramid of gold displayed by the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais in the Mines and Mining building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. In: <i>The Magic City</i> | 247 |
| 84 | Photograph of the <i>Exposição Nacional de 1908</i> , Rio de Janeiro, MHN, MCav 10/12 | 257 |
| 85 | Artificial night lighting at the <i>Panama-Pacific International Exposition</i> , San Francisco, 1915 In: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Panama-Pacific_International_Exposition_-_Project_Gutenberg_eText_17625.png [Accessed 11 June 2009] | 259 |
| 86 | Photograph of the <i>Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência</i> with artificial night lighting, Rio de Janeiro, 1922. In: John Allwood, <i>The Great Exhibitions</i> | 259 |

- 87 'The Exhibition will not be postponed – the present aspect of the works'
Photographic copy of a spread from *Revista da Semana*, 29 July 1922 265
- 88 'How engineering made a plain out of a mountain'
Photographic copy of a spread from *Revista da Semana*, 19 August 1922 269
- 89 Photograph of the Santa Luzia landfill, In: *Ilustração Brasileira*, n.17, January 1922 269
- 90 'The engineering and the mountain'
Photographic copy of a spread from *Revista da Semana*, XXIII, 19 August 1922 270
- 91 'The last days of the first Cathedral of Rio de Janeiro'
Photographic copy of a spread from *Revista da Semana*, XXIII, 29 July 1922 270
- 92 'The Rio that disappears: the works at the Castle Hill'
Photographic copy of a page from *Ilustração Brasileira*, n.17, January 1922 272
- 93 Photograph showing an exhibition pavilion under construction
In: *Ilustração Brasileira*, n.19, March 1922 272
- 94 'The vision of the city of the future, hovering over the spoils of the historic city'
Photographic copy of a cover from *Revista da Semana*, 31 March 1923 273
- 95 Ground plans of the exhibitionary complex of the *Exposição*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922. In: Thais Rezende da Silva de Sant'Ana, 'A Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência' 274
- 96 Photograph of the entrance gate to the *Exposição*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922 276
In: MHN, Album Iconográfico 59
- 97 Photograph of the Monroe Palace, Rio de Janeiro, c1914 276
In: George Ermakoff, *Rio de Janeiro, 1900-1930*
- 98 Photograph of the Festivities Pavilion at the opening day of the exhibition
Exposição, Rio de Janeiro, 1922. In: *Art and Archaeology*, v.16, September 1923, n.3 277
- 99 Photograph of some pavilions of the *Exposição*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922. In: MHN, 914K 277
- 100 'The magical nocturnal visions'. Photographic copy of a page from *Revista da Semana*, 16 July 1922 278
- 101 Photograph of the Matarazzo industries pavilions, *Exposição*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922 278
In: MHN, Album Iconográfico 59
- 102 Photographic copy of a pro-hygiene campaign poster. In: Thais Rezende da Silva de Sant'Ana, 'A Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência' 284
- 103 Photograph of the Japanese pavilion at the Avenue of Nations, *Exposição*
Rio de Janeiro, 1922. In: MHN, Album Iconográfico 59 289
- 104 Photograph of the British pavilion, *Exposição*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922 289
In: *Art and Archaeology*, v.16, September 1923, n.3
- 105 Photograph of various pavilions at the Avenue of Nations, *Exposição*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922 290
In: *Art and Archaeology*, v.16, September 1923, n.3
- 106 'Japan Day'. Photographic copy of a page from *Revista da Semana*, 11 November 1922 290
- 107 Photograph of the replica of the French *Petit Trianon* erected in Rio
Exposição, Rio de Janeiro, 1922. In: *Art and Archaeology*, v.16, September 1923, n.3 291
- 108 Photograph of the Brazilian pavilion at Expo 2010 Shanghai China 294
In: http://en.expo2010.cn/c/en_gj_tpl_29.htm [Accessed 30 April 2010]

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This thesis is dedicated to that curious indigenous child by the Amazon River

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L. Rezende
October 2010

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|------|---|
| AHI | Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty (Itamaraty Historical Archive) |
| AIBA | Academia Imperial de Bellas-Artes (Imperial Academy of Fine Arts) |
| AN | Arquivo Nacional (National Archive) |
| ANT | Actor-Network Theory |
| BN | Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) |
| CD | <i>Chicago Daily</i> |
| CDT | <i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> |
| CECI | Comissão Executiva do Centenário da Independência (Independence Centennial Executive Commission) |
| CM | <i>Correio da Manhã</i> (Morning Mail) |
| DN | <i>Diário de Notícias</i> (News Diary) |
| ENBA | Escola Nacional de Bellas-Artes (National School of Fine Arts) |
| GN | <i>Gazeta de Notícias</i> (News Gazette) |
| IB | <i>Ilustração Brasileira</i> (Brazilian Illustration) |
| IHGB | Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute) |
| IIFA | Imperial Instituto Fluminense de Agricultura (Imperial Fluminense Institute of Agriculture) |
| JB | <i>Jornal do Brasil</i> (Journal of Brazil) |
| JC | <i>Jornal do Commercio</i> (Journal of Commerce) |
| MHN | Museu Histórico Nacional (National History Museum) |
| MN | Museu Nacional (National Museum) |
| NYT | <i>New York Times</i> |
| OAIN | <i>O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional</i> (The National Industry Auxiliary) |
| OP | <i>O Paiz</i> (The Country) |
| RI | <i>Revista Illustrada</i> (Illustrated Magazine) |
| RS | <i>Revista da Semana</i> (Week Review) |
| SAIN | Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional (Auxiliary Society for the National Industry) |
| TG | <i>The Graphic</i> |
| TT | <i>The Times</i> |

Introduction

The reader of the Brazilian periodical *O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional* (*The National Industry Auxiliary*, *OAIN*) in 1851 was led to believe that travel in time seemed more possible than ever before. Pedro d'Alcantara Lisboa, a member of the *Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional* (Auxiliary Society for the National Industry, SAIN), an institution responsible for promoting industries in Brazil and for publishing the periodical, reported the marvels he had seen at the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in London.¹ In the periodical, Lisboa exalted with astonishment: 'It seemed that the time has come when travellers will arrive on the eve of their departure'.² The Brazilian experienced in London an acute transformation in his perception of time and space. Distances were shortening and time seemed to accelerate. Evidence for this radical change in the pace of life was his first encounter with railways, the submarine cable and the electric telegraph, in Lisboa's words, 'the biggest marvel of this industrial century'.³

The *OAIN* portrayed the Great Exhibition not only as an assault on traditional experiences of time and space, but also as an assault on the mind and body. The Brazilian general-consul in Prussia, João Diogo Sturz, sent to London by the emperor of Brazil to evaluate the usefulness of particular exhibits for his country, found it difficult to concentrate on his task. 'About the prices of machines to process sugar, I will talk another time', reported Sturz:

since it is impossible to enter in detail about anything whilst the Exhibition stands, this sea of objects, all interesting, many extremely significant, which ex-

¹ Chapter two considers in detail the role of the SAIN and its members as agents of the Brazilian participation in exhibitions. In 1851, Lisboa was SAIN's commissioner for Navigation and Commercial Industry. His articles about the Great Exhibition were published in the *OAIN* from September 1851 to February 1852. See 'Exposição Universal da Industria em Londres', *OAIN*, 6 (September, 1851), 89-98; 'Exposição Universal da Industria. Productos da França', *OAIN*, 6 (December, 1851) 206-19, and 'Industria Manufactureira e Artistica. Exposição Universal da Industria em Londres', *OAIN*, 6 (February, 1852), 288-96. Except for the Rio exhibition, all other exhibition names were taken from *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, ed. by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, rev. 2nd ed. (Jefferson, NC; London: McFarland, 2008).

² Lisboa, *OAIN*, 6 (December, 1851), p.206. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

³ Lisboa, *OAIN*, 6 (December, 1851), p.206.

cite the mind without stop and never allow it to rest, not even at night after leaving the exhibition. This industrial ocean causes vertigo [...].⁴

The vertigo felt by Sturz, caused by an unprecedented simultaneity of people, objects and innovations in a single space, and the perception of a cosmological collapse experienced by Lisboa are first-hand evidence of the fundamental transformations that occurred in everyday life in the mid-nineteenth century. More likely to be experienced by people living in European urban centres like London, these technological and phenomenological changes in life – this modernity – were differently lived but not ignored back in Brazil.

Even before the Great Exhibition, *OAIN* readers and SAIN members, a lettered elite among a mass of Brazilian illiterates, discussed intensely the necessity of organising a ‘public exposition of national products’.⁵ Underpinning their discussion was the belief that the gathering, scrutiny and comparison of national products would improve Brazil’s productive output and subsequently national cohesion.⁶ In the 1850s, Brazil’s immense territory was unconnected by railways or other means of communication besides slow, sail navigation. Another SAIN member pointed out this isolation as the ‘sole obstacle’ that precluded Brazil’s ‘material development’.⁷ Exhibitions of national products, technological improvements that shortened distances and saved time, and national cohesion were, on the pages of the *OAIN* and in the minds of that lettered elite, the solutions to the problems of Brazilian isolation and material progress.

⁴ João Diogo Sturz, ‘Aparelhos Empregados no Fabrico do Assucar’, *OAIN*, 6 (October, 1851), 127-35 (p.128).

⁵ José Luis Werneck da Silva, ‘Isto é o que me Parece: a Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional (1827-1904) na Formação Social Brasileira. A Conjuntura de 1871 ate 1877’, 2 vols (unpublished master’s thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 1979), p.97.

⁶ *OAIN*, 5 (May, 1851), 452 (p.452).

⁷ Frederico Burlamaque, ‘A Utilidade das Estradas de Ferro e sua Urgente Necessidade no Brasil’, *OAIN*, 6 (January, 1852), 233-35, (p.235). Burlamaque was SAIN’s perpetual secretary, director of the Brazilian natural history, ethnographic and anthropological museum, the *Museu Nacional* (National Museum, MN) in Rio, from 1847 to 1866.

At the Crystal Palace, four modest items displayed unofficially represented the Empire of Brazil.⁸ The only evidence for this representation, the exhibition's official catalogue, does not disclose how these items were gathered, and gives little information about their makers and exhibitors. These items were simply listed as 'a beautiful bouquet of flowers made of feathers, a model [of a native raft], some specimens of native working in leather, and some ornamental objects made of the elytra of beetles'.⁹ The leatherwork was additionally described by the catalogue as being representative 'of the industry of the less civilized of the inhabitants of the Brazils [sic]'.¹⁰

This type of judgemental commentary that emphasised an 'uncivilised' aspect of the Brazilian Empire provoked heated debate at home, especially during the meetings of the SAIN.¹¹ Should the government become involved in these exhibitions so that Brazil might not repeat the 'extremely sad role it performed in London'?¹² Alternatively, should it prohibit the display of any item that bore 'the name of Brazil' and leave the country to 'shine by absence'?¹³ Another 'misrepresentation' of Brazil in the following *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1855 aggravated the debate and heightened frustration. Guilherme Schüch de Capanema, an engineer, geologist and close friend of the Brazilian emperor, Pedro II, travelled to observe the festival in Paris as an envoy of the Empire.¹⁴ What he saw there was again a gathering of a few Brazilian items, displayed without the Empire's financial or moral support. Capanema ironically reported on this representation centred on demotic, crafted objects:

⁸ *Great Exhibition. Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue...in three volumes*, ed. by R. Ellis (London, 1851), p.1492.

⁹ *Great Exhibition*, p.1492.

¹⁰ *Great Exhibition*, p.1492.

¹¹ See 'Editorial', *OAIN*, 3 (January, 1855), 243-46; 'Inauguração da Exposição Universal da Industria e das Bellas-artes de Paris', *OAIN*, 4 (July, 1855), 27-35 (this anonymous article was probably written by the three imperial representatives in Paris, see note 15); 'Revista dos Produtos de Diversas Nações que Figuraram na Exposição Universal de Paris (1)', *OAIN*, 4 (January, 1856), 276-280, and 'Revista dos Produtos...', *OAIN*, 4 (February, 1856), 311-20.

¹² *OAIN*, 3 (January, 1855), p.244.

¹³ *OAIN*, 4 (February, 1856), p.320, Note 1.

¹⁴ Magali Romero Sá, 'O Botânico e o Mecenaz: João Barbosa Rodrigues e a Ciência no Brasil na Segunda Metade do Século XIX', *História, Ciências, Saúde*, VIII (2001), 899-924.

Brazil is honourably represented. It appears to be a very enlightened country; [it] exhibited suet, stearin and carnauba wax candles, the latter ones, horrible; two pots of flowers made of scales already quite tatty, and a few samples of tea; two laced handkerchiefs, or serviettes, amended. Your Excellency can see that for a *soirée* nothing is missing, and *soirées* are proof of advanced civilisation.¹⁵

Brazil twice failed to display and demonstrate its civilisation in Europe. In Paris, Capanema also found his country behind ‘Guatemala, Venezuela, New Granada, Montevideo, Buenos Ayres, and Paraguay’ who exhibited natural riches like ‘brazil-wood, tobacco, vanilla, coffee’, also commonly found in Brazil but absent from its exhibition.¹⁶ A profound feeling that Brazil was losing time, wasting opportunities and slipping behind the benchmarks of progress seen in other nations’ exhibitions continued to inflame people at home. ‘What a shame!’, concluded Capanema.¹⁷ Even Portugal, the *OAIN* deprecated, that ‘decaying country that only lives of its past glories’ exhibited in Paris.¹⁸ Brazil, instead, ‘so rich in products, with so many elements for grandiosity and prosperity [...] did nothing to become, in this solemn occasion, recognised by the nations reunited’.¹⁹

The need to be recognised as a sovereign, progressive, and civilised nation a few decades after its independence from Portugal in 1822, the elites’ staunch belief in the national future, and the necessity to establish cohesion for the immense national territory under the aegis of the Empire formed a rationale for the numerous Brazilian participations in exhibitions that followed. After the uneasy failures at the exhibitions from the 1850s, SAIN members galvanised crucial support, including that of Pedro II, for frequent state-

¹⁵ Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, IHGB), Manuscript Section, Lata 351, Documento 37, Notação DL351.37. Letter sent by Capanema from Paris in 1855 to a friend, probably the imperial counsellor Paulo Barbosa da Silva. Capanema was accompanied by two other Brazilian officials in Paris, the poet Antonio Gonçalves Dias and military officer Giacomo Raja Gabaglia. These commissioners also participated in the first state-organised scientific expedition to explore the northeast of Brazil between 1859 and 1861 – the same region that produced the ‘uncivilised’ leatherwork exhibited in 1851. The connection between exhibitions and scientific expeditions is examined in chapter two.

¹⁶ IHGB, 351/37.

¹⁷ IHGB, 351/37.

¹⁸ ‘Exposição Universal de Paris’, *OAIN*, 3 (February, 1855), 297 (p.297).

¹⁹ *OAIN*, 3 (February, 1855), p.297.

organised participation in international exhibitions.²⁰ Exhibitions became prime sites to form symbols and connections for national unity and identity, at home and abroad. From the 1860s until the overthrow of the Brazilian Empire in 1889 and the fall of the First Republic in 1930, members of the Brazilian political, economic and cultural elites made intense use of exhibitions to conceptualise, negotiate and display their views on what Brazil was and how it was to progress. The first of these opportunities came in 1861 when the Empire accepted the invitation to join the International Exhibition of London in 1862. This is when discussions began about how to represent the country abroad, which ‘national products’ should be exhibited and ultimately the meanings of being Brazilian. This is also when my research begins.

This thesis, therefore, sets out to explore how members of the Brazilian elite and government used exhibitions of ‘national products’ to promote their particular views of the nation. The departing point of my investigation are the objects, displays, buildings and publications designed and selected by exhibition commissioners to convey a particular notion of nationality, a notion that aimed to identify Brazil as a distinct nation abroad and as a cohesive unit for foreigners and its people. My thesis proposes that the political bodies that formed that nation-state (governments, opposition, diplomats, and institutions) and the national objects amassed by Brazilians and exhibited as representative of the nation worked to define each other at international exhibitions. Exhibitions promoted a hyper-nationalisation of countries by assembling their representations together in a massive internationalised site in a framework of competition. In other words, the competitiveness of exhibitions demanded that sovereign nation-states positioned themselves in more ‘national’ ways than ever before. Much of this ‘nationality’ was materialised in their exhibits and the ways through which these exhibits were displayed. Accordingly, when assem-

²⁰ Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre, SAIN member, close friend to the emperor and exhibition enthusiast, wrote to Pedro II pressuring for a national participation in Paris in 1855. See Alfredo Galvão, ‘Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre: Sua Influência na Academia Imperial de Belas-Artes e no Meio Artístico do Rio de Janeiro’, *Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, 14 (1959, separata), pp.21-22.

bling collections of Brazilian objects for display, members of the national elite working as commissioners constructed particular and desired representations of the nation. Most importantly, these representations varied from exhibition to exhibition, having been adapted both to conform to the host nation's expectations and to convey different views of the nation as Brazil's political regime changed from the Empire (1822-1889) to the First Republic (1889-1930).

My investigation, thus, is a design historical study as it unpacks how these objects and displays embodied and disseminated constructions of national identity. This thesis is an analytical and historical examination of design as a political tool. It questions how things became 'nationalised', in the sense of being rendered Brazilian, in the context of the changing formation of the national state during the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries. How were things constructed and understood as being *Brazilian*, as having *brasileidade* (or Brazilianess)? Through what means and forces was national identity or even national *identities* conceived and embodied in objects and displays? Moreover, how representative of an entire nation can these national objects and displays be? These questions have guided my research since its onset. They concern Brazilian nineteenth- and early twentieth-century national identity and experience of modernity, the construction of a material world, symbolic and concrete investments in it, and the promotion of this construction in the competitive sites of exhibitions.

Since its first official representation shown in London in 1862 until its fourth appearance at the Centennial International Exhibition, in Philadelphia in 1876, Brazilian imperial exhibitions were a matter of the state. They were financially supported by it and organised by politicians, members of the SAIN, museum directors and scientists closely linked to the government or personally associated to the emperor. Four national exhibitions (1861, 1866, 1873 and 1875) were organised in Rio de Janeiro, the imperial capital, as preparation for respective international exhibitions (London, 1862; Paris, 1867; Vienna, 1873 and Philadelphia, 1876). Although short-lived and hastily mounted in buildings borrowed

for the occasion, these festivities celebrated national development and established inter-connectivity with remote parts of the Empire, frequently prompted to send their best products for appreciation in the capital.²¹ They also revealed uneven processes of material and social development across the Brazilian territory. The 1860s and the 1870s witnessed great advances in the Brazilian exhibitionary efforts in number of exhibits and exhibitors sent abroad, and in strategies devised to represent the nation.²²

Brazil's state-driven exhibitions came to a halt after 1876 when political and economic crises forced the emperor to withdraw its support, an issue to be considered further in this thesis.²³ The Brazilian participation in international exhibitions, though, did not stop. During the 1880s, agricultural and commercial associations run by landowners and coffee growers reduced the Brazilian representation abroad to that of an 'Empire of coffee'.²⁴ In the Paris exhibition of 1878, for example, Brazil was solely represented by the *Clube da Lavoura de São Paulo* (Farming Club of São Paulo).²⁵ Likewise, the *Centro de Lavoura e Comércio do Rio de Janeiro* (Centre for Farming and Commerce of Rio de Janeiro) mounted exhibitions of Brazilian coffee in St Petersburg (1884) and Antwerp (1885).²⁶

The Empire of Brazil revived its support for a Brazilian international representation in 1889. It financed part of the exhibition sent to Paris, organised by a privately run Franco-Brazilian syndicate.²⁷ This exhibition, though, marked the end not only of imperial festivals but also of the Brazilian Empire altogether. On 15 November 1889, a military coup overthrew the last monarchy in the Americas and instated a new federative Republic, the United States of Brazil.

²¹ See Appendix II for length and attendance numbers of major imperial exhibition.

²² See Appendix I for a chronological listing of Brazilian participations in international exhibitions.

²³ See chapter two. Evidence from 1878 suggests that the Brazilian government declined the invitation to exhibit in Paris for economic reasons. *La Rue des Nations: Visites aux Sections Étrangère de l'Exposition Universelle de 1878* (Paris: Maurice Dreyfous, 1878), p.270.

²⁴ Maria Inez Turazzi, *Poses e Trejeitos: A Fotografia e as Exposições Universais na Era do Espetáculo, 1839-1889* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco & Funarte, 1995), p.150.

²⁵ Turazzi, p.150.

²⁶ Turazzi, p.150.

²⁷ Turazzi, p.152.

The republicans' keenness to internationally exhibit and establish their views of Brazil paralleled that of the Empire. As during the Empire, exhibitions were a matter of state interest. Several national exhibitions were organised. Some, though, were not located in Rio as the imperial ones had been, but spread around the country to confirm the federalist and decentralising ideals of the Republic. These national exhibitions served not only as preparation for international ones but, most importantly, to establish consent in society about the hegemony of the new regime. The inclination to participate in international exhibitions in the United States reveals the political and commercial paradigms favoured by the new regime. While the Empire had established commercial and cultural ties with Europe, through participation in their exhibitions, the republicans preferred a pan-American, federalist, and allegedly democratic view of national progress. In their use of exhibitions as media for political affirmation and national hegemony, Brazilian republicans took the unprecedented step of hosting an international exhibition in Rio de Janeiro in 1922. This is then when my thesis ends. This long period of exhibitionary efforts and the representational cleavages that marked the passage from Empire to Republic form the base of my enquiry into the making of Brazilian national identity and its experience of modernity.

I begin this thesis by locating my study within exhibition studies inside and outside Brazil. The first chapter, 'Locating Exhibition Studies', presents a critical debate of what exhibition studies have offered for the understanding of Brazilian national identity and experience of modernity and compares approaches from diverse sources that have guided my research. Rationales for the periodisation of my study, primary sources used, methodology developed and a conceptual discussion about national identity and modernity are offered in this chapter.

My study of exhibitions begins in the second chapter, 'A Nation in the Making', by questioning and framing the political and material representation to which I have alluded so far. Who were the people and what were the objects that formed representations

of Brazil abroad? How were they gathered, and how did they form significant networks that frequently represent Brazil in continuous exhibitions? Whom did they actually represent when speaking in the name of the nation? My thesis proposes that objects selected to represent a nation in an international exhibition are heightened in their role as representatives. These objects and their displays were imbued with the role of conveying *brasili-dade* to foreigners, so it is in their exaggerated ‘objecthood’ that they are analysed. This second chapter explores the capacity of national representatives – exhibition commissioners and national objects – to convey ideas and persuade visitors.

Brasilidade here is not understood as having one fixed and homogeneous meaning. Rather, this term features in my thesis as an elusive concept that was also in the making during exhibitions. It had many incarnations and versions that varied among exhibition commissioners, varied in time and according to audience. The search for and the construction of *brasili-dade* was, nonetheless, at the heart of exhibition commissioners’ and governmental efforts when forming representations for Brazil. In the pursuit of the most appropriate objects and displays to illustrate abroad what Brazil was and could become, these commissioners wanted to challenge misconceptions about the nation and to show a positive, modernising and progressive national identity. Their notions of *brasili-dade*, therefore, heterogeneous as they were, equated to an official, stately view of culture, and resonate with what Benedict Anderson terms ‘official nationalism’ in opposition to manifestations of nationalism derived from popular movements.²⁸

At the heart of this making of *brasili-dade* were not only objects selected for possessing distinctive tropical qualities, for example, that could be deemed ‘Brazilian’. The concept also required techniques. In the making of *brasili-dade* were exhibition commissioners’ interests and intents, particular techniques of display, and a system of discourses and propaganda to sustain their actions. These factors, or agents, and the ways they interacted to form specific Brazilian representations are analysed as networks. Actor-Network

²⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), chapter six.

Theory (ANT) offers the theoretical framework to study the interaction of these representative agents in sites of exchange like exhibitions.²⁹ The theory's premise that 'objects too have agency' coupled with its emphasis on the formation of networks and assemblies became essential tools for questioning and framing political and material representation.

The Brazilian participation at the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 provides a valuable opportunity for this kind of investigation of actors and networks as Brazilians organised a significant propaganda machine for their first appearance in the United States. Confirming the geopolitical importance of this exhibition to the Empire of Brazil was the emperor's visit to Philadelphia to inaugurate the fair. The Centennial in 1876 represents the pinnacle of Brazilian imperial exhibitions at home and abroad in number of exhibitors, quantity of exhibits sent, and in the quality of the techniques of displays devised to convey a particular identity for that time and place.

Chapter two begins by identifying who the exhibition commissioners responsible for the Brazilian representation in Philadelphia were, to which imperial institutions they were affiliated and which ideas they espoused. Next, two fundamental cases are discussed for the understanding of how agents operated and how networks were formed. These two cases resonate with Tony Bennett's interpretation of exhibitions as sites of spectacle and surveillance.³⁰ Bennett, using Michel Foucault's and Antonio Gramsci's 'perspective on the state', argues that new technologies of vision and the transfer of bodies and objects in the exhibitionary complex of the Crystal Palace in 1851 changed people's apprehension of knowledge and power.³¹ This new form of coercion based on 'to see and be seen, to survey yet always be under surveillance' allowed exhibitions to realise 'some of the ideals of panopticism'.³² Central to the exhibitionary strategies of Brazilian commissioners in Philadelphia in 1876 were also aspects of mobility and visibility of visitors and exhib-

²⁹ Major works on Actor-Network Theory will be discussed in detail in chapter two.

³⁰ Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *new formations*, 4 (1988), 73-102. See also Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995), chapter 2, Part I, 59-88.

³¹ Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', p.99.

³² Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', p.81.

its. For the formation of a representation of Brazil that conveyed knowledge and power, commissioners invested in designing a monumental and theatrical set of pavilions styled in oriental forms, and in publishing and mass-distributing a great quantity of scientific and propaganda works about the country and its exhibits. These two cases of agency, one that heightened the visibility of Brazil, another that increased the transfer of knowledge about it, lead to other questions that help us unveil the politics of representation behind Brazilian exhibitions. Why did exhibition commissioners opt for an orientalist architectural style and decoration to represent Brazil in their first appearance in a major American exhibition? What can this choice say about the Empire of Brazil and the emperor's international relations and politics? Why were so many publications of scientific nature published, mostly authored by exhibition commissioners themselves? What can this tell us about the politics of science and knowledge production in Brazil and abroad?

Exhibition studies tend to favour certain aspects of international exhibitions. The study of manufactured objects, luxury goods, architectural feats, and industrial marvels has dominated most investigations into how exhibitions succeeded in providing an image of progress of, for and to the West since mid-nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the importance or primacy of exhibitions as showcases of industrial modernity and material advancement, the third chapter of my thesis proposes to redirect the focus of this traditional approach. Entitled 'The Raw and the Manufactured', it brings back to discussion exhibitions of raw materials that, despite being paramount to the success of these festivals, have been overlooked in the literature.³³ This chapter is named after my overall hypothesis that these two categories of exhibits, the raw and the manufactured, guided the representations of Brazil. Exhibitions offered crucial sites for the formation of Brazilian national identities and commercial affirmation as an exporter of raw materials, but they also imposed a dilemma for Brazilian commissioners. Raw materials had an ambivalent

³³ This trend can be exemplified by the distinction Greenhalgh makes between the prefabricated and the mass-produced in exhibitions and discussed in chapter one. Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: A History of the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, c1988), chapter six.

status at exhibitions. The possession of raw materials signalled power and promised the continuation of industrialisation and expansionism for manufacturing, industrialised countries. At the same time, their production and exportation from countries like Brazil could also signal the maintenance of former colonial conditions and imply political subordination in the international market and political arena. How did Brazilian exhibition commissioners display their nation's wealth and profit from their commodification and commercialisation whilst also asserting sovereignty? In other words, by mainly displaying 'colonial items' – as some scholars understand articles like cotton, sugar or wood – was Brazil positioning itself in a colonial position at international exhibitions?³⁴ Alternatively, can Brazil's position be seen as strategic? If by supplying raw materials to industries abroad did it boast authority and control over its own nature and people? Some exhibitionary strategies used, as the building of monumental, orientalist pavilions are noted in chapter two. This chapter then closely examines what strategies for national assertion were devised to display some of the nation's most valuable raw materials.

The ways in which Brazil displayed raw materials changed in the late nineteenth century, particularly after the inauguration of the Republic. It is correct to say that between the Empire and Republic a veritable shift in exhibitionary paradigm occurred. During the Empire, exhibition commissioners formed representations for the newly independent nation that combined tropical exoticism with values of Europeanised civilisation. This combination destabilised traditional constructs about the tropics accepted in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe, and was especially pivotal for Brazilian exhibitions during the 1860s. The Empire's appearance at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1867 is therefore analysed as a sizeable and significantly well-structured exhibition that aimed to convey both exoticism and civilisation in Brazil. To explore the imperial intent and their techniques of raw materials' display, and to suggest how these intentions and techniques evolved across time and space, this chapter is based on a comparison between this

³⁴ Sandra Jatahy Pesavento, *Exposições Universais: Espetáculos da Modernidade no Século XIX* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1997), pp.130-32.

Paris exhibition and the one set up for the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition of 1904 in St Louis by the newly instated Republic. St Louis represented a moment of stability for the new regime after the monarchy was overthrown 1889. Their displays of raw materials, however, were radically different from that seen during Empire. In St Louis, I argue, a fierce project of ‘de-tropicalisation’ of Brazil took place.

The questions posed in this chapter and my discussion of how nature was conceptualised and displayed abroad are underpinned by Claude Lévi-Strauss’ analytical categories of the raw and the cooked, as the title of both chapter and thesis implies.³⁵ As this chapter argues, both imperial and republican displays of Brazilian nature abroad, in their opposing ways, drew on a notion of the rawness of nature against the ‘cooked’, or cultivated, aspect of culture. While during Empire this rawness was conceptualised as virginal, exploitable and profitable, during the Republic the nation was shown as divided into cultivated and uncultivated parts. In such ways, a separation between culture and nature was engendered.

For Brazilian history and Brazilian exhibition studies, it is especially pertinent to examine the country’s participations in exhibitions as determining of its international status. Being neither a colony nor a coloniser, a relationship frequently addressed by the literature on exhibitions, the study of Brazilian participation offers an invaluable opportunity for insights into the ranking of nations and cultures perpetuated in these festivals.³⁶ By showing mainly raw materials like the products of forestry and agriculture was Brazil assuming a less cultural, ‘civilized’ position in the ranking validated by industrialised nations? Broader questions of economic dependency, development and about the insertion of the Brazilian economy in a world market are also addressed in this chapter. It examines how Brazilian exhibition commissioners transformed national raw materials not

³⁵ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked. Introduction to a Science of Mythology I*, translated by John and Doreen Weightman (London: Cape, 1970).

³⁶ *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, ed. by Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, c2008). This recent reference addresses imperialism at exhibitions but does not include the experience of Latin American nations, for example.

only into desirable and tradable commodities but also into meaningful representatives of a nation's identity.

Divergent ways of displaying raw materials were not the only recognisable difference between imperial and republican representations at international exhibitions. The political reorganisation that the Republic wanted to instate at home significantly affected the ways in which Brazilian culture and history were displayed abroad. The manipulation of historical symbols to rewrite the nation's past and the manipulation of notions of time and progress that aimed at presenting the Republic as the only political alternative for a better Brazilian future are the subject of the fourth chapter, 'Changing the National Past'.

The republican movement that overthrew the monarchy in 1889 was not a homogenous set of activists and politicians. They were a disparate union of factions comprising military figures, landowners and urban, liberal professionals, for instance, who commonly rejected the previous regime but who diverged ideologically in how the nation should progress. Nonetheless, to distance and differentiate themselves from the Empire and its visual and material representations, Brazilian republicans organised their first appearance at an international exhibition only four years after assuming political power. In 1893, a new version of Brazil abroad could be seen at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Why did the republicans use the exhibition medium soon after seizing political power in 1889? What does their exhibitionary enthusiasm say about the importance of exhibitions for political affirmation and projection?

The Brazilian representation in Chicago not only inaugurated a second phase in the national history of exhibition participations; it was also fundamentally different from those that followed. Investigation into this early republican exhibition reveals fractures in the display of political unity as diverging factions were fighting for leading roles within the government. In this way, the Brazilian exhibition in Chicago became a battleground between competing views of what Brazil should be and should become.

The turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, according to cultural historian Stephen Kern, marked a peak in technological and cultural advances in the Western world

that caused dramatic changes in people's perceptions of time and space.³⁷ From wireless telegraph and electricity to moving sidewalks and powerful steamships, the visitor who attended the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the 'discovery' of the Americas in 1893 could not doubt that a marvellous new world lay ahead. The Brazilian representation designed for 1893, however, seemed to be more focused on the national past rather than on its future. The manipulation of historical national symbols, which embedded a manipulation of time itself, became a major display strategy used in Chicago by the newly instated republicans to legitimate their political position. Behind such manipulations of time and symbols was a desire to change the national past or at least the ways in which it was perceived. Thus, alleged early manifestations of Brazilian republicanism were inscribed into a progressive narrative of political evolution that 'inevitably' culminated with the Republic in the 1890s.

These manipulations were made visible mainly through fine art displays comprising painting and architecture. Paintings displayed with the intent of establishing national heroes are analysed alongside the neoclassical national pavilion that, for the first time, was designed by a Brazilian. Two other exhibits analysed in chapter four offer insights into the exhibitionary strategies of the early republic in relation to Empire and political struggle. The first exhibit, an 'antique' Brazilian imperial coach was displayed among other exhibits of transportation, old and modern, forming a scale that promoted an evolutionary and linear view of progress. The quality of its display, though, demoted the Empire to a bygone past. The second exhibit, a large pyramid representing the gold extracted from the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais during the colonial period (1500-1822) promoted a specific, regionalist view of wealth and power, a view in accordance to the oligarchic interests that were to come out winners of the political struggle of this transitional republican phase.

³⁷ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

In analysing the Brazilian display in 1893, I engage with arguments in Brazilian historiography that claim that Brazilian elites frequently favoured the importation of cultural artefacts. This fourth chapter demonstrates, as previous ones also do, that despite appropriating vocabularies and styles from European art schools, for example, Brazilian artists, commissioners and politicians were mostly engaged in searching and representing symbols that could convey their own particular views of *brasilidade*. In other words, the study of the Brazilian representation abroad offers a different perspective to traditional discourses of one-way cultural appropriation. The emphases given to the construction of *brasilidade* in this thesis show that, when such appropriations occurred, they were chiefly adopted and adapted to convey particular worldviews and interests of Brazilians.

Sixty years after its first sizeable and official participation in an international exhibition, Brazil hosted its only one on home soil. In the final chapter of this thesis I set out to explore how the *Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência* (Independence Centennial International Exhibition) held in Rio in 1922 fits into the continuum of Brazil's display abroad and of the phenomenon of the international exhibitions.³⁸ The final chapter of my thesis, 'The Artifice of Nature and the Naturalisation of the State', questions why an international exhibition was organised as part of the celebration of Brazilian independence and sovereignty, and how the Brazilian self-representation was devised and negotiated at home, with a national audience in mind.

The *Exposição*, like the Great Exhibition of 1851, operated as a series of object-lessons. In 1922, however, the object to be learned by Brazilians was the nation itself. The 1922 exhibition was shaped by a programme of modernisation on national soil, one that included the erection of an exhibitionary complex. The complex itself served to institutionalise through an organisation and visualisation of the state aspects of surveillance and social control. This chapter, thus, demonstrates how the republican government used

³⁸ República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil. Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores. *Exposição Internacional do Centenário. Rio de Janeiro 1922-1923. Relatório dos Trabalhos* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1926), p.29. The name of Rio's exhibition was established by decree 15.509 on 22 July 1922.

the exhibition as a means to materialise citizenship and instil nationalism into subjects frequently excluded from the political process.

In its modernizing efforts, the *Exposição* also signalled how nature was to be controlled and transcended by technology. Specific to the *Exposição* was a programme of destruction and construction involving nature, landscaping, and exhibition that was to become central to the experience of modernity in Brazil in the 1920s. Rio, the capital of the Republic – a city internationally recognised for its natural beauty – had some of its core natural features artificially transformed in the name of modernity for its international exhibition. I argue that the *Exposição* engendered a transformation of tropical nature into an artifice, raising questions about what is natural and what is artificial.

Brazilian economy and society in the 1920s were mostly organised around agricultural activities and rural areas. However, the loci of modernity were the urban centres. The politicians responsible for devising and organising the 1922 exhibition promoted this view. Engaging in a dialogue with Lévi-Strauss's observations on the urban expansion of American cities, I employ the Rio exhibition as a springboard to think about broader characteristics of Brazilian modernity.³⁹

Following my argument that the most crucial object on display in 1922 was the nation itself, this chapter centres on the *Exposição*'s structural and architectural aspects instead of particular interior displays. The importance of the exhibitionary complex in Rio, complete with foreign visitors, can be understood also through Bennett's interpretation of the exhibition space as spectacle and surveillance. How was the exhibitionary complex seen before in Europe and United States re-enacted on national soil? What changes were made and how was it adapted? What does it say about the political agents who undertook this project? Drawing on threads from previous chapters, this final discussion reveals how representativeness, the transcendence of nature by culture, and the manipulation of time and space operated at home for the education of nationals and genera-

³⁹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, translated by John Russel (New York: Criterion, 1961)

tion of social and cultural consent. As with other republican exhibitions, the *Exposição*, in celebrating Brazil's independence centennial, forged a narrative of historical events and national heroes that wished to inscribe the exhibition into a progressive lineage of foundational moments for nation-building in Brazil. As with other republican exhibitions, the history of the Brazilian Empire was strategically absent from this narrative. By 1922, no one talked about the Great Exhibition or those preoccupations professed by Lisboa, Sturz or Capanema in 1851, despite their efforts to visualise and promote Brazil through exhibitions. This thesis, thus, bridges these two historical moments and considers what were the ruptures and the underlying continuities in the projection of Brazilian national identity and modernity in exhibitions.

Chapter one

Locating Exhibition Studies

Locating period, sources and methods

The sixty-year span between 1862 and 1922 offers valuable insight into a period of intense modernisation in Brazil and of fundamental debate about nationalism and *brasili-dade*. This period was chosen to include and investigate the passage from Empire to Republic in Brazilian history. To date, no study of the Brazilian participation in international exhibitions has examined and compared the national views promoted by the Empire against those republicans.¹ Historian Maria Inez Turazzi, author of an extensive examination of imperial exhibitions, states both the scholarly necessity of bridging these two political periods and the difficulties imposed by the lack of sources on republican festivals, a topic I will detail below.² The necessity for comparing the two regimes stems from the insight that such analysis offer into the ways national identities are constructed, and how engagement with modernity differed. As this thesis will disclose in detail, it was in the dialectical opposition from one historical period and political rule to the other that this construction became more apparent, and revealed the artifices employed for the establishment of national identities that wanted to be recognised as natural attributes of the nation.

For similar reasons, my thesis does not present exhibitions in the chronological order in which they happened. The majority of Brazilian studies on exhibitions, as discussed below, tend to place exhibitions in a progressive continuum. They usually deliver generalist

¹ Kuhlmann Junior covers a similar period but focuses only on the Brazilian pedagogical exhibits. It does not include the Brazilian presence in Chicago in 1893. Moysés Kuhlmann Junior, *As Grandes Festas Didáticas: A Educação Brasileira e as Exposições Internacionais, 1862-1922* (Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 2001). The recent book by Andermann considers some of this period's exhibitions but does not systematically compare imperial and republican festivals. Jens Andermann, *The Optic of the State: Visuality and Power in Argentina and Brazil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

² Turazzi, pp.20-22.

accounts that suggest that an exhibition is necessarily a continuation from the previous.³ This, I believe, precludes the understanding of each exhibition as contingent in terms of both time and space. In my study, I propose a more flexible methodology. I posed specific questions to exhibitions according to the breadth and depth of documentation found, to their historical moments, domestically and internationally, and to the relationship between Brazil and a particular host nation. My chapters are organised around a thematic structure in which each chapter's theme complexifies or furthers the previous chapter's questions. This structure enabled me to break a narrative usually based on historical succession and to find continuities across exhibitions in unexpected ways. The displays of raw materials by the Empire and Republic discussed in chapter three are a fundamental example of such continuity that escaped linear accounts. This structure also allowed for the making of several connections among festivals when these continuities needed stressing. Moreover, the common method of analysis deployed throughout the thesis, based on design historical approaches, promotes synthesis in the discussion and a coherent treatment of the varied and disparate exhibition primary sources.

For exhibition studies, the variable depth and breadth of primary sources can either offer great analytical potential or impose limitations. In the Brazilian case, the scarcity of primary sources on republican exhibitions contrasts with the extremely well documented imperial exhibitions. This variation results, in part, from the political systems in which these festivals occurred. Imperial exhibitions from the 1860s and 1870s were mounted under a strong, centralised regime that demanded comprehensive written reports from all commissioners sent abroad. Visual documentation, a product of the emperor's and his Court's early infatuation with photography, is also preponderant during the imperial period.⁴ Additionally, written and visual records were carefully kept in Pedro II's own library, which he bequeathed to the Brazilian public when fleeing to exile after the republican coup of 1889.

³ Francisco Foot Hardman, *Trem Fantasma: A Ferrovia Maderia-Mamoré e a Modernidade na Selva* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005) [1988]. See discussion in the next part of this chapter. Out of the three major references for exhibition studies in Brazil, Hardman and Pesavento address exhibitions in this way.

⁴ On the impact of photography on exhibitions see chapter three and Turazzi.

During Empire, the concern with the maintenance of the vast and varied records created for and accrued during exhibitions was such that proposals were made for the erection of a special exhibition library to collect these items.⁵ This special library was never built, but to date the majority of these records are kept in the *Biblioteca Nacional* (National Library, BN) in Rio. They include, besides exhibition commissioners' official reports, numerous manuscripts, photographs of Brazilian exhibits and displays, drawings of pavilions and machines, imported exhibition publications and catalogues, contemporary newspapers, illustrated magazines, and illustrated albums.

The scarcity of records on republican exhibitions reflects the different approach to cultural patrimony and to political centralisation undertaken during the First Republic (1889-1930). Very few records of these exhibitions have survived. It is not all clear if they were ever numerous. Brazilian archives hold a few manuscripts and correspondences that shed light on the discourses of some commissioners or people involved in republican exhibitions, but no systematic documentation or system of reports existed, with the exception of those collated after Rio's *Exposição*. The 1922 international exhibition produced a vast collection of official documents, commissioners' reports, architectural drawings, photographs, among others, which were also originally organised to form a single collection.⁶ These records, however, have not been compiled and are currently scattered between various institutions, mostly in Rio. Due to the inexistence of other primary sources, the national preparatory exhibitions for St Louis (1904) and Chicago (1892) have been reconstructed solely through newspaper accounts.⁷ No illustrations or photographs of these exhibitions survive, rendering the visual analysis of republican preparatory exhibitions impossible. In many instances, information about the Brazilian appearance at the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition (1904) and the World's Columbian Exposition (1893) was only retrievable

⁵ Turazzi, p.140.

⁶ República, p.243.

⁷ For 1892 and 1893 I examined the illustrated magazine *Revista Ilustrada (RI)* and five major dailies: *Correio da Manhã (CM)*, *O Paiz (OP)*, *Jornal do Commercio (JC)*, *Gazeta de Noticias (GN)*, and *Jornal do Brasil (JB)*. For 1904, I considered the last three newspapers and the illustrated magazine *Kosmos*.

through the international press. For this period, the majority of the photographs of republican objects, displays, and pavilions visually and materially analysed in this thesis were published in foreign publications only found in archives outside Brazil.⁸ The case of the Brazilian participation in Chicago is telling. The lack of official archival sources about Brazil's participation in 1893 has led historians to believe and publicly affirm that the country was not represented there.⁹ It was only through the investigation of Brazilian newspapers accounts and of foreign archival material that this thesis was able to correct this inaccuracy.¹⁰

Another major gap in the knowledge and understanding of Brazilian exhibitions lies in the insufficiency of secondary sources dedicated to the study of the men and women who were exhibition commissioners during Empire and Republic. These people were usually members of the imperial or republican elites occupying important positions such as museum directors, naturalists, or civil servants, as chapter two will consider. Their biographies, however, have not been systematically examined. Recently published works on exhibitions and correlated subjects have started to fill this scholarly gap.¹¹ The second chapter, therefore, opens routes for further investigations into the biographies and actions of those men and women connected with exhibitions.

⁸ *The Graphic: Number Devoted to Brazil at the Columbian Exposition*, 28 October 1893 (Chicago: Graphic Co., 1893). This issue of the illustrated magazine *The Graphic (TG)* has dozens of photographs of Brazilian exhibitions and exhibits installed in several departments. This visual record is unmatched by any other document of the time for the study of the Brazilian exhibition in 1893.

⁹ Pedro Tórtima, 'Exposições Mundiais e Nacionais: Participação do Brasil', *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 150 anos*, ed. by Isa Adonias (Rio de Janeiro: HMF, 1990), pp.293-94.

¹⁰ In Brazil, the long closure of the Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty (Itamaraty Historical Archive, AHI), responsible for collecting documentation from foreign Brazilian delegations since the Empire, obstructed a detailed insight into how host nations have invited Brazil to participate in exhibitions and how Brazil responded. I counteracted this limitation by relying on secondary sources. A reference which touches on imperial participation in international exhibitions from a diplomatic perspective using sources from the AHI is Paulo Roberto de Almeida, *Formação da Diplomacia Econômica no Brasil: As Relações Econômicas Internacionais no Império* (Rio de Janeiro: Senac, 2001), especially pp.146-53 and 406-08.

¹¹ The recent book on the imperial scientific expedition of 1859-1861 brings some biographies of professionals who eventually participated in the 1860s' and 1870s' imperial exhibitions. *Comissão Científica do Império, 1859-1861*, ed. by Lorelai Kury (Rio de Janeiro: Andrea Jakobsson Estúdio, 2009). Jens Andermann's and Patience A. Schell's research project and virtual museum exhibition, *Relics and Selves: Iconographies of the National in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, 1880-1890*, considers professionals from Brazilian museums also frequently associated to exhibitions, albeit covering a short period. See <http://www.bbk.ac.uk/ibamuseum> [Accessed 16 August 2010].

Brazilian exhibition studies

Brazilian studies of international exhibitions can be divided into two groups. The first group includes a few works published in the late 1980s and early 1990s that pioneered the subject in Brazil. These works tend to approach the Brazilian participation in exhibitions from a generalist viewpoint, usually investigating numerous exhibitions in historical succession. In contrast to these pioneer studies, the second group comprises subject specialist studies that focus on either one exhibition or one aspect of the Brazilian exhibitionary effort. These works published in the early years of the twenty-first century follow an international trend in exhibition studies whereby detailed analysis of specific exhibition aspects are favoured over a general, sequential account.¹²

My thesis sits in between these two tendencies of Brazilian exhibition studies. With the generalist overviews, I share the wish to investigate the Brazilian participation in exhibitions over a long period and to examine how these participations engaged with the broader phenomena of modernity and national identity. With the subject specialist studies, I share the interest of undertaking an in-depth analysis of specific exhibitionary aspects, namely, the materialisation of ideas of modernity and national identity into ‘Brazilian’ exhibits and displays. To date, no other study of the Brazilian participation in exhibitions has attempted to cover a long duration encompassing both Empire and Republic while offering a detailed investigation of national exhibits.

One of the first studies to address the Brazilian participation in international exhibitions was published by scholar Francisco Foot Hardman in 1988. His *Trem Fantasma: a Ferrovia Maderia-Mamoré e a Modernidade na Selva* (Ghost Train: the Madeira-Mamoré Railway and Modernity in the Jungle) investigates crucial aspects of Brazil’s nineteenth-

¹² A notable exception to this trend is Pieter van Wesemael’s *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon, 1798-1851-1970* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001). Wesemael’s long periodisation and detailed analysis of exhibitions places him closer to the generalist works from the 1980s and 1990s. My characterisation of exhibition studies follows Wesemael’s review of the international scholarship on exhibitions. He classifies exhibition studies in three categories: general overviews, specialist, and monographic studies. See Wesemael, pp.27-31.

and turn of the century life and its engagement with capitalist expansionism.¹³ This work, though, focuses on the disastrous attempt of building a massive railway in the Amazon rain-forest (1909-1912) and not on exhibitions themselves. Exhibitions and a brief overview of the Brazilian efforts are considered only in what they illuminate how modernity operated inside and outside Brazil. Through a clear Marxist perspective, Hardman argues that the worldview promoted by exhibitions positioned Brazil unfavourably in the increasingly internationalised market of capitalist exchange. Despite its brevity, Hardman's conceptualisation of exhibitions as sites of modernity had considerable impact on subsequent exhibition studies in Brazil.

Another foundational study inspired by Hardman's is *Poses e Trejeitos: a Fotografia e as Exposições Universais na Era do Espetáculo, 1839-1889* (Postures and Gestures: Photography and Universal Exhibitions during the Era of the Spectacle) published by Maria Inez Turazzi in 1995.¹⁴ Turazzi compares the advent of photography to that of exhibitions as 'the most important phenomena for the universalising of culture and cosmopolitanization of modern life'.¹⁵ Turazzi understands modernity and conceptualises exhibitions in different ways from Hardman. While Hardman examines Brazilian exhibitionary efforts from a political economic perspective, Turazzi investigates cultural aspects of exhibitions such as the construction of a national image for Brazil via the display of photographs abroad. Turazzi's approach is, among these foundational works, the one closer to the design historical approach I undertake in my thesis.

Sandra Jatahy Pesavento's *Exposições Universais: Espetáculos da Modernidade no Século XIX* (Universal Expositions: Spectacles of Modernity in the Nineteenth Century) published in 1997 focuses only on the Brazilian participation in international exhibitions.¹⁶ Pesavento considers exhibitions from the second half of the nineteenth-century as 'spectacles of bourgeois exhibitionism' and like Hardman draws solely on Marxist ideas of com-

¹³ Hardman, *Trem Fantasma*.

¹⁴ Turazzi, *Poses e Trejeitos*.

¹⁵ Turazzi, pp.19-20.

¹⁶ Pesavento, *Exposições Universais*.

modity fetishism and alienation as her main conceptual tools.¹⁷ As Hardman before her, and unlike Turazzi, Pesavento does not consider in detail exhibits sent by Brazil abroad.

These three foundational studies can be further analysed in their periodisation, uses of primary sources, conceptualisation and methodologies. First, generalist overviews tend to create chronological, linear narratives that move from one exhibition to another, overlooking the historical and geographical contingencies of each individual festival. Exhibitions are portrayed as if in a progressive, homogenous continuum. Besides, none of these studies examines twentieth-century exhibitions. Hardman investigates imperial exhibitions, despite their non-synchronicity to his jungle railway investigation. Pesavento and Turazzi stop their investigations at the last imperial exhibition in Paris in 1889. As mentioned above, this void in the study of twentieth-century exhibitions constitutes a major gap in the understanding of how the construction of Brazilian national identity and engagement with modernity evolved, changed or not. To challenge this traditional periodisation in order to find ruptures and continuities across crucial moments in Brazilian history constitutes my thesis' significant contribution for the understanding of exhibitions and to Brazilian historiography.

The scholarly restraint in examining republican exhibitions also results from the scarcity of primary sources mentioned above, as scholars primarily based their studies on sources held in Brazilian archives. This geographic limitation has also given Brazilian exhibition studies a distinctively provincial flavour; has promoted an endogenous repetition of findings, ideas and debates; and has disengaged the discussion of Brazilian participation in exhibitions from broader international narratives. My thesis brings new perspectives to the subject by examining unresearched primary sources from North-American and British archives.

As for conceptualisation, these scholars have a strong sense that international exhibitions were crucial opportunities for Brazil to 'enter' modernity and persist in its state-driven modernisation process. However, they fall short in detailing how the nation's ap-

¹⁷ Pesavento, p.57.

proaches to modernity were concretely negotiated in exhibitions. In the case of Hardman in particular, exhibitions are considered more as tools to examine modernity than subjects of a systematic investigation of their contents. In comparison to debates carried out in the international scholarship, reviewed below, Brazilian exhibition studies focus less on how a Brazilian national identity was constructed and projected abroad; on how the construction of a cultural identity operated, and on imperialism and colonialism being promoted in these pageants. As instance, Hardman and Pesavento speak of late nineteenth-century imperialism from a Marxist perspective by reinforcing the ‘centre versus periphery’ categories of analysis, a dichotomy that my thesis challenges as will be considered below.

In their approach to exhibitions these scholars focus little on the collections of national exhibits displayed abroad. Some subject specialist studies have shed light on a few types of exhibits such as pedagogy or photography, and made Brazil’s representation abroad more complex.¹⁸ The lack of comprehensive studies examining the material and visual cultures amassed across national territory to represent the nation abroad results in a peculiar conceptual dissonance. Brazilian exhibition studies speak of ‘representation’ without considering the actual objects, crafts, and images chosen to materialise Brazil’s national and modernising intentions and the display of these abroad. This thesis’ critical stance is to problematise and offer interpretations for the ways in which these representations operated. My design historical approach undertakes detailed analysis of objects – exhibits, displays, pavilions, and publications – to unpack how they conveyed and negotiated Brazil’s position

¹⁸ Some specialist studies include Turazzi on photography; Kuhlmann Junior on pedagogy; Barbuy on visual representation in 1889; Heizer on scientific instruments in 1889; Wadsworth and Marko on childhood and the welfare state of 1922; Levy on architecture and public works in 1908, and Motta on nationalism in 1922. These references are: Heloisa Barbuy, *A Exposição Universal de 1889 em Paris: Visão e Representação na Sociedade Industrial* (São Paulo: Loyola, 1999); Alda L. Heizer, ‘Os Instrumentos Científicos e as Grandes Exposições do Século XIX’ in *Ciência, Civilização e Império nos Trópicos*, ed. by Alda L. Heizer and Antonio Augusto Passos Videira (Rio de Janeiro: MAST, 2001); James E. Wadsworth and Tamera L. Marko, ‘Children of the Pátria: Representations of Childhood and Welfare State Ideologies at the 1922 Rio de Janeiro International Centennial Exposition’, *The Americas*, 58 (2001), 65-90; Ruth Levy, *Entre Palácios e Pavilhões: A Arquitetura Efêmera da Exposição Nacional de 1908* (Rio de Janeiro: EBA/UFRJ, 2008); Marly Silva da Motta, *A Nação Faz Cem Anos: A Questão Nacional no Centenário da Independência* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1992).

in the international market without, for example, incurring in the presumption that all raw materials suppliers were necessarily considered colonies.

Marly Silva da Motta's *A Nação Faz Cem Anos: a Questão Nacional no Centenário da Independência* (The Nation is a Hundred Years Old: the National Question at the Independence Centennial), from 1992, is another foundational study that focuses solely on the 1922 international exhibition held in Brazil.¹⁹ Motta's study paved the way for other subject specialist studies published mainly in the 2000s focused on Rio's *Exposição*. Most of this scarce literature treats the *Exposição* isolated from the overall phenomenon of international exhibition. Motta frames the *Exposição* as part of the celebrations of Brazil's independence and compares it to celebrations held in São Paulo. Thais Rezende also analyses the Rio exhibition as an isolated event of Brazilian modernity.²⁰ Annamaria Rego and Carlos Kessel focus on the exhibition's architecture but not on the exhibitionary complex per se.²¹ Noah Elkin studied the Rio exhibition as a pinnacle of the national exhibitions held since 1861 but underplayed its international significance.²² The exhibition dictionary recently edited by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle includes the 1922 exhibition in the international exhibitionary circuit, albeit in a succinct form.²³

Exhibition studies outside Brazil

Contrasting with the few works on Brazilian exhibition studies, hundreds of books have been published abroad on the subject, sometimes right after the closing of the first exhibi-

¹⁹ Motta, *A Nação Faz Cem Anos*.

²⁰ Thais Rezende da Silva de Sant'Anna, 'A Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência: Modernidade e Política no Rio de Janeiro do Início dos Anos 1920' (unpublished masters' dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2008).

²¹ Annamaria Rego de Almeida, 'Uma Exposição Internacional no Rio de Janeiro', *Anais do Museu Histórico Nacional*, 34 (2002), 371-84; Carlos Kessel, *A Vitrine e o Espelho: o Rio de Janeiro de Carlos Sampaio* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 2001).

²² Noah C. Elkin, 'Promoting a New Brazil: National Expositions and Images of Modernity, 1861-1922' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Rutgers University, 1999).

²³ Bruno Bontempi Junior and Noah W. Sobe, 'Rio de Janeiro, 1922-1923' in Findling and Pelle, 228-29.

tions.²⁴ Exhibition studies became more popular since the mid-twentieth century when scholars began to recognise the exhibition's social and cultural historical values, thus beginning what might be called a scholarly tradition. This literature, published mainly in English and French, has been accompanied by a less academic but no less enthusiastic interest in the subject, reflected in numerous publications and websites of exhibitions aficionados who cover up to the latest exhibitions held in the twenty-first century.²⁵

Exhibition scholars, Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle distinguish between exhibitions studies according to their conceptual approaches, interests, and outcome comprising six 'schools of thoughts'.²⁶ In the first one, they locate studies centred on exhibition organisers and their intentions. In this group are included Rydell's own doctoral thesis and Tony Bennett's *The Birth of the Museum* as works that employ Antonio Gramsci's and Michel Foucault's conceptualisations of the state to analyse power relations, cultural hegemony and exhibition organisers' desire to gain audience support for imperial policies.²⁷ This group is the one mostly related to my thesis' questions and arguments. In the second school, they identify several minor specialist studies on specific exhibitions concerned with audience and their multiple interpretations of fairs. The third school is termed 'counter-hegemonic' since it is concerned with how North-American Indians and women, for example, used fairs to challenge traditional representation usually fixed to them. The fourth approach comprises anthropological studies, exemplified in the work of Burton Benedict, who studied exhibitions as rituals of abun-

²⁴ For an encompassing list, see Findling and Pelle.

²⁵ It is interesting to note a geographic variation in the terminology used to distinguish such festivals. In Britain, exhibitions have been called 'international exhibitions'. In the United States, organisers and scholars have adopted the terms 'expositions' or 'world's fairs', and in France, 'expositions universelles'. In Brazil, commentators contemporary to the festivals and subsequent scholars have adopted a translated variation of the French term, 'exposições universais'. This reflects the cultural influence France exerted over nineteenth-century Brazil.

²⁶ *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States*, ed. by Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), pp.5-7.

²⁷ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

dance and gift exchanging.²⁸ In the fifth group are documentary works that examine technological, scientific, architectural, and urban planning aspects of fairs, such as Findling and Pelle's dictionary, or Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus' and Anne Rasmussen's study on the long history of French exhibitions.²⁹ The final group encompasses general histories, such as John Allwood's *The Great Exhibitions*, and the often non-academic studies from exhibition aficionados; collectors of memorabilia, original publications, ephemera and objects, some of which are organised in dedicated collections.³⁰

The above characterisation demonstrates what different concepts and methodologies have been developed by the international scholarship but it also reveals what has been overlooked by it. In comparison to Brazilian exhibition studies, the international literature has considered broader themes than just a discussion of modernity. Authors outside Brazil have analysed some of modernity's many manifestations like imperialism, nineteenth-century colonialism and nationalism, for example. However, these studies tend to focus their interest on the 'coloniser-colonised' dichotomy of late nineteenth-century imperialism, not acknowledging what these exhibitions meant to newly-independent, sovereign nations like Brazil.³¹ This is a major insufficiency in exhibition studies that my thesis addresses. How did Brazil position itself as a nation in the increasingly partitioned world of late nineteenth-century imperialism?

Absent from that characterisation compiled in 2000 by Rydell et al is the burgeoning field of study of Latin American exhibitions and the participation of Latin American

²⁸ Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs* (London: Scolar Press, 1983) and 'International Exhibitions and National Identity', *Anthropology Today*, 7 (1991), pp.5-9.

²⁹ Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus and Anne Rasmussen, *Les Fastes du Progres: Le Guide des Expositions Universelles, 1851-1992* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992).

³⁰ John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions: 150 Years* (London: Exhibition Consultants, 2001). Chief collections of material on international exhibitions include the Smithsonian Institute (Washington DC) – especially their collection in microfilm called *The Books of the Fairs*, Henry Madden Library (Fresno, CA), the Cooper-Hewitt Museum (New York), Reading University (UK) and the Victoria & Albert Museum (UK). For an extensive bibliography of collections and secondary sources see 'International Exhibitions, Expositions Universelles and World's Fairs, 1851-1951: a Bibliography', compiled by Alexander Geppert, Jean Coffey and Tammy Lau, available at <http://www.tu-cottbus.de/BTU/Fak2/TheoArch/Wolke/eng/Bibliography/ExpoBibliography.htm> [Accessed 29 August 2010].

³¹ Auerbach and Hoffenberg, *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*.

nations in European and North-American festivals. Dated approximately from the 2000s onwards, this field has been advanced by scholars like Jens Andermann who has edited with Beatriz Gonzales Stephan a volume uniting several Latin-American scholars who study these subjects. Their *Galerías del Progreso: Museos, Exposiciones y Cultura Visual en América Latina* (Galleries of Progress: Museums, Exhibitions and Visual Culture in Latin America) features, among others, three articles about Brazilian exhibitionary efforts.³² The articles by Andermann and Turazzi advance studies on two specific exhibitions held in Brazil, the first anthropological exhibition in Rio in 1882 and the Brazilian history exhibition in 1881, respectively.³³ A third article by anthropologist Lilia Moritz Schwarcz offers less new contribution as it repeats many of the findings and interpretations already published by the author elsewhere.³⁴

The *Galerías del Progreso* marks a new turn in the studies of Latin American exhibitions and nationalism. Besides illuminating aspects in the participation of Latin American nations, these recent publications focus particularly on the visibility engendered by Latin American states in these festivals. Stephan, for example, expands on Benedict Anderson's argument about the primacy of the spread of nationalism in Latin American via print by including exhibitions as more effective media.³⁵ 'Visuality', as Andermann terms this proc-

³² *Galerías del Progreso: Museos, Exposiciones y Cultura Visual en América Latina*, ed. by Beatriz Gonzales Stephan and Jens Andermann (Rosario: Beatriz Viterbo, 2006). Andermann also published two other works that touch on Brazil's experience in exhibitions. See *The Optic of the State* and 'Tournaments of Value: Argentina and Brazil in the Age of Exhibitions', *Journal of Material Culture*, 14 (2009), 333-363.

³³ Jens Andermann, 'Espetáculo da Diferença: a Exposição Antropológica de 1882', in *Galerías del Progreso*, pp.151-94; Maria Inez Turazzi, 'Imagens da Nação: a Exposição de História do Brasil de 1881 e a Construção do Patrimônio Iconográfico', in *Galerías del Progreso*, pp.117-50.

³⁴ Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, 'Os Trópicos como Espetáculo: a Participação Brasileira nas Exposições Universais de Finais do Século XIX', in *Galerías del Progreso*, pp.195-220; Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador: D. Pedro II, um Monarca nos Trópicos* (São Paulo: Companhia Das Letras, 1998). Perhaps due to unsystematic primary sources research, Schwarcz incurs in historical inaccuracies and flawed interpretations in both publications. For instance, Schwarcz wrongly affirms that no other Latin American nation participated in nineteenth-century exhibitions with the exception of Argentina in 1867. This inaccurate affirmation contradicts the editorial rationale of *Galerías del Progreso*, that of unearthing the various Latin American appearances in nineteenth-century exhibitions. See Schwarcz, 'Os Trópicos como Espetáculo', pp.203 and 208.

³⁵ Beatriz Gonzales Stephan, 'Showcases of Consumption: Historical Panoramas and Universal Expositions', in *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, ed. by Sara Castro-Klaren and John Charles Chasteen (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 225-38.

ess, is given central attention in the making of nationalism and in experiencing modernity.³⁶ Most importantly, scholars are undertaking comparative analyses among the many experiences of Latin American nations in exhibitions. Mauricio Tenorio Trillo and Alvaro Fernández-Bravo are especially strong in making comparative works. They have studied Mexican and Argentinean participations, respectively, gauged against that of Brazil, for example.³⁷ Trillo is particularly interested in what he calls ‘a special sort of cultural interbreeding’ and a ‘south-south kind of fascination’ in his investigation of the cultural and political negotiations between Mexico and Brazil at exhibitions.³⁸

This new scholarship challenges traditionally Eurocentric and North-American views on exhibitions, which usually do not account for interrelations among Latin American nations, be it befriending each other for geopolitical affirmation or as opponents competing for the same market in the international arena. Rhetoric and displays of enmity and friendship between Brazil and other American nations feature strongly in the arguments proposed in this thesis. During the nineteenth century and after their independence from Spain and Portugal, Latin American states seized exhibitions as crucial opportunities to form visions of their new nations and to affirm them as modern and sovereign political unities abroad. In this way, my study contributes to the advancement of this burgeoning literature.

Studies by Latin American scholars also demonstrate shortcomings in applying concepts and findings from the international scholarship to understand the contingencies of their national experiences. Dutch scholar Pieter van Wesemael, for example, concludes that

³⁶ Andermann, *The Optic of the State*.

³⁷ Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); ‘A Tropical Cuauhtémoc: Celebrating the Cosmic Race at the Guanabara Bay’, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 65 (1994), 93-137. This last article was also published in Portuguese as ‘Um Cuauhtémoc Carioca: Comemorando o Centenário da Independência do Brasil e a Raça Cósmica’, *Estudos Históricos*, 7 (1994), 123-148. See also Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, ‘1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 28 (1996), 75-104. Argentinean scholar Alvaro Fernández-Bravo has published ‘Argentina y Brasil en la Exposición Universal de París de 1889’ in *Relics and Selves*, and ‘Ambivalent Argentina: Nationalism, Exoticism, and Latin Americanism at the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition’, *Nepantla: Views from South*, 2 (2001) 115-139.

³⁸ Tenorio-Trillo, ‘A Tropical Cuauhtémoc’, pp.93-94.

one of the aims of nineteenth-century exhibitions was ‘to reconcile the population to the modernisation (...) that was occurring in their everyday lives’.³⁹ This might be a logical conclusion for European or even North-American realities, but such modernisation was differently lived by the population of Brazil and other Latin American nations. One of the ways whereby exhibitions meant modernisation and promoted an experience of modernity in Latin America was through the collapse of space favoured by the idea that all parts of the globe were to be interconnected. In Brazil, the chain of provincial and national exhibitions engendered by the international phenomenon compressed this spatial distancing between continents. In effect, it increased the internationalisation of Brazil and Brazilian objects at the same time it demanded a nationalist stance from the state and its objects.

North-American and British scholars have focused on exhibitions as imperialist sites where dispute among ‘central’ nations for international territory and economic control were made visible. Rydell argues that in the United States’ experience exhibitions helped the elaboration and visualisation of national cohesion and military expansion discourses, especially when they were held at home.⁴⁰ The United States, in fact, not only organised major international exhibitions but also appropriated and expanded on the phenomena. Brazilian authors have made little use of Rydell’s comprehensive investigations as they pay less attention to exhibitions held in the United States than to those from Europe.⁴¹ The issues raised in his body of work, as well as the primary sources unearthed, have become valuable resources for my thesis, which questions how different the Brazilian exhibitionary appearance in the United States was from its presence in Europe.⁴²

British scholar Paul Greenhalgh has contributed to exhibition studies with a research model and chapter structure that helped developing my own research. His major

³⁹ Wesemael, p.661.

⁴⁰ *Fair America*, ed. by Rydell, Findling and Pelle, pp.8-9.

⁴¹ Only Pesavento refers to Rydell. Brazilian authors predominantly base their investigations on French authors and primary sources.

⁴² Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair; World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993); *Fair Representations: World’s Fairs and the Modern World*, ed. by Robert W. Rydell and Nancy Gwinn (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), and *Fair America*, ed. by Rydell, Findling and Pelle.

work on the topic, *Ephemeral Vistas*, demonstrates how exhibitions served the purposes of imperialist worldviews that promoted an increasing division among peoples, cultures, and nations in a world increasingly interconnected and internationalised.⁴³ Instead of embarking in chronological narrative, Greenhalgh chose a few themes and conceptual perspectives and investigated how they shifted through his proposed period (1851-1940). Greenhalgh mainly focuses on the ventures of Britain, France, and the United States and examines their imperialist intentions by analysing how they have displayed themselves, how they have displayed others (colonies, human showcases, women, fine arts), how their nationalisms were profiled, and how prefabricated and mass-produced objects featured in a new world order promoted by industrialism. Despite offering a good research model, Greenhalgh does not consider raw materials and their status among exhibits, a topic that features prominently in the present thesis.

Greenhalgh's focus on the various material aspects of exhibits and exhibitions provides the fundament for my design historical approach. In his words:

The art and design historian cannot afford to exclude [the range of objects assembled in one single site], [...] because they brought together disparate types of produce in a way that no cultural manifestation before them could ever contemplate. Thus, they reflected and influenced taste and attitudes in their respective times.⁴⁴

Greenhalgh's design historical study is based on an interesting and stimulating reading of exhibitions via objects and styles presented by manufacturing nations over a long period. He demonstrates that styles meant more than the realisation of forms, fashion, or taste for the people who created them. They were also the realisation of determined worldviews shared by those people. The principle that sustains that worldviews are materialised into objects and thus can be unpacked by a design historical analysis is fundamentally followed by this thesis. However, a study of nineteenth- and early twentieth-

⁴³ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*.

⁴⁴ Greenhalgh, p.82.

century Brazilian exhibitions compels not a discussion entailed by mass-production but one that concentrates on raw materials and their exhibitionary transformation into displays. To speak of the ‘raw and the manufactured’ instead of the ‘prefabricated and the mass-produced’ is more adequate to the reality of a nation that participated in the international market as a supplier of raw materials. Greenhalgh’s preference for concentrating on the ‘nations [that] were responsible for defining the shape and scope of events everywhere’ only examines the participation of other nations in their roles as colonies, not addressing how nineteenth-century exhibitions concerned newly-independent, sovereign nations like Brazil.⁴⁵

Greenhalgh’s design historical investigation starkly contrasts the approach and findings offered by Hardman in his brief discussion of exhibits. Drawing on Walter Benjamin’s conceptualisation of exhibitions as phantasmagorias, a topic to which we will return below, Hardman condemns the objects exhibited for their illusory, spectral, and ephemeral qualities.⁴⁶ The Brazilian scholar employs theories and secondary sources that are outdated and obsolete to design historians. Entirely based on Pevsner’s *Pioneers of Modern Design*, Hardman morally and judgmentally critiques the design of exhibits for their apparent lack of utility and function.⁴⁷ Basing his analysis on exhibits seen at the Great Exhibition of 1851 by Ralph Wornum, Hardman disqualifies the furniture exhibited, for instance, as ‘excessively refined’; the objects for interior decoration as ‘extravagant’, and criticises styles for their ‘attachment to detail [...] preferable to any criteria of functionality.’⁴⁸ ‘A certain bad taste mannerism is predominant over the utilitarian’, he adds in his historicist analyses, ‘despite the sometimes modern techniques, the style is old

⁴⁵ Greenhalgh, p.2.

⁴⁶ Hardman, pp.73-74.

⁴⁷ Hardman did not research objects exhibited. Rather, he bases his object analysis on the article by Ralph Wornum from 1851, ‘The Exhibition as a Lesson in Taste’, *The Crystal Palace Exhibition Illustrated Catalogue* (London, 1851). From Pevsner he cites chapters one and two of the Brazilian version, *Os Pioneiros do Desenho Moderno: de William Morris a Walter Gropius* (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1980).

⁴⁸ Hardman, pp.73-74.

fashioned [...], very distant from the plain practicality in the conceived space of the Crystal Palace'.⁴⁹

When borrowing strong Pevsnerian expressions such as 'regression of taste' and 'obsession for detail [...] in detriment of the structural balance' Hardman does not explain what he means, apart from judging the commodities exhibited in their lack of function and utility. Following his conceptualisation of phantasmagoria, the only function Hardman sees and dismisses in these exhibits is that of enchantment, i.e. that of distracting fairgoers into commodity fetishism.⁵⁰ Hardman seems to presuppose that were all commodities displayed functional, practical, non-ornamental objects the labour relations that produced them would be less asymmetrical and unjust ones. With decades of hindsight, design historians know that a more simple and functional design has not created a world more just and free of class struggle. Despite his fierce criticism on the art of the period as 'retrograde, pedantic eclecticism and empty', it is improbable that he thinks, unlike some of those pioneers praised by Pevsner, that modern forms and design modernism would get rid of exploitative productive forces.⁵¹ Notwithstanding his compelling argumentation that exhibitions created illusions, when analysing the mechanisms whereby these illusions operated Hardman is prone to misunderstanding and theoretical anachronism. Hardman also isolates the styles applied to exhibits from their broader histories of art, design, and technology. He does not consider such styles beyond exhibitions and, as such, does not consider their more significant cultural roles than that of 'inebriating the visitor'.⁵² Hardman fails to establish that the extreme ornamentation and abundance seen on exhibition were in themselves results of nineteenth-century modern means of production, and made possible by cheap and plentiful raw materials acquired from overseas colonies and nations. Hardman induces the reader to interpret that such material

⁴⁹ Hardman, pp.73-74.

⁵⁰ Hardman, pp.73-74.

⁵¹ Hardman, pp.73-74.

⁵² Hardman, pp.73-74.

abundance was not an indication of the power and wealth of metropolises but simply a style that went wrong.

Exhibitions as sites for the affirmation of Brazilian modernity

Hardman and Pesavento rely on a similar understanding of modernity; one based on Benjamin's concept of phantasmagoria and coupled with Marxist concepts of commodity fetishism and alienation of labour. They understand reality as presented and projected in exhibitions as illusory, including the Brazilian one. The following part of this chapter will discuss why this thesis distances itself from such models and explain how I employ concepts like modernity and nationalism.

Hardman conceptualises exhibitions as fantastic gatherings of commodities serving bourgeois interest, describing them as 'fabulous', 'incredible', and 'illusory'.⁵³ He portrays exhibitions as 'one of the most fertile ways to study the ideology articulated with the image of the wealth of the nations'.⁵⁴ Brazil's participation, he concludes, was perfectly inscribed in the 'modern bourgeois *exhibitio*'.⁵⁵ Labour relations behind the production of exhibited commodities are his main preoccupations. Exhibitions promoted the 'social and international division of labour', as he calls these labour relations, not only between working class and bourgeoisie, but also among nations.⁵⁶

Pesavento employs similar conceptualisations in her interpretation of international exhibitions. She considers exhibitions from the second half of the nineteenth-century as 'spectacles of bourgeois exhibitionism'.⁵⁷ Exhibitions are frequently considered as representatives of allegedly malicious influences of the capitalist system in expansion and of bourgeois values that commodified everyday life. Reading Marshall Berman, Pesavento

⁵³ Hardman, p.62: 'illusionist mosaic', 'sanctuaries constructed for the fetish-commodity'; p.63: 'the playful trance of the fetish-commodity', 'parties of modernity'.

⁵⁴ Hardman, p.63.

⁵⁵ Hardman, p.83.

⁵⁶ Hardman, pp.74-76.

⁵⁷ Pesavento, p.57.

equates modernity to an experience, ‘translated in forms of action, of feeling and of thinking’, and considers industrialisation the central nucleus that engendered these transformations.⁵⁸ Industrialisation, in her terms, was to be the ‘heart’ of capitalism, whereas modernity was to be its ‘soul’.⁵⁹ Pesavento shares Benjamin’s observation that modern life is characterised by the apprehension of things by their appearance (exchange value) instead of by their essence (use value).⁶⁰ Modernisation, she says, hides reality and promotes the fabrication of a new one, indicated by a new regime of visual panoramas, international exhibitions and urban reforms.⁶¹ The ‘reality’ distorted and hidden by exhibitions included the expulsion of poor people to the outskirts of cities, unequal division of labour, and a favouring of capital accumulation and economic development over social progress.

Turazzi’s interpretation of what exhibitions meant for nineteenth-century cultural history is a constructive alternative to the ‘phantasmagoria’ interpretation advanced by Hardman and Pesavento. Drawing on Werner Plum’s work, Turazzi interprets these festivals as ‘complex’ phenomena:

Exhibitions functioned as points of intersection, interaction, and publicity for the new tendencies in world development. They were ‘didactic plays’, according to Werner Plum, [showing] ‘the universality of changes in technology and science, in culture and art, in social politics and international relations’. [...] For the German historian, the industrial exhibitions were scenarios of the *interdisciplinary social history*. They made transparent the complexity of socio-cultural phenomena, since in exhibitions were intertwined [...] industrial information, technical formation, communication, congresses and international movements, fine arts, as well as manifestations of colonialism.⁶²

As a design historian, I share the interdisciplinary approach held by Turazzi in her interpretation of exhibitions as complex phenomena to be investigated according to their

⁵⁸ Pesavento, p.20.

⁵⁹ Pesavento, p.26.

⁶⁰ Pesavento, pp.19-23.

⁶¹ Pesavento, p.35.

⁶² Turazzi, p.27, original emphasis; Werner Plum, *World Exhibitions in the Nineteenth Century: Pageants of Social and Cultural Change* (Bonn-Bad Godesburg: Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, 1977).

internal logics.⁶³ This approach enables the design historian to investigate material evidence such as exhibits in their contingent role. The ‘complex’ interpretation, as I will henceforth call this approach, is concerned with the contents of the exhibitions and brings exhibits to the foreground of analysis. The ‘phantasmagoria’ interpretation previously discussed, instead, tends to overlook historical changes across exhibitions, apprehending the phenomena in their commonality.⁶⁴ The tangible, material, and contingent aspects of exhibitions emphasised through the complex, interdisciplinary approach give historians access to dissenting, conflicting, and contradictory projects exhibited. I propose, thus, to investigate and understand these festivals not as a homogeneous result of the triumph of bourgeois values, but as a troubled site of competing worldviews and projects. Likewise, my thesis presses for ways of approaching modernity more subtle than those based on dichotomies such as ‘centre versus periphery’, as we will consider below.

In Brazilian historiography, modernity has frequently been conceptualised as exogenous to the national experience. A good example of this current of thought is in North-American Brazilianist Richard Graham, who describes Brazil ‘entering’ modernity around the 1850s:

Brazil began to move closer to the modern world during the period from 1850 to the First World War. This period may be sub-divided at two points: 1865-70 and 1888-90. The pace of change was initially so sluggish that the modifications of the established order during the first fifteen or twenty years after 1850 were not easily perceived. But they were very real [...]. These changes softened the foundations of the old regime to such an extent that only a major crisis was needed to send crack up along the exterior walls and spread alarm among the guardians of the ancient structure. Such crisis was the war with Paraguay, which began in 1865 and lasted for five frustrating years. At its

⁶³ *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. by Louise Purbrick (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), also proposes interdisciplinary approaches to revive traditional points of view concerning exhibitions.

⁶⁴ Notably, this polarization between interpretations is more evident in Brazilian studies of exhibition. In British scholarship, for example, Ben Highmore managed a combination of both approaches. Ben Highmore, ‘Machinic Magic: IBM at the 1964-1965 New York World’s Fairs’, *new formations*, 51 (2004), 128-48.

end, Brazil entered a period [...] characterized by increasingly virulent attacks upon the traditional society.⁶⁵

This quote exemplifies how parts of the Brazilian historiography aim to establish when and how Brazil became modern. To state that Brazil ‘entered’ modernity, however, implies that the nation was somehow previously outside it, outcast in both spatial and temporal ways. An alternative to this view, and one that I espouse in my thesis, has been proposed by Nestor Garcia Canclini. He rejects the idea that modernity may be simply a space or a determined state from where one can enter or exit. He proposes that modernity be seen as a condition:

Modernity is not only a space or a state that one can enter or from where one can emigrate. It is a condition that involves us all, in the cities and in the fields, in the metropolises and in underdeveloped countries. With all the contradictions that exist between modernism and modernisation, and precisely because of them, [modernity] is a situation of endless transit in which it is never resolved the uncertainty about the meaning of being modern.⁶⁶

Following Canclini’s premise, this thesis accepts that the Brazilian participations in international exhibitions were fully formed manifestations of the experience of modernity in Brazil and for Brazilians, including the uneven processes of national modernisation. Thus, Brazilian representations organised at home and shown abroad are not interpreted here as attempts to display and prove modernity, despite some contemporary actors’ belief in so. Rather, this thesis holds that a complex, interdisciplinary study of exhibitions is essential to reveal how modernity was actually discussed, experienced and visualised in Brazil and abroad during the nation’s first hundred years.

Graham’s affirmation that Brazilian modernisation stemmed from ‘virulent attacks upon the traditional society’ is challenged by historian José Murilo de Carvalho who sees

⁶⁵ Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.23.

⁶⁶ Nestor Garcia Canclini, *Culturas Híbridas* (São Paulo: Edusp, 1997), pp.354-56.

the maintenance of tradition in Brazil one of the most distinct traits of the nation's experience of modernity.⁶⁷ In his understanding of Brazilian modernity, Carvalho speaks of a 'force of tradition' that he equates to both the maintenance of rural traditional values and the dominance of conservative, elitist governments.⁶⁸ Despite recognising, like Graham, that the 1870s and the end of the Paraguayan War were decisive moments in the history of Brazilian modernity, Carvalho questions the nature and the extent of the rhetoric of modernisation preached by the monarchic and republican regimes up to the First World War. He examines resistance offered by mainly rural dwellers against state-driven modernisation during this period (1870-1914). He asks why a 'conservative modernisation', which will be discussed shortly, prevailed in Brazil and persisted even beyond the 1930s. Notwithstanding that the invention of traditions can also be a foil to discourses about modernity, Carvalho argues that during this period in Brazil 'tradition was sufficiently strong to maintain the values of a rural, patriarchal, and hierarchic society'.⁶⁹

Carvalho distinguishes between two discourses of modernity, one that accepts economic and infrastructural modernisation as indexes of progress, and another that problematises this conflation by examining unevenness and the social cost of modernisation. The first discourse accepts that during that period Brazil began to participate fully in the expansionist phase of capitalism as its economy also expanded.⁷⁰ This discourse holds that modernity in Brazil advanced as coffee production and rubber extraction pushed the export-oriented national economy, and as infrastructural development was frequently guaranteed by British capital and investment. Some social modernisation also occurred. The slavery system was gradually abolished until complete manumission in 1888, and a successful programme of immigration attracted millions of white Europeans to Brazil to compensate for

⁶⁷ José Murilo de Carvalho, 'Brazil, 1870-1914: The Force of Tradition', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24 (1992), pp.145-62.

⁶⁸ Carvalho, 'The Force of Tradition'.

⁶⁹ Carvalho, 'The Force of Tradition', p.145.

⁷⁰ Carvalho, 'The Force of Tradition', pp.145-49.

what was considered a small labour force.⁷¹ This period also witnessed the birth of the Republican Party in both Rio and São Paulo provinces in the 1870s, and the secularisation of the political sphere – the Catholic Church was separated from the Brazilian state in 1890. Herbert Spencer’s racist evolutionist theories and Auguste Comte’s positivism provided ideological support for the Republican overthrow of the monarchy in 1889. Positivism in particular propelled in Brazil an ideology of progress based on technological and scientific advancements. While republican propaganda framed the new regime as the modernising force against the old, backward European monarchy in the Americas, technological innovations like the ‘telephone, gramophone, cinema, the typewriter and the electric tram’ materialised modernity in the everyday life of the increasingly larger urban middle-class.⁷²

This scenario, says Carvalho, is usually painted with the colours of positive modernisation and optimism. Included in this positive list of modern achievements could be the national participation in exhibitions and the successes of Brazilian representations abroad. This rhetoric of positive modernity and modernisation will emerge frequently throughout my thesis in the voices of contemporary actors who organised the Brazilian exhibitions abroad. They frequently believed that by showing modernisation Brazil would become modern. Carvalho, however, is concerned with less rosy facets of modernity. He enquires ‘into the meaning of the modernity that was being preached’ and examines the unsung resistance from people who opposed these institutionalised views of top-down modernisation and modernity.⁷³ Carvalho’s preoccupations have also guided my approach to the writing of Brazilian history. Although exhibitions have been consistently construed as illusory sites where aspects of positive modernity were promoted, my thesis tempers such optimism with evidence that shows how people and historical events not included in these official, exhibitionary accounts were nevertheless related to them.

⁷¹ Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, p.146. According to him, between 1884 and 1920, ‘three million immigrants, mainly Italians’ entered Brazil.

⁷² Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, p.147.

⁷³ Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, p.149.

Brazil was, between 1870 and 1914, a predominately rural country. According to Carvalho, in 1872 around 92 per cent of the Brazilian population lived in small towns with less than 20,000 inhabitants, whose activities revolved around farming.⁷⁴ By 1920, this number had increased, but still less than 13 per cent of the overall population lived in urbanised areas.⁷⁵ This rural Brazil is described by Carvalho as a ‘world of illiteracy, paternalism, semi-servile labour and an absence of rights’.⁷⁶ It represented an antithesis to that optimistic view of national modernity and modernisation projected in exhibitions. In these rural regions, the presence of the state was usually felt through military repression and social control that aimed at ruling over strongly religious villages and immense landowners’ estates. The state-driven repression and control came in the form of campaigns to sanitise peoples and places following the latest findings in tropical medicine, for example, or to demarcate indigenous land. Carvalho compares these occurrences of the state to ‘civilising campaigns’ organised under the gospel of ‘progress, civilisation, and modernity’.⁷⁷ These campaigns usually departed from urban centres towards the hinterlands of the nation where they often encountered dissent from the population they meant to ‘civilise’.⁷⁸ The Brazilian state took ‘responsibility for organising the nation and for modernising the country’ in authoritarian, repressive, ‘violent or paternalistic’ ways.⁷⁹ Carvalho notes that these civilising campaigns ‘uncovered, through the opposition they provoked, a Brazil that was far from convinced of the values of the missionaries’.⁸⁰ Modernising governments and intellectuals, thus, framed the opposition that they encountered in rural areas in terms of a fight between old and new ‘modern ideals’, especially during the republican regime. Is it possible, then, to include Brazilian participation in international exhibitions within his framework of civilising campaigns? Were exhibitions used as another political mechanism to quench difference

⁷⁴ José Murilo de Carvalho, *Pontos e Bordados: Escritos de História e Política* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 1998), p.112.

⁷⁵ Carvalho, *Pontos e Bordados*, p.112.

⁷⁶ Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, p.153.

⁷⁷ Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, p.148-49.

⁷⁸ Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, p.148-49.

⁷⁹ Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, pp.157 and 161.

⁸⁰ Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, pp.150.

and resistance within the country? This thesis demonstrates that in promoting their political hegemony in Brazil both Empire and Republic rejected other possible views of Brazils and Brazilians, especially from those who did not fit in the optimistic, modern picture being displayed.

Carvalho proposes to incorporate in the historical understanding of the formation of Brazilian modernity those traditional values, ‘antagonistic to those of the urban modernising elites’.⁸¹ He reveals the prevalence of traditional values amongst rural dwellers and those who have escaped education or absorption by the modern state apparatuses. However, he also criticises the ways in which political forces in the capital excluded urban dwellers from the modernising process. As my thesis will discuss, this general paternalistic and dismissive handling of the Brazilian population by the state evolved into artificially hegemonic views of Brazil projected abroad. In other words, despite resistance, dissent and revolts, the Brazilian state-driven representation succeeded in presenting an identity for Brazil, at home and abroad, of a peaceful, homogenous, progressive and civilised nation. One of the major outcomes of this type of representation was the quietening of the multiplicity of cultures and experiences lived within Brazil. Carvalho, again, offers insight into what was left out of this type of representation of Brazil abroad:

It is possible to establish what Brazilian modernity was not. Ideas of egalitarianism and democracy were not incorporated into the political aspect. If some Republicans, especially those of Rio de Janeiro, spoke of democracy and of an end to privilege, they would not go beyond rhetoric. The idea of ‘the people’ was purely abstract. In the main, the people were hostile or indifferent to the political system. No effort was made to incorporate them through the electoral process. The Brazilian Republic was unique: it did not have ‘people’.⁸²

Brazil did not have people but it did have nature. At least this was the visual argumentation mostly made by displays and publications designed to represent Brazil abroad.

⁸¹ Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, p.151.

⁸² Carvalho, ‘The Force of Tradition’, p.156.

This argument chiefly resulted from the anxiety felt by Brazilian commissioners in representing their nation as cultivated and as a place of culture, and as a natural country blessed by a prodigal nature. By eliminating the ‘people’ from the national display and in assuming for themselves the role of cultivated inhabitants, Brazilian exhibition commissioners were incurring in a separation between nature and culture that scholar Bruno Latour describes as typical of some modern thinking:

Modernisation, although it destroyed the near-totality of cultures and natures by force and bloodshed, had a clear objective. Modernising finally made it possible to distinguish between the laws of external nature and the conventions of society. The conquerors undertook this partition everywhere, consigning hybrids either to the domain of objects or to that of society. The process of partitioning was accompanied by a coherent and continuous front of radical revolutions in science, technology, administration, economy and religion, a veritable bulldozer operation behind which the past disappeared forever, but in front of which, at least, the future opened up. The past was a barbarian medley; the future, a civilising distinction.⁸³

The discomfort with the past and the denial of cultural hybrids that Latour criticises resonate with the ideas underpinning those civilising campaigns and the opposition to them engendered by the force of tradition. Moreover, as exhibition commissioners constantly noted, the Brazilian past was seen as a ‘barbarian medley’ and Brazilian civilization – and modernity – was to be realised in the future. This thesis addresses this temporal anxiety underpinned by questions of representation, as stated in the introduction. However, what a study focused on international exhibitions has less scope to investigate is the ways in which the ‘people’ not represented in these festivals – the rural, the illiterate, the black, the *mes-tiços*, the natives – resisted this state-oriented representation. In this way, this thesis will not be able to accomplish what Eric Hobsbawm describes as the ‘exceedingly difficult to dis-

⁸³ Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (New York & London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), p.130.

cover' but significant 'view from below' in the study of nations.⁸⁴ 'Nation and nationalism', he claims, 'are a dual phenomena constructed essentially from above but cannot be understood unless also analysed from below... assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people'.⁸⁵ This thesis, though, points to these absences and distortions in these so-called 'national representations', and there are many. This revealing of absences and contrasting the hegemonic representation abroad against multiple experiences lived at home are tasks that this thesis undertakes to destabilise the positive, optimistic view of Brazilian modernity promised by exhibitions. In this way, I aim to contribute to the same body of knowledge that Carvalho has contributed. This means, one in which the fractures in the Brazilian project of modernity are not dismissed as the result of inauthentic copies of foreign models. In my study, these fractures and contradictions are examined in their contingency and as critical to understanding the on-going formation of this imagined community called Brazil.

Exhibitions as sites for the intensification of nationalism and of internationalism

The concept of nation is paramount to exhibition studies for two reasons. First, 'nationality' has been a major category whereby exhibitions organisers from around the globe classified the material culture they gathered, compared, classified and ranked. Thus, exhibition displays of objects or fine arts, for example, became the materialisation and embodiment of 'nations'. Exhibitions promoted what I term 'object nationalisms', or a process whereby nations were identified by their material culture and their positioning within the ranking of civilised nations depended upon the technical advancement or sophistica-

⁸⁴ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.10-11.

⁸⁵ Hobsbawm, pp.10-11.

tion of this material culture. The second reason why nationalism is central to my thesis relates to Ernest Gellner's assertion that 'nationalism is a function of modernity'.⁸⁶

'Nation', 'nationhood' and 'nationalism' are concepts whose definitions can be as elusive and multiple as that of modernity. Anthony D. Smith identifies different paradigms used in the study of the national phenomena. 'The paradigm of nationalism which was so widely accepted till recently is that of *classical modernism*', he notes in his critical survey from 1998, 'this is the conception that nations and nationalism are intrinsic to the nature of the modern world and to the revolution of modernity'.⁸⁷ Within the modernist paradigm, the works of Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm have mostly contributed to my thesis as they 'have been particularly illuminating in uncovering activities and symbolism in forging national communities'.⁸⁸ According to Smith, Anderson and Hobsbawm 'show how states, nations and nationalisms, and notably the elites, have mobilised and united populations in novel ways to cope with modern conditions and modern political imperatives'.⁸⁹

One of the novel ways found by Brazilian elites to mobilise and unite part of the population of their recently independent nation was by organising national exhibitions in preparation to the international ones. Since the first national exhibition held in the capital in 1861 (less than 40 years after independence), exhibitions began to function as symbolically powerful, state-organised festivals that instilled a sense of nationalism and nationhood in Brazilians, even in those who lived in remote provinces. I suggest that these national exhibitions were festivals of hegemony and consent through which governments could convey leadership and dominance, after Gramsci's conceptualisation of the term.⁹⁰

Another paradigm identified by Smith relates to the 'force of tradition' proposed by Carvalho and the popular elements omitted from official representations:

⁸⁶ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2nd edn (Malden, MA & Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

⁸⁷ Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (Routledge: London, 1998), p.3.

⁸⁸ Smith, p.223.

⁸⁹ Smith, p.223.

⁹⁰ *Culture, Ideology and Social Process: a Reader*, ed. by Tony Bennett, Graham Martin, Colin Mercer and Janet Woollacott (London: Batsford Academic and Educational in association with Open University Press, 1981), pp.197-99.

The condition of modernity clearly favours the replication of nations, national states and nationalisms in all parts of the globe. This would also allow us to accept the ethno-symbolist contention that most nations are formed on the basis of pre-existing ethnic ties and sentiments, even if in time they go well beyond them, and that their nationalisms necessarily use those ethnic symbols, memories, myths and traditions which most resonate with the majority of the ‘designated’ people whom they wish to mobilise. This kind of combined approach might also help us to explain some of the characteristic postmodern concerns with globalisation, ethnic fragmentation, and the revitalization of ethnic ties, while also suggesting deep historical grounds for the sense of immemoriality and continuity which underpins the profound attachments of so many people to their *ethnies* and nations.⁹¹

Smith proposes a ‘combined approach’ in the study of nationalism, one that accepts both modernist and ethno-symbolist interpretations. The modernist stance to nationalism, as noted above, is especially necessary for an analysis of the official nation-building project of the Brazilian modern nation-state. The ethno-symbolist interpretation complements the modernist top-down view with its proposition that nations are products not only of modern states, but also of ethnic movements, popular culture, and dissent. In this thesis, though, ethno-symbolist manifestations of nationalism were mostly present and manipulated during the early years of the Republic. Chapter four exemplifies this appropriation of ‘ethnic symbols, memories, myths and traditions’ by republicans in their rhetorical claim for popular support to the new regime. The year of 1893 and the Brazilian representation shown at the World’s Columbian Exposition reveals how symbols derived from popular beliefs or national history were manipulated for the establishment of a new hegemony. This ethno-symbolist approach from the part of the newly instated regime, however, was transitional and by 1904 and the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition a return to the state-driven nationalism was again in place.

⁹¹ Smith, p.226.

Hobsbawm proposes that in some cases the state has the primacy over the project of nation-building. However, he also points to epistemological problems in finding criteria to define what a nation is. ‘No single objective criteria – language, or ethnicity, or territory, or common history – can explain *a priori* what a nation is’, he notes, ‘categories that may explain one case may not be sufficient for another’.⁹² Hobsbawm sustains that each national case study should be ‘historically and locally rooted’.⁹³ For this thesis, interested in examining the national identity projected through Brazilian representations sent abroad, it is true that, as suggests Hobsbawm, nationalism precedes ‘nation’ and that ‘the real “nation” can only be recognized *a posteriori*’.⁹⁴ Hobsbawm, thus, concludes that ‘nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around’.⁹⁵ If this may not be applicable for nations with strong ethno-symbolist components like Slovaks, it is relevant for the understanding of why and how the Brazilian state seized exhibitions for the advancement and visualisation of what the nation was and should become.

Benedict Anderson asserts that nationalisms and nationality, or ‘nation-ness’, as he terms it, ‘are cultural artefacts of a particular kind’.⁹⁶ ‘To understand them properly’, he continues, ‘we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy’.⁹⁷ Mindful that notions of ‘nation-ness’ are not static in time, this thesis offers an examination of the concept of state-driven *brasildade* over a sixty-year period. Anderson, reflecting on how time affects ‘nation-ness’, and vice versa, speaks of a paradox behind the construction of these ‘imagined communities’ that is central to the discussion of national identity in Brazil. ‘If nation-states are widely conceded to be “new” and “historical”’, he notes, ‘the nations to which they give political expression always loom out

⁹² Hobsbawm, pp.5-6.

⁹³ Hobsbawm, p.9.

⁹⁴ Hobsbawm, p.9.

⁹⁵ Hobsbawm, p.10.

⁹⁶ Anderson, p.4.

⁹⁷ Anderson, p.4.

of an immemorial past, and, still more important, glide into a limitless future'.⁹⁸ The staunch belief in a great future for the Brazilian nation was constantly addressed by primary sources investigated. The future represented both a reason for anxiety and a driver for development; it was believed to be a moment when the absence of a concrete immemorial past – after all, Brazil was 'discovered' in the 1500s, and became independent in 1822 – would be redeemed. The Brazilian representation of 'nation-ness', however, does not challenge Anderson's statement above. To circumvent the desired atemporality of the national phenomenon, imperial Brazilian exhibition commissioners turned to nature in order to explain the legitimacy and validity of the Brazilian nation in the international arena, an argument to be considered in detail in chapter three.

The study of Brazilian modernity and national identity through exhibitions favours the examination of how both concepts changed over time and over space. Anderson looks at census, maps, and museums to examine nationalism not only from the 'changing apprehensions of time' but also from 'changing apprehensions of space'.⁹⁹ During the sixty years under study, the apprehension of space in Brazil also changed thanks to the system of provincial and national exhibitions installed after 1861. These exhibitions conveyed to Brazilians living remotely from the political centre a sense – whether they welcomed it or not – of their connectedness to the state. Exhibitions promoted a symbolic collapse of space that was also concretely achieved by railways that crossed Brazilian forests or steamships that linked international ports.

The maintenance of national cohesion was crucial for the Empire of Brazil in the early nineteenth century after the rest of Latin America crumbled into segmented, autonomous republics. It was also crucial during the First Republic when the nation was separated in autonomous federative states but still interlinked by political alliances. Thus, the projection of a national identity and unity at exhibitions boasting cohesion, stability and progression was fundamental for the maintenance of the status quo. The following chapter presents

⁹⁸ Anderson, p.11.

⁹⁹ Anderson, pp.xiii-xiv.

a discussion of the agents responsible for a projection of national cohesion abroad and of their interaction in the formation of representational networks. Let us now move away from a methodological reflexion on national identity to observe and discuss how contemporary actors imagined and projected Brazil.

Chapter two

A nation in the making

Networks of representation

The investigation into how and by whom Brazil was imagined and projected will be framed by concepts formulated in Actor Network Theory (ANT) and more specifically by the work of French sociologist Bruno Latour. A major principle of ANT, that had a groundbreaking impact in the social sciences but was less of a revelation to design history and material culture studies, is that ‘objects too have agency’.¹ Thus, objects that ‘modify a state of affairs by making a difference’ can be considered actors in a given situation.² Moreover, for ANT the agency of inanimate objects is not restricted to their symbolic values. According to Latour, ‘in addition to “determining” and serving as a “backdrop for human action”, things might authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid and so on’ as much as humans do.³ In his studies into the agency of ‘nonhuman actors’, as Latour calls these object agents, the question of intentionality is not fundamental.⁴ Studies related to ANT are interested in tracing and noting how each component, or agent, of a network acts. This is, I believe, a strong point of convergence between a design historical and an ANT approach to the study of objects: even without will or devoid of intention, an object can and will act upon a subject, conveying or betraying the intention designated by its creator, consequently participating in a network of actions. In fact, objects will act upon other objects and subjects upon other

¹ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.63.

² Latour, *Reassembling*, p.71.

³ Latour, *Reassembling*, p.72.

⁴ The question of intentionality is addressed in Ketjil Fallan, ‘An ANT in Our Pants? A Design Historian’s Reflections on Actor Network Theory’ in *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society*, ed. by Jonathan Glynn, Fiona Hackney and Viv Minton (Boca Raton: Universal Publishers, 2009), pp.46-52.

subjects, creating a circularity of actions that eventually disqualifies the distinction of objects and subjects as such.⁵ In the words of its most prolific author, actor-network theory assumes that a social phenomenon ‘possesses the bizarre property of not being made of agency and structure at all, but rather of being a *circulating* entity’.⁶ This is the reason why this theory is named actor-network. It does not assume that there are two separate entities, namely actors (or agents) and networks (or structures), but it sustains that one entity can, in turn, operate as agent or as structure since it ‘designates two faces of the same phenomenon, like waves and particles’.⁷ Thus, this chapter will investigate, describe and question not only the ideas and actions of exhibition commissioners (*humans*, in Bruno Latour's terms), but also those of *nonhuman* creations (publications, objects, displays, pavilions etc.) that advanced the ideas of their creators and that, in that circular motion, informed and influenced other humans.

The questions of agency posed in this chapter and to the Brazilian representation in the Centennial International Exhibition have been underpinned by the emphasis that ANT places on the roles of humans and objects in forming networks. Who were the Brazilian commissioners and to which institutional networks they belonged? What compelled them to act? Were there objects that compelled their particular modes of display in the exhibition? Moreover, how did these agents form networks that in exhibition became an apparently cohesive whole of Brazilian representation to fairgoers? To employ a term favoured by Latour, exhibitions were massive ‘assemblies of peoples and things’, of people wanting to parade things, having their worldviews modified by them. In my thesis, assemblies are also understood as having a political nature, since ‘objects [...] bind all of us in ways that map out a public space profoundly different from what is usually recognized under the label of

⁵ Latour takes this point further in his critique against modernist dichotomies such as object/subject, social/technological, form/function, agency/structure and so on. See Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* and ‘A Cautious Prometheus? A Few Steps Toward a Philosophy of Design (With Special Attention to Peter Sloterdijk)’ in *Networks of Design*, pp.2-10.

⁶ Bruno Latour, ‘On Recalling ANT’, in *Actor Network Theory and After*, ed. by John Law and John Hassard (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp.15-25 (p.17), original emphasis.

⁷ Latour, ‘On Recalling ANT’, pp.18-19.

“the political”⁸. Consequently, Brazilian commissioners and objects that formed networks in this international exhibition-assembly will be chiefly questioned in their political roles.

The concept of ‘representation’, as understood in ANT studies, is also interchangeably used to refer to political arenas and cultural phenomena. In Latour’s works, a political representation, or ‘an assembly of people around some issue’, is not so different from a scientific or artistic representation (‘the object of concern to the eyes and ears of those who have assembled around it’).⁹ My uses of the term ‘representation’, in this chapter and beyond, also reflect this conceptual polyvalence. Exhibition commissioners acted as politicians and diplomats when representing Brazil abroad as much as the national exhibits did, by being ‘Brazilian’ or promising *brasildade*.

The ANT interest in investigating assemblies of people and things stems from a particular interest in examining ‘new associations’ as a form of scrutinising social phenomena ‘in the making’.¹⁰ This thematic aspect converges with my study of nineteenth-century exhibitions in Brazil. National and international exhibitions were extremely novel ‘associations’ in nineteenth-century Brazil, and ones that required the positioning of this ‘new nation’ in the global capitalist market in a competitive fashion. The phenomenon of Brazilian participation in exhibitions can be seen as that of a nation assembling itself for (re)presentation in an assembling of nations.

Latour’s definition of ANT as ‘a theory that says that by following circulations we can get more than by defining entities, essences or provinces’ resonates with the difficulty in pinning down exactly who were individual commissioners.¹¹ The apparently coherent whole they formed (which until now has been treated as such by the literature), needs to be

⁸ Bruno Latour, *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. by Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 2005), p.15.

⁹ Latour, *Making Things Public*, p.16.

¹⁰ Latour, *Reassembling*, pp.1-2, 7 and 9; John Law, ‘Traduction/Trahison: Notes on ANT’, Centre for Science Studies, Lancaster University, <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Law-Traduction-Trahison.pdf> [Accessed 19 January 2010]; Michel Callon, ‘Sociologie de l’Acteur-Reseau’ in *Sociologie de la Traduction. Textes Fondateurs*, ed. by Madeleine Akrich, Michel Callon and Bruno Latour (Paris: Mines Paris, Les Presses, 2006), pp.267-76.

¹¹ Latour, ‘On Recalling ANT’, p.20.

dismantled by looking at the strategies that allow different elements to relate together into a network. From an ANT perspective, the term social ‘does not designate a domain of reality or some particular item, but rather the name of a movement, a displacement, a transformation, a translation, an enrolment’.¹² In this respect, the connections that are made between actors are what matters: ‘It’s the work, and movement, and the flow, and the changes that should be stressed’.¹³ Agents’ roles in an integrated social system are complex, conflicting, and not as understandable as a given *a priori*, but should be seen as systems in the making.

Brazilian historiography has been concerned with explaining why the Empire of Brazil remained a cohesive territorial unit while republican independence movements took hold of other parts of South America in early nineteenth century. One current explanation for this cohesion can be found, according to historian José Murilo de Carvalho, in the make-up of Brazilian nineteenth-century imperial elite and their common professional training as lawyers in particular academies.¹⁴ When analysing this characteristic of Brazilian political history, Carvalho posed questions that resonate with those that guide ANT studies of associations in the making. During the early nineteenth century, what kept these disparate members of Brazilian society together in an apparently cohesive political whole, later understood as an ‘elite’? What ideas did they follow and share? Did the cohesiveness observed in the education of the ruling imperial elite reflect the cohesiveness of the Brazilian territory? Thus, following Carvalho’s proposition, this chapter examines some professional academies that perpetuated this cohesiveness and were central to the formation of an idea of Brazil in exhibitions. In addition, these ‘elite’ members are investigated at the moment when they formed new social and professional associations as commissioners of national and international exhibitions.

¹² Latour, *Reassembling*, pp.64-65.

¹³ Latour, *Reassembling*, p.143.

¹⁴ José Murilo de Carvalho, ‘Political Elites and State Building: the Case of Nineteenth-Century Brazil’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 24 (1982), 378-99. See also José Murilo de Carvalho, *A Cons*
E i i i i i i (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 1996).

The title of this chapter, *A Nation in the Making*, implies the scrutiny of a period when an image of Brazil was in the process of being ‘made’. In more precise words, decisions on political, economic and cultural levels were taken that would entail a particular type of country, a certain nationalism and an image of Brazil projected abroad. This process of being imagined, negotiated, presented, re-imagined and adapted according to the interests of those who ruled the country is a central aspect of this study. It may be argued that a nation is always in the process of being made, and this chapter follows this argument. Therefore, the aim here is to take a snapshot of the forces in action during the Centennial International Exhibition, in Philadelphia in 1876.

This snapshot of the making of a Brazilian national identity by commissioners and national exhibits will commence with a brief biography of Brazil’s chief executive commissioners in Philadelphia, discuss the major Brazilian institutions to which they belonged, and determine each chief commissioner’s role in Philadelphia.¹⁵ Then, it will move on to analyse how the visit of the Brazilian emperor to the exhibition rather than antagonising the American republican agenda, helped Brazil side with the United States. The success of Brazil in Philadelphia was also due to its representation by scientific and propaganda publications issued for and distributed at the fair and beyond. These publications will be analysed in part three as ‘mobile agents’, or portable objects of knowledge that could travel and disseminate views of Brazil. In an inversion of the conventional order of things, architectural forms, usually long lasting, become ephemeral in exhibitions. Conversely, exhibition publications, usually ephemera like catalogues and propaganda books, survive to tell a particular view of the nations they represented. The last part, then, will consider another type of agent that represented Brazil in Philadelphia, one that I term ‘fixed’ in contrast with the facility in circulation, durability, portability and translatability of those other mobile agents. Exhibition architectural objects – pavilions, stands, kiosks, or any other built environment – were

¹⁵ The executive commissioners highlighted in this chapter were accompanied by other Brazilian professionals and their wives who also had some degree of participation in the national representation in Philadelphia. See João Martins da Silva Coutinho, *Relatório da Comissão Brasileira Apresentado ao Exm. Sr. Conselheiro Thomaz José Coelho de Almeida* [...], (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1878), p.9.

fixed and depended on the fairgoers' predisposal to visit them in order to be seen and experienced. Frequently designed in historic, 'national styles', the fixed agents designed to represent Brazil in Philadelphia defied easy assumptions of nationalism and *brasilidade* with their self-orientalising, theatrical, and monumental characteristics. This chapter, therefore, will finish by offering an interpretation for the uses of orientalism to represent the Empire of Brazil in the late 1870s, and on American soil.

Brazilian exhibition commissioners at the Centennial International Exhibition, 1876

According to the official exhibition catalogue published by the United States Centennial Commission, the Brazilian commission in Philadelphia included thirteen members.¹⁶ Among them, the catalogue noted the Brazilian Prince Gastão D'Orleans, married to the emperor's daughter, and three viscounts.¹⁷ In reality, though, these aristocrats, appointed for an honorary commission, never made it to the United States to represent their country. The executive commission working in Philadelphia was in fact more modest in number and less noble. Eight men of varied ages and professions formed the small group of executive commissioners that made the exhibition happen.¹⁸

Nominated by the imperial government in February 1876, the Brazilian commission was presided by Antonio Pedro de Carvalho Borges, a 51-year-old trained as an engineer who began his professional life in the navy in the 1840s.¹⁹ Borges, a counsellor to the emperor and plenipotentiary minister of Brazil in Washington since 1871, was made president of the commission due to his political connections and expertise in foreign affairs. This was not the first time that the nation's diplomats abroad were directly involved in managing a

¹⁶ United States Centennial Commission, *International Exhibition, 1876. Official Catalogue*, 4 vols, revised ed. (Philadelphia: John R. Nagle and Co, 1876.), p.263.

¹⁷ Centennial Commission, p.263. They were Viscounts of Jaguaru, Bom-Retiro and Souza Franco.

¹⁸ *The Empire of Brazil at the Universal Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia e Lithographia do Imperial Instituto Artístico, 1876), pp.493-94.

¹⁹ *The Empire...1876*, p.493; Coutinho, p.9.

Brazilian exhibition. In 1862, Francisco Ignacio de Carvalho Moreira, also imperial counsellor and minister in London, used his connections to obtain a prominent location and privileges for Brazil at the Kensington Palace site.²⁰ Likewise, as we will see in part three, Borges managed to obtain good location for the Brazilian pavilion at the exhibition park. However, despite his initial strategic role, Borges did not contribute further to the establishment of the national exhibition. In Philadelphia, most of the managerial weight of the exhibition fell on the shoulders of the commission's vice-president.

The vice-presidency of the Brazilian commission was given to Felipe Lopes Netto (1814-1895), a 62-year-old from the north-eastern province of Pernambuco who was educated in law in Brazil and Italy.²¹ Netto was also the eldest of the Brazilian commissioners, having born before Brazilian independence in 1822. His age, biography and profession indicate that Netto was part of the traditional groups of magistrates that, according to historian José Murilo de Carvalho, ruled the country.²² However, Netto's intriguing past seemed fundamentally contradictory to his keen collaboration with the Empire. During his youth, he participated in the *Revolta Praieira* (Beach Rebellion), an insurgency in Recife, Pernambuco's capital, which occurred between 1848 and 1850.²³ Influenced by contemporaneous liberal movements in Europe, the Recife revolutionaries demanded autonomy, rejected the monarchy, and claimed political independence for their province.²⁴ The *Praieira*, like several other regional insurgencies from that period, was strongly repressed by the government of Pedro II, who had ascended to power in 1840, initiating a period known in Brazilian historiography as the Second Reign (1840-1889).²⁵ Some of the rebels, Netto included, were subsequently exiled to the remote island of Fernando de Noronha. However, four years afterwards, Netto received an amnesty and returned to public service and to a political career.

²⁰ Francisco Ignacio de Carvalho Moreira, *Relatório Sobre a Exposição Intenacional em 1862 Apresentado a S. M. o Imperador* (Londres: Thomas Brettell, 1863), pp.xii-xiii and xvi-xvii.

²¹ Rodolpho Smith de Vasconcellos, *Arquivo Nobiliarchico Brasileiro* (Lausanne: La Concorde, 1918), pp.258-59.

²² Carvalho, 'Political elites and state building', p.383.

²³ Vasconcellos, p.259.

²⁴ Boris Fausto, *História Concisa do Brasil* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2001), pp.95-96.

²⁵ Boris Fausto, *História Concisa do Brasil*, p.96.

In 1864, he became general deputy and went on to pursue a diplomatic career from 1866. Netto eventually became a counsellor to the same emperor whose government had banished him to exile. In 1888, moreover, he was made baron, becoming Barão de Felipe Lopes Netto.²⁶ Netto's amnesty and change of political inclination can be understood in the light of the ongoing regime of patronage and protection that prevailed in Brazilian politics.²⁷ Netto was unlikely to make a career in politics, as was commonly expected of lawyers like him, if he did not conform to the centralising *status quo* of the Second Reign. In addition, his key participation as an imperial commissioner in Philadelphia, I believe, suggests that his former convictions may have been less significant than his overall wish to succeed in politics.

Netto was Brazil's key decision-maker in Philadelphia, and made plentiful use of his political skills to keep what he perceived to be Brazilian interests a high priority.²⁸ He was responsible for hiring a foreign architect to design and build the national pavilions; for organising Brazilian exhibits, the arrival of the emperor and the parties around him; for managing other commissioners, and for establishing connections with United States politicians and the press.²⁹ During his time in the United States, between March and December 1876, Netto performed the functions of 'exhibition manager' and 'exhibition designer', albeit never called as such by his colleagues.³⁰ After the closure of the Centennial, he supervised the Brazilian exhibition dismantling, organised sales and donations of exhibits, and shipped remaining objects back home.³¹

As with the majority of exhibition commissioners before and after him, Netto was a member of the SAIN, an organisation devised to discuss and introduce industrialization in

²⁶ Vasconcellos, p.259.

²⁷ Boris Fausto, 'Society and Politics' in *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*, ed. by Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.257-307 (pp.267-68).

²⁸ Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Lata 273, Pasta 12, letters numbered from 1 to 5. Letters from Felipe Lopes Netto to José Antonio Saraiva, written in Philadelphia between March and July 1876.

²⁹ Coutinho, pp.9-10; IHGB, 273/12, letter 1.

³⁰ Coutinho, p.9; IHGB, 273/12, letter 5.

³¹ Coutinho, p.14, 22-3; IHGB, 273/12, letter 5.

Brazil.³² The SAIN was founded in 1827 by private initiative but always depended on the state for financial support, approval of its statutes, and authorization to operate.³³ During its 67 years of existence, SAIN members gathered regularly to discuss ‘the expansion and modernization of productive forces’ and propose incentives for Brazilian progress and development.³⁴ One of these proposals frequently debated on the pages of SAIN’s journal *OAIN* in the 1840s and 1850s were national exhibitions like those held in France.³⁵ Eventually, SAIN and its members persuaded the emperor to accept Britain’s invitation to attend the London exhibition and organised the preparatory exhibition in Rio in 1861.³⁶ SAIN was for the duration of its life centrally involved in these ‘calculated revolutions’, as some of its members called the exhibition phenomenon.³⁷ However, as historian José Luis Werneck da Silva concludes, despite its apparently progressive role in a developing society and economy, SAIN itself was ‘modernising, never revolutionary’.³⁸ As a corporation, says Silva, ‘SAIN always searched for the middle ground’ between innovation and conservatism; in industry, commerce and agriculture, and between domestic protectionism and liberal political and economic measures.³⁹ Silva attributes SAIN’s overly conciliatory nature to its co-optation by the state and a membership that included ‘the most respectable people of Brazil’, from doctors, lawyers, and farmers to state counsellors and ministers.⁴⁰

A similar critique of corporatism and conservatism is made by historian Manoel Luis Salgado Guimarães who studied another institution also central to the building of a national discourse since the Empire.⁴¹ The *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, IHGB), although not as strongly involved in

³² Silva, ‘Isto é o que Me Parece’.

³³ Silva, pp.70-1.

³⁴ Silva, p.159. See also Manoel Luis Salgado Guimarães, ‘Nação e Civilização Nos Trópicos: O Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro e o Projeto de Uma História Nacional’, *Estudos Históricos*, 1 (1988), 5-27 (p.8).

³⁵ Silva, p.97.

³⁶ Silva, p.112.

³⁷ Silva, p.173.

³⁸ Silva, p.160.

³⁹ Silva, p.160.

⁴⁰ Silva, p.87.

⁴¹ Guimarães, pp.5-8.

devising and organising exhibitions, was another institution to which almost all exhibition commissioners were affiliated. Like the SAIN, the IHGB was the space *par excellence* where these lettered and political men would frequently meet and discuss the destiny of the nation. And as with SAIN, the IHGB operated in the style of the European ‘illustrated academies’ of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴² Guimarães notes how the IHGB, and this can be extended to SAIN, was characterised by an enlightened attitude towards nation- and society-making in which those at the top of the social pyramid ought to ‘elucidate the rest of society’.⁴³ It was not unusual, in fact, for exhibition commissioners to refer to themselves as ‘*ilustrados*’ (illustrated, or enlightened).⁴⁴ The ideas furthered by the Enlightenment also prompted IHGB members to discuss and imagine the nation inside a ‘tradition of civilization and progress’.⁴⁵ The sort of history made in the rooms of the institution and disseminated by its publications and members followed Enlightenment thinking’s conventional conceptualisation of time as linear and of History as a grand teacher who could legitimate the present and current political actions.⁴⁶ These ideas, as the following parts and chapters of this thesis will also demonstrate, underpinned the formation of a Brazilian national consciousness in the long nineteenth century, and guided agents like the commissioners in the construction and projection of national identities through exhibitions. The most critical inadequacy and deleterious consequence of such worldviews could be found in the exclusion of the black and indigenous populations from this make-up of a national ideal. Black slaves or descendents and indigenous peoples provoked, according to Guimarães, specific difficulties for the ‘generation of a national project’.⁴⁷ In this way, the historiography practiced at the IHGB fostered a ‘homogenising view of Brazil’.⁴⁸ The pro-

⁴² Guimarães, p.5.

⁴³ Guimarães, p.8.

⁴⁴ Ladislau de Souza Mello e Netto, *Apontamentos Sobre a Coleção das Plantas Economicas do Brasil para a Exposição Internacional de 1867 [...] (Paris: JB Baillièrre et Fils, 1866)*, p.47.

⁴⁵ Guimarães, p.8.

⁴⁶ Guimarães, p.16.

⁴⁷ Guimarães, p.6.

⁴⁸ Guimarães, p.6.

jection of an identity of Brazil at the Philadelphia exhibition, before it and beyond, reflected this homogenising quality of the national project.

In 1876, the third role in the hierarchy of commissioners to represent Brazil was that of secretary, whose responsibilities included reporting about the international exhibition to the emperor and ministers in writing. João Martins da Silva Coutinho (1830-1889), a 46-year-old engineer was assigned as secretary.⁴⁹ Coutinho was from Pará, one of the most northern provinces of the Empire, one that contributed prolifically to Brazilian exhibitions with tropical timber and other raw material exhibits. However, the most notable aspect of Coutinho's biography that contributed to his views on the Brazilian national formation and exhibitions was his participation in major scientific expeditions that explored Brazil in the 1860s. In one of these expeditions, Coutinho assisted the naturalist Louis Agassiz, a scientist of Swiss origin based in Harvard, in his excursions into the Amazon basin.⁵⁰ The Agassiz scientific exploration (also known as the Thayer Expedition, 1865-1866) was one of several foreign expeditions that collected and/or catalogued the flora, fauna, soil, and people of Brazil during the nineteenth century. Borrowing from Mary Louise Pratt's terminology, I propose that Coutinho acted as an 'agent of the contact zone' in the Amazon.⁵¹ In other words, being a native from the region, Coutinho could work as guide, interpreter, and counsellor for the Agassiz expedition, and in this way established close connections with the expedition's top American professionals. These connections, which helped him guarantee the secretarial role for the Philadelphia exhibition, are evidenced in the photograph in which Coutinho stands next to Thayer himself, the expedition's patron (Illustration 1).⁵²

The significance of the association between expedition and exhibition for Brazilian national formation and modernity is evidenced by the first expedition where Coutinho

⁴⁹ *The Empire...* 1876, p.493.

⁵⁰ Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868). See also Nancy Leys Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature* (London: Reaktion, 2001), pp.87, 101-02.

⁵¹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, c2008), pp.6-7.

⁵² Rachel Pinheiro and Maria Margaret Lopes, "'Eu Fiz Com que o Povo que a Tomara por Sonho Tornasse a Acreditar Nela": As Propostas da Seção Geológica da Comissão Científica de Exploração (1856)', *Asclepio. Revista de Historia de la Medicina y de la Ciencia*, LVIII (2006), 95-112, (p.97).

worked in early 1860s. Responsible for its geology section, Coutinho was part of the *Comissão Científica do Império* (Scientific Commission of the Empire, 1859-1861), Brazil's answer to the foreign expeditions that had been exploring the country up to then.⁵³ Masterminded by IHGB members and professionals linked to the *Museu Nacional* (National Museum, MN), the expedition was formed entirely by Brazilian professionals, many of whom also represented Brazil in previous or subsequent international exhibitions.⁵⁴ For example, Guilherme Schüch de Capanema, Giacomo Raja Gabaglia, and Antônio Gonçalves Dias, three key members of the *Comissão Científica*, had been sent by the emperor to Paris in 1855 to scrutinise the French exhibition and judge how Brazil was to participate in such events.⁵⁵

Over the duration of the *Comissão Científica*, Brazilian scientists, politicians, and artists left the capital to investigate botanical, mineralogical, geographic, astronomical, and ethnographic aspects of the territory and people around the north-eastern province of Ceará.⁵⁶ In their exploration, these men amassed samples of new natural specimens, depicted the exotic local fauna in the language of scientific botanical drawings, and collected regional material culture, tasks similar to those undertaken by foreign expeditionary missions (Illustration 2). The findings of the *Comissão Científica* were eventually brought back to Rio for scientific scrutiny at the laboratories of the MN and for public and international appreciation through exhibitions. A special exhibition to display the material culture brought from Ceará was held at the MN.⁵⁷

⁵³ Maria Margaret Lopes, 'A Comissão Científica de Exploração: Uma "Expansão Para Dentro"' in *Comissão Científica do Império, 1859-1861*, ed. by Lorelai Kury (Rio de Janeiro: Andrea Jakobsson Estúdio, 2009), pp.51-81 (p.70).

⁵⁴ Pinheiro and Lopes, p.70.

⁵⁵ Turazzi, pp.130-31.

⁵⁶ Maria Margaret Lopes, "'Mais Vale Um Jegue que Me Carregue, que Um Camelo que Me Derrube... lá no Ceará'", *Manguinhos*, III (1995), 50-64 (p.53).

⁵⁷ Lorelai Kury, 'Explorar o Brasil: o Império, as Ciências e a Nação' in *Comissão Científica do Império*, pp.19-44 (p.32).



Illustration 1: Group portrait of Thayer Expedition assistants and volunteers taken in 1865 or 1866. The expedition's patron, Stephen van Rensselaer Thayer (first standing, left to right) is next to João Martins da Silva Coutinho (second standing, left to right).

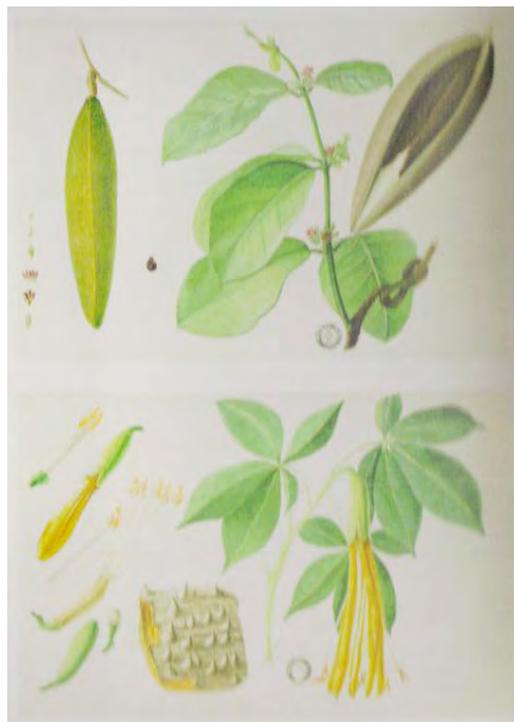


Illustration 2: Scientific illustrations of botanical discoveries made during the Brazilian expedition to the northeast of Brazil. This watercolour was painted by José dos Reis Carvalho, an artist who also represented Brazil in the London Exhibition of 1862 (See Illustration 4).

It coincided with the first National Exhibition in 1861, organised as a preparation for the Brazilian participation in London in the following year.⁵⁸ The collection of Brazilian national objects seen in South Kensington benefited immensely from the raw materials and material culture brought from Ceará.⁵⁹ Artworks by another member of the *Comissão Científica*, painter José dos Reis Carvalho, were also displayed in the Fine Art section of the Kensington Palace.⁶⁰ Illustrations 3 and 4 demonstrate how some of these Ceará objects, from woven artefacts made of carnauba fibre to leatherworks and hammocks, were proudly displayed in Rio and in London as typically Brazilian objects and materials.

These exhibitions are telling evidence of how the phenomena of expedition and exhibition were closely associated in the history of Brazilian modernity and the search for *brasilidade* during the 1860s. Scientific enquiry formed the structural framework of two inextricable processes of national expansion. One, like the *Comissão Científica*, gazed inwards and enquired what Brazil was, who Brazilians were, and how scientific knowledge could be construed at home. The other, like participation in exhibitions, gazed outwards and projected these findings, these views of the nation (views in the making) for international recognition and assimilation. Both expansionist processes – expedition and exhibition – worked together and placed Brazilian scientists, institutions, and exhibition commissioners in a wider system of knowledge production and exchange. The biographies, institutions, and events considered in this part will be returned to in the following part of this chapter when I discuss how scientism underpinned most of these commissioners' ideas and actions.

⁵⁸ Kury, 'Explorar o Brasil', p.32.

⁵⁹ Kury, 'Explorar o Brasil', pp.34-35. See Illustration 3.

⁶⁰ International Exhibition of 1862 London, *Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department*, corrected (London, 1862), p.277.

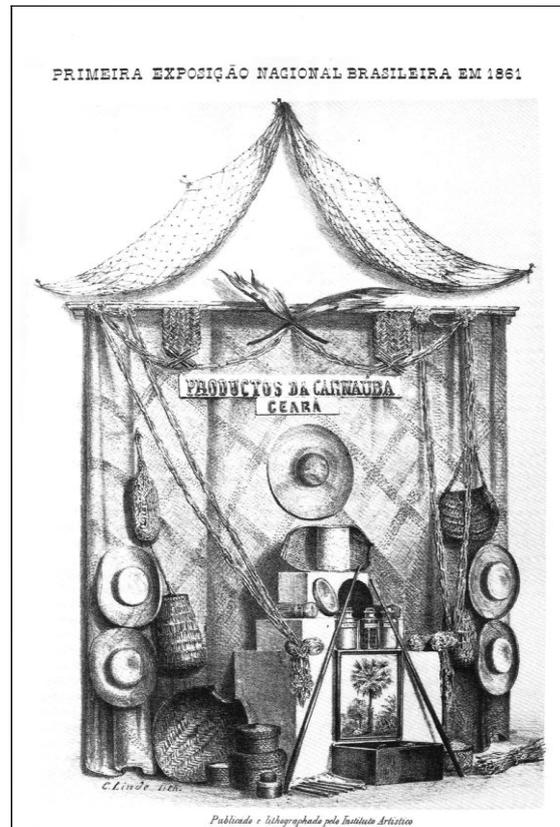


Illustration 3: This lithograph shows artefacts from the inhabitants of *Ceará* province made of the fibre of the Carnauba (a tall palm-tree depicted in a frame within the lithograph). These objects were collected during the Brazilian scientific expedition (1859-1861), exhibited in Rio at the *Museu Nacional* (National Museum) in 1861, and at the Brazilian enclave in the London Exhibition of 1862 (See Illustration 4).



Illustration 4: A photographic montage showing the small Brazilian enclave erected inside the Kensington Palace during the London Exhibition, 1862. These enclaves made of simple partitions were early versions of later stand-alone national pavilions.

Naturalist José de Saldanha da Gama (1839-n/d) was another chief Brazilian commissioner in Philadelphia and prolific scientific author whose works resulted from inward exploration and were published for outward exhibition.⁶¹ Perhaps the most experienced Brazilian commissioner in the Centennial International Exhibition, Gama had represented Brazil in Paris (1867), in Vienna (1873), and in the fourth National Exhibition in 1875 before travelling to Philadelphia. For the purpose of contributing to the Brazilian representation, he researched, wrote and translated over twenty scientific works about Brazilian botany, woods and vegetable fibres, for example.⁶² Professor of botany in the *Instituto Politécnico* (Polytechnic Institute), Gama was also actively linked to the *Escola Central* (Central School – a hub for civil engineering), the *Instituto Imperial Fluminense de Agricultura* (Fluminense Imperial Institute for Agriculture, IIFA), the SAIN and IHGB – all operating in Rio.⁶³ His international connections were honed by affiliation to societies like the *Société Botanique de France* (French Botanical Society) and the *Société Linnéenne de Paris* (Linnaean Society of Paris). Gama's numerous institutional and professional associations made him a well-connected and known man in his time.

Another good example of a producer of domestic knowledge and institutional networker was Nicolau Joaquim Moreira (1824-1894), 51-year-old at the time of appointment as Brazilian commissioner. A medical graduate from Rio and emperor's counsellor, Moreira was noted for his researches and publications on national agriculture and on the promotion of immigration to Brazil. Both interests culminated in the volume *Agricultural instructions for those who may emigrate to Brazil*, written in Portuguese in 1875 and trans-

⁶¹ Information about Gama's personal life, like age or place of birth, is contradictory and limited.

⁶² Gama's scientific works include: *Breve Notícia Sobre a Collecção das Madeiras do Brasil Apresentada na Exposição Internacional de 1867* (Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Nacional: 1867); *Classement Botanique des Plantes Alimentaires du Brésil* (Paris: Imprimerie de E. Martinet, 1867); *Travaux de la Commission Brésilienne à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris en 1867* (Paris: Imprimerie de E. Brière, 1867); *Quelques Mammifères du Brésil à l'Exposition Universelle de 1867* (Paris: Imprimerie de E. Martinet, 1867); *Synonymia de Diversos Vegetaes do Brasil, Feita Segundo os Dados Colhidos no Império e na Exposição Universal de Paris, em 1867* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1868); *Notes in Regard to Some Textile Plants of Brazil, at the International Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876* (New York: O Novo Mundo, 1876); *Catalogue of the Products of the Brazilian Forests at the International Exhibition in Philadelphia* (New York: O Novo Mundo, 1876).

⁶³ *Fluminense* designates people and things from either the province or state of Rio de Janeiro.

lated into English for the Philadelphia exhibition.⁶⁴ *Agricultural instructions* is just one example of Moreira's industrious career. He edited two publications for the popularization of science and technology in Brazil: IIFA's *Revista Agrícola (Agricultural Magazine)*, and SAIN's monthly *OAIN*. Moreira worked as SAIN's president for fourteen years (1880-94), a period that overlapped with his time as director of Rio's *Jardim Botânico (Botanical Garden, 1883-87)*. As a member of the *Sociedade da Aclimação (Acclimatisation Society)*, Moreira studied and fostered the adaptation of alien species into Brazil. Moreira was also an exhibition expert, his activities spanning from the national exhibition of 1875 to the Paris festival in 1889. During his time as the sub-director of the Section of Botany at the MN, Moreira worked with Ladislau de Souza Mello e Netto, another inexhaustible scientist, public man, and exhibition commissioner who was to feature prominently at the republican exhibition in Chicago in 1893, discussed in chapter four.⁶⁵ While Netto represented Brazilian political interests in Philadelphia, and Coutinho used his experience as an agent between two nations to become the secretary of exhibition commissioners, Gama, Moreira, and Mello e Netto represented the formation of another worldview also central to the Brazilian representation in Philadelphia. This positivist worldview sustained that technical and scientific advancements would guarantee national progress, as will be discussed in detail in part two.⁶⁶

In summary, imperial institutions like the SAIN, IHGB or MN may have frequently united professionals like Netto, Coutinho, Gama, Moreira, and Mello e Netto. However, these were not the only nation-making institutions where the formation of Brazil was debated. Exhibitions, national and international, offered an invaluable, practical space where these people could not only debate the nation but also, and mainly, project the kind of na-

⁶⁴ Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, *Indicações Agrícolas para os Emigrantes que se Dirigirem ao Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imperial Instituto Artístico, 1875); *Agricultural Instructions for Those Who May Emigrate to Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imperial Instituto Artístico, 1875).

⁶⁵ The advent of the Republic in 1889 did not hinder Mello e Netto and Moreira's public life. On the contrary, between 1891 and 1892 Moreira served as president of the municipal council in Rio.

⁶⁶ José Murilo de Carvalho, *A Formação das Almas: O Imaginário da República no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990), pp.129-40.

tion they imagined and wanted to inhabit. After this brief critical overview of the biographies, institutional and ideological affiliations of the chief Brazilian commissioners, this chapter will move on to examine how their ideas and actions interacted with other agents to impart a view abroad that Brazil was a scientific, modern nation-state in expansion.

Mobile agents: scientific and propaganda publications

Brazil was also strategically represented in Philadelphia by its chief head of state, emperor Pedro II, who inaugurated the fair in the company of President Ulysses Grant (Illustration 5). The imperial visit was carefully organised by Brazilian diplomats and commissioner Netto to convey the impression of a friendly encounter between the two largest and self-proclaimed most important American nations.⁶⁷ This meeting was promoted under the aegis of mutual respect and continental progress. For Netto, however, the emperor's visit served as an opportunity for Brazil to gain 'moral support' from the United States against its 'rivals in South America', who 'speculate [...] upon the monarchic form of the Brazilian government'.⁶⁸ If imperial Brazil made a successful display in republican United States, he thought, Brazil would have accomplished an essential political alliance and established itself as the 'second nation' in the Americas.⁶⁹

The emperor himself requested to arrive incognito, after the long boat trip that took him, the Brazilian empress, and entourage from Rio to New York.⁷⁰ His request, however, was challenged by a local press eager to scrutinise the first royal to step on United States' soil.⁷¹ However, what could have been a clash between monarchist and republican interests turned out to be a synergetic exchange directed towards mutual recognition, as Netto wished. This conciliation was possible, among other reasons, due to Pedro II's typical self-

⁶⁷ IHGB, 273/12, letters 2, 3 and 4.

⁶⁸ IHGB, 273/12, letter 3.

⁶⁹ IHGB, 273/12, letter 2.

⁷⁰ Coutinho, p.13; IHGB, 273/12, letter 2.

⁷¹ Coutinho, p.13; IHGB, 273/12, letter 2.

fashioning as a ‘citizen-monarch’, ‘a lettered man’ and ‘a traveller interested in progress.’⁷²

This self-fashioning was displayed during the emperor’s visit to the Centennial International Exhibition and became an essential component of Brazil’s exhibitionary success there, as the local press testified:

Besides [leather saddles] and a most brilliant but ephemeral trophy of feather-flowers, butterflies, and beetles, there is really nothing in the gorgeous fane Brazil has erected for herself. But Dom Pedro is so deservedly popular just now that we are inclined to regard the latter as symbolic of his desire to expand the resources of his Empire rather than as an empty boast.⁷³

This positive appraisal reveals how the ‘so [...] popular’ Brazilian emperor became central to offset the contrast just noted. Even if Brazil had not shown significant exhibits, the emperor himself justified the national boast. Pedro II’s popularity was a result of his embodiment of modernity through specific dress and behaviour that conveniently reconciled imperialism and republicanism in his first visit to the United States. James O’Kelly, a reporter of the *New York Herald* who followed the imperial entourage from Rio to New York expressed his surprise and satisfaction that Pedro II was a monarch with a ‘republican simplicity’.⁷⁴ In Philadelphia, as in Rio, this conciliatory image was crafted through Pedro II’s sober and plain style of dressing, and a discreet but curious demeanour (Illustration 6).⁷⁵ At the exhibition opening ceremony, the emperor insisted on being treated simply as Pedro, a ‘Brazilian citizen’.⁷⁶ ‘Pedro’, Coutinho wrote in his report, shunned ‘etiquettes and, like a simple citizen and man of science’ was often found in the corridors of the exhibition halls ‘studying the progress of human industry’.⁷⁷

⁷² Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*.

⁷³ ‘Characteristics of the International Fair, II’, *The Atlantic Monthly*, August 1876, p.239.

⁷⁴ Argeu Guimarães, *Dom Pedro II nos Estados Unidos* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1961), p.215. Argeu refers to comments made in the *New York Herald* of 9 May 1876 and 11 May 1876 by the reporter James O’Kelly, who followed the imperial entourage from Rio to New York.

⁷⁵ Coutinho, p.11.

⁷⁶ Coutinho, p.11.

⁷⁷ Coutinho, p.13.

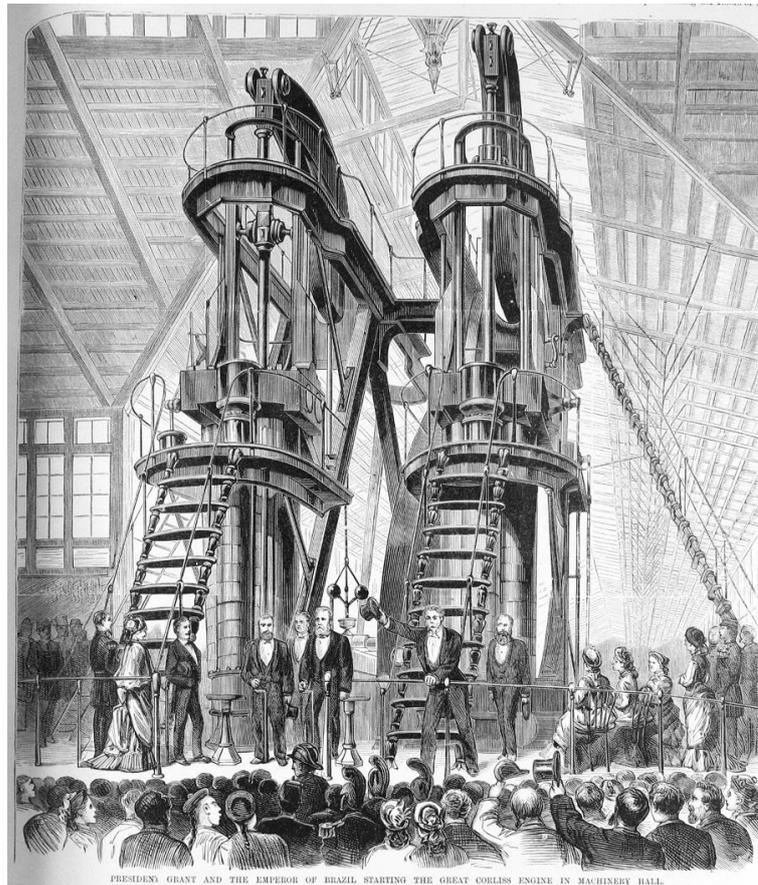


Illustration 5: A drawing depicting the Brazilian emperor, Pedro II, inaugurating the Centennial International Exposition next to US president, Ulysses Grant. Grant is the one waving the hat, and Pedro II stands to his right.



Illustration 6: Pedro II depicted by a contemporary publication in plain, sober dress that downplayed his royal status.

This transformation of a monarch of European-descent into an uncomplicated, American citizen was quickly grasped and disseminated by the United States' press. 'Dynamic' and 'energetic' were some of the emperor's qualities, opportunely highlighted in their interpretation of Pedro II as a monarch with an 'American character'.⁷⁸ Unlike the commissioners who worked backstage, the imperial presence took central position and embodied the modern aspect of politics for a United States' audience. In this way, the emperor acted as a mobile agent in the exhibition network, an actor whose right demeanour and high visibility guaranteed the making of a modern identity for Brazil in 1876. Other agents with this comparable power of mobility and visibility include the numerous publications issued by exhibition commissioners to disseminate their view on Brazil in Philadelphia. These publications are among the most prominent exhibitionary apparatuses ever designed for Brazil's representation abroad.

Publications: a scientised, modern nation-state in expansion

Brazilian commissioners had started publishing and translating exhibition catalogues and exhibition-related books since the onset of Brazil's exhibitionary trajectory. The dissemination of technical knowledge and national propaganda began at the first national exhibition (Rio, 1861), continued in the first official visit to an international exhibition (London, 1862) and boomed in Paris 1867. An example of an early object lesson through images is the lavishly illustrated album *Recordações da Exposição Nacional de 1861* (Souvenirs from the 1861 National Exhibition) published by the government-endorsed lithographic office *Imperial Instituto Artístico* (Imperial Artistic Institute). The album argued visually that the country was making significant technical progress by displaying carefully drawn lithographs of locomotives, foundries, decorative and applied art objects made in Brazil. This view directly defied that of journalist and politician, Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, for example, for whom the national exhibition inappropriately promoted the

⁷⁸ Argeu, p.143. He refers to the *New York Herald* of 18 April 1876.

‘nationalisation’ of industries that were ‘natural’ to countries like England.⁷⁹ Tavares Bastos’ theory that agriculture was the Brazilian economic vocation, a view shared by many others, was less conspicuously represented in 1861. The *Recordações* told those absent from the festival and a future readership that Brazil had started following the technological path to modernity and that industrialization and exhibitions were inextricably linked.

On their return from the Brazilian exhibition in London in 1862, the commissioners compiled an album packed with examples of foreign object lessons. The *Atlas dos Desenhos Referidos nos Relatórios da Comissão Brasileira* (Atlas of Drawings Referred in the Reports of the Brazilian Commission) offered detailed technical drawings of innovations considered useful to the Brazilian economy: steam engines, sugar manufacture systems, cotton gins, cannons and naval constructions, among others.⁸⁰ These two examples of publications – the *Recordações* and the *Atlas* – demonstrate that an incipient but significant exchange of written and visual information in Brazil was prompted by the exhibition phenomena. Keen to embrace the circulation of knowledge, Brazilian exhibition commissioners increasingly published more propaganda and technical books for both inwards and outwards consumption. Mobile agents, thus, became fundamental pieces in the commissioners’ strategy of disseminating crucial information about Brazilian exhibits and their particular views of Brazil. Evidence of the success of this strategy is in the longevity of this exhibitionary approach: for the sixty years covered by this thesis, the publication of propaganda publications persisted and all following chapters will analyse the ideas perpetrated by these agents.

From 1866 onwards, the imperial government issued two types of publications central to its exhibitionary intentions. The first was directed at home audiences, specifically provincial presidents and local exhibition commissioners. The *Apontamentos Especiaes Remettidos as Provincias do Imperio* (Special Ordinance Dispatched to the Imperial Prov-

⁷⁹ Aureliano Cândido Tavares Bastos, ‘Exposição Nacional-I’, *Correio Mercantil*, 2 Decemeber 1861, p.3.

⁸⁰ *Atlas dos Desenhos Referidos no Relatórios da Comissão Brasileira Sobre a Exposição Internacional de Londres em 1862* (Londres: Thomas Brettell, 1863).

inces) was a set of instructions that demanded what precise objects and resources from each region ought to figure at the national exhibition in the capital.⁸¹ This publication illustrates the strong political centralisation that characterised Brazil's Second Reign (1840-1889) by exposing a rigid system of exchange that anticipated exactly how each province should contribute to the benefit of the union. The instructions issued in 1866, for example, meticulously requested which large trunks of trees from Pará were to be sent to Paris to demonstrate Brazil's forestry riches. This collection of tropical timber eventually formed one of the most significant Brazilian displays in Paris in 1867, nicknamed 'virgin forest', a display that will be studied in chapter three.

The second type of publication central to Brazilian exhibitionary intentions was directed to foreign audiences. To complement the Brazilian exhibitions abroad with information that objects alone could not communicate, the imperial government began to publish an appendix to the national exhibition catalogue. The first of these mobile agents was published in 1867 and bound to the catalogue of exhibits sent to Paris in a volume entitled *The Empire of Brazil at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867*.⁸² The appendix was called *A Glance at the Empire of Brazil* and, like the catalogue, was issued in English, French, and Portuguese. Across its 135 pages, the *A Glance* offered an all-encompassing, eulogising account of how supposedly progressive life was in Brazil. Its preface introduced the national commissioners' lofty ambitions in Paris: 'In order that Brazil may become one of the greatest nations of the world, nothing is wanting but population, and to attract this, it is only necessary to render herself known'.⁸³ An unambiguous work of propaganda, *A Glance* also featured large territorial maps and tables with operating cotton mills, telegraphic and railway networks to illustrate Brazil as a modern nation-state, abundant in resources but lacking population. In this making of a progressive nation outreaching its colonial past, even the

⁸¹ *Apontamentos Especiaes Remettidos as Provincias do Imperio em Additamento as Instruções de 14 de Outubro de 1865 e 16 de Fevereiro de 1866 para a Exposição Nacional de 1866* (Rio de Janeiro: Imperial Instituto Artístico, 1866)

⁸² *The Empire of Brazil at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867* (Rio de Janeiro: E. & H. Laemmert, 1867).

⁸³ *h E i ... 1867*, p.3.

internationally condemned practice of slavery was addressed. In a small chapter on ‘Population’, the practice that sustained the national economy (and which would only be totally abolished in 1888) was awkwardly described as a sort of humanitarian slavery, and justified as a burdensome colonial legacy.⁸⁴

Beyond these two officially but anonymously authored publications, privately issued works also contributed to disseminate a modern view of the nation by including Brazil in the select list of science producing nations. In 1866, the then director of Agriculture and Botany of the MN, Mello e Netto, issued a significant document that promoted scientific ways of displaying Brazilian perishable exhibits abroad. His *Apontamentos Sobre a Collecção das Plantas Economicas do Brasil para a Exposição Internacional de 1867* (Writings on the Collection of Brazilian Commercial Plants for the 1867 International Exposition) outlined a two-year research undertaken by Mello e Netto into the best ways for Brazilian woods, plants and fruits to be treated and displayed during the forthcoming Paris festival.⁸⁵ Mello e Netto worked and wrote in France where he exchanged ideas with foreign experts and investigated how tropical specimens from French colonies were kept and treated for exhibition purposes. His *Apontamentos* addressed the Brazilian ministry responsible for exhibitions and made a strong case for a scientific approach towards the commodification of Brazilian flora and fauna. For a ‘new country like Brazil’, the naturalist recommended, it was best to show a collection ‘more scientific than industrial’.⁸⁶ In this way, the display of the ‘structure’ and ‘chemical properties’ of fruits, for example, was more desirable than a ‘simple exposition of forms’.⁸⁷ This scientific display, he added, should be complemented by a great amount of written information to accompany Brazil’s collections

⁸⁴ *h E i ...l 867*, pp.30-31.

⁸⁵ Mello e Netto, *Apontamentos*. Mello e Netto’s participation in exhibitions was lasting. He worked in the 1875 fourth national exhibition as commissioner, soon after becoming MN’s director. He was responsible for the Brazilian *Exposição Antropológica* (Anthropological Exhibition) in 1882 and for the Amazon anthropological pavilion in Paris in 1889. As chapter four will consider, he also vice-presided the republican preparatory exhibition of 1893.

⁸⁶ Mello e Netto, pp.9-10.

⁸⁷ Mello e Netto, pp.9-10.

abroad.⁸⁸ Finally, Mello e Netto suggested that generating and disseminating domestic knowledge about Brazilian nature was the ‘essential side upon which the importance of these collections depend[ed]’.⁸⁹ These scientific publications, I argue, eventually had more power to spread the findings of the burgeoning field of Brazilian natural sciences than the exhibits themselves.

Mello e Netto’s scientism was also due to, in his words, a more ‘moral’, ‘indispensable tactic’ for Brazilian exhibitionary success.⁹⁰ This tactic proved that Brazil could muster educated men, capable of studying their own natural resources, and of sharing scientific knowledge with the world. Science, therefore, provided Brazilians with an alternative path on the road of technical progress. The production of scientific knowledge, according to Mello e Netto:

[...] serves us with much advantage, since it shows that if our industry is not raised to the level of the industries from the most advanced countries, at least we do not mark time nor live in the apathy that some *esprits légers* (accurate translation: poor spirits) gratuitously attribute to us. This is a sort of indispensable tactic for the good reception that we can expect to have in this areopagus of modern times which is called International Exposition.⁹¹

In the same year, Mello e Netto launched another proposal that foregrounded the scientific aims of exhibition-related publications for the forthcoming decade. The Sorbonne-educated scholar called for the establishment and publication of a ‘synonym’ of Brazilian natural specimens. By publishing their vulgar and scientific names side by side, Mello e Netto wished to facilitate specimen identification and commercialisation. The classification of nature and standardisation of nomenclature had long been a fundamental aim of scientific knowledge and an enduring task of any international naturalist.⁹² The need to

⁸⁸ Mello e Netto, pp.10-11.

⁸⁹ Mello e Netto, pp.10-11.

⁹⁰ Mello e Netto, p.15.

⁹¹ Mello e Netto, p.15, original emphasis and translation.

⁹² Pratt, pp.24-35.

locate with precision the scientific and commercial qualities of Brazilian natural riches within a plethora of exhibits accelerated this process. While for more industrialised nations, exhibitions prompted the classification and ranking of manufactured goods, in other words, of an ‘object taxonomy’, for Brazilian scientists and commissioners, exhibitions served as invaluable opportunities for the examination, description, identification, naming and classification of the nation’s natural wealth.

In 1867, José de Saldanha da Gama, the naturalist who would become exhibition commissioner in 1876, assumed the challenge proposed by Mello e Netto. In that year alone, Gama produced at least five publications underpinned by the paramount scientific principle of taxonomy. He examined the collection of tropical woods taken from Pará province to Paris and published his findings twice. In the *Breve Notícia sobre a Collecção das Madeiras do Brasil* (Brief Notice about the Collection of Woods from Brazil) written before the Paris exhibition, Gama inventoried the wood names used in Brazil (mostly given in indigenous languages) and compared them to those used in France.⁹³ Accompanying the inventory was information on the location of each species of wood, their by-products and commercial uses according to intrinsic material qualities. Thus, more than simply scientific production, Gama’s publication also acted as a commercial guide to readers – foreigners or nationals – through the vast and exotic riches of Brazilian forestry.

His other publication on the same subject spoke to a more expert audience. It was written right before the Paris exhibition directly in French and read during a session of the Parisian *Société Botanique* (Botanical Society). In the *Quelques Mots sur les Bois du Brésil* (Some Words on the Woods from Brazil) Gama presented a thorough scientific examination of the material properties of the woods that would form the display known as ‘virgin forest’.⁹⁴ The *Quelques Mots* reinforced the taxonomic work accomplished by Gama in the *Breve Notícia* but projected it onto an international and specialised level. Moreover, this publication strategically complemented the show of the ‘virgin forest’. Whilst the display in

⁹³ Gama, *Breve Notícia...* (Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Nacional: 1867).

⁹⁴ Gama, *Q q M ...* (Paris: Imprimerie de E. Martinet, 1867).

Paris projected Brazilian exoticism and abundance in a spectacular and romanticised way, as we will consider in chapter three, Gama's meticulous, scientific enquiry confirmed to that foreign audience that Brazilians were capable of yet another type of control over nature, one highly valued in the European repertoire of modernity.

These works published by Mello e Netto and Gama were not mere pieces of personal promotion for peer consideration. By mixing popular and scientific languages, and by disseminating their findings in international exhibitions, these experts linked scientism and domestic knowledge production to the endeavour of national progress and international projection. They made Brazilian science accessible in books and tables, and recognisable to the diverse audience that visited the exhibition. They made Brazilian exhibits more commercial, heightened the status of Brazilian 'researchers' abroad, as Gama called them, and buttressed the general imperial objective of making Brazilian riches known in the world.⁹⁵ Finally, these scientist-commissioners, who were not limited to the two cases here, inverted the flow of knowledge production and exchange set since colonial times when Brazil was the object of foreign, scientific expeditions. The 1860s marked the transformation of Brazil from being solely an object of scientific study to becoming a producer of similar knowledge. This inversion became even more visible through the work of scientists and commissioners at exhibitions. Additionally, the gigantic modernising tides set in motion by exhibitions transferred not only publications and scientific knowledge but they also sent unfamiliar natural specimens around the world. An example of this movement of natural specimens is found in the work of Theodor Peckolt. The Rio-based German chemist and pharmacist took advantage of the transfer of specimens engendered by the second National Exhibition in 1866 to examine natural collections sent from remote provinces that otherwise would not have reached his laboratory.⁹⁶ As we will see below, the circulation of specimens and pub-

⁹⁵ Gama, *Classement*, p.3; Gama, *Travaux*, p.9.

⁹⁶ Theodoro Peckolt, *Análises de Materia Medica Brasileira dos Productos que Forão Premiados nas Exposições Nacionaes e na Exposição Universal de Paris em 1867* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1868).

lications became, in fact, one of the major stratagems of the Brazilian representation in Philadelphia in 1876.

The production of scientific and propaganda publications for exhibition initiated in the 1860s became a forceful, structured exhibitionary strategy by the 1870s. In the 1876 Philadelphia fair, Gama, hired by the imperial government as an exhibition commissioner, continued to profusely translate and publish scientific investigations.⁹⁷ Other specialised works produced by scientist-commissioners like Nicolau Joaquim Moreira focused on Brazilian coffee, naval construction or provincial progress, for example.⁹⁸ Moreover, the propaganda publication formerly known as *A Glance* became detached from the catalogue of exhibits. It was renamed *The Empire of Brazil at the Universal Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia*, grew in size and importance, and found a new readership as it was translated into English, French, and German.⁹⁹

The *Empire of Brazil* in 1876 also conveyed a sense of national progression from previous exhibitions and publications. Its preface assured United States' readers that, comparing to the Brazilian performances in Paris (1867) and Vienna (1873), 'the old, and constant, friendship which link [sic] the two nations, call for fresh information, and for the more recent studies, now added, in order that this work may be less incomplete than the two former'.¹⁰⁰ As the nation expanded so did its propaganda. By 1876, the *Empire of Brazil* featured almost 500 pages, several large, foldout maps and tables, and spoke in a tone that abandoned the 'want in population' rhetoric of 1867 in favour of tightening commercial ties

⁹⁷ See note 62.

⁹⁸ See note 64. These works include: Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, *Brazilian Coffee* (New York: O Novo Mundo, 1876), *Historical Notes Concerning the Vegetable Fibers Exhibited by Severino L da C Leite* (New York: O Novo Mundo, 1876); Luis de Saldanha da Gama, *Notice on the Model of Ships Exhibited by the Rio de Janeiro Navy Yard* (Philadelphia: R Magee & Son, 1876); Joaquim Floriano de Godoy, *São Paulo Province (A provincia de São Paulo): Statistical, Historical and Notice Work Destined to the Philadelphia exhibition* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Diario do Rio de Janeiro, 1875)

⁹⁹ These anonymous books were respectively named *O Império do Brazil na Exposição Universal de Philadelphia em 1876*; *The Empire of Brazil at the Universal Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia*; *L'Empire du Brésil à l'Exposition Universelle de 1876*; and *Das Kaiserreich Brasilien auf der Weltausstellung von 1876 in Philadelphia*. They were printed by the Imperial Instituto Artístico in Rio de Janeiro, 1876. Turazzi notes that 40,000 of these propaganda books were issued for the Brazilian participation in Vienna in 1873. See Turazzi, p.140.

¹⁰⁰ *The Empire of Brazil at the Universal Exhibition of 1876*, preface.

with the United States.¹⁰¹ The anonymously authored but authoritative *Empire of Brazil* talked about the nation and spoke for the nation. It promised, for example, to speak ‘only the truth’, a claim that has to be understood in two contexts.¹⁰² First, publications such as this wanted to offset alleged derogatory accounts on Brazil made by foreign travellers and writers, those ‘*esprits légers*’ that Mello e Netto condemned. Second, they sought to impose the voice of a strong state that wished to display its nation as homogenised, modernising, and progressive, and who professed to know the truth.

An example of this view displayed in the *Empire of Brazil* is in the chapter that presents the imperial programme for the catechises, or religious conversion, of indigenous peoples. At first glance, the *Empire of Brazil* surprisingly defied racial theories of its time by arguing that indigenous peoples, after conversion, were fit for labour. The authorship of this view is attributed by John Manuel Monteiro to Couto de Magalhães.¹⁰³ This Brazilian army general defended the employment of indigenous peoples and the mixing of races as possible solutions for the alleged problem of decline in the size of the working population since the abolition of slave trade in 1850.¹⁰⁴ However, Magalhães’ unusual ‘civilising proposal’, which included indigenous peoples in the Brazilian societal make-up, seems less revolutionary if taken into account its utilitarian slant.¹⁰⁵ The *Empire of Brazil*’s miscegenation argument was still sustained by a productive view of society, in which a homogenised population was to work towards the material progress and modernisation of the nation.

Apart from content, what distinguished the publication phenomenon as seen in 1876 was the orchestrated effort made by commissioners to distribute the Brazilian exhibitionary material across the United States and beyond. This effort centred on a free distribution of publications in ‘large scale’ that, according to Coutinho, ‘have awakened a lot of interest

¹⁰¹ *h E i ... 1876*, preface. Chapter three will return to the Brazilian use of a commercial tone in the United States.

¹⁰² *h E i ... 1876*, preface.

¹⁰³ John Manuel Monteiro, ‘As Raças Indígenas no Pensamentos Brasileiro do Império’ in *Raça, Ciência e Sociedade*, ed. by Marcos Chor Maio and Ricardo Ventura Santos (Rio de Janeiro: Fiocruz/CCBB, 1996), pp.15-22 (p.17).

¹⁰⁴ Monteiro, p.17-18, note 5.

¹⁰⁵ Monteiro, p.17.

about Brazil, not only in the American people but also in the foreigners gathered in Philadelphia'.¹⁰⁶ Successful distribution of the Brazilian publications was also guaranteed by personal contacts nurtured by Brazil's key decision-maker, commissioner Netto. In his words, he found himself in the United States 'in good relations with the editors and correspondents of various newspapers, who promise to become vehicles of our ideas and interests in this big country'.¹⁰⁷ As the Philadelphian festival ended, Netto continued to send 'collections of books' to 'all establishments in the United States, and newsrooms of the main newspapers and magazines'.¹⁰⁸ Through foreign commissioners who worked at the fair, he sent publications for 'the libraries of the countries there represented'.¹⁰⁹ When dismantling the Brazilian exhibition, even more copies were dispatched to newspapers in Philadelphia, New York, Germany and France, accompanied by free samples of national coffee beans. Brazilian natural commodities, once displayed statically at the Centennial, were eventually set in motion and travelled as tangible proof of their own material qualities verified by science.

According to Coutinho, these publications constituted 'one of the most brilliant faces' of the Brazilian exhibition, a face that differentiated Brazil from other contenders and 'gave her honourable compliments from press and public'.¹¹⁰ Coutinho's use of the 'face' metaphor, together with the name of the 1867 propaganda book (*A Glance at...*) reveal a desire for exposure and visibility that connect these mobile agents and their scientist-commissioner authors to the monumental enclaves erected to represent Brazil in Philadelphia. As the next part will discuss, adding the mobility of publications and the monumentality of its pavilions to the image of the 'citizen-monarch', Brazil's message to the world in 1876 was that of a scientised, modern nation-state in expansion.

¹⁰⁶ Coutinho, p.22.

¹⁰⁷ IHGB, 273/12, letter 1.

¹⁰⁸ Coutinho, pp.22-3.

¹⁰⁹ Coutinho, pp.22-3.

¹¹⁰ Coutinho, p.22.

Fixed agents: Brazilian orientalism at the Centennial International Exhibition, 1876

In any international fair, the erection of stands and pavilions have been the most conspicuous way of distinguishing and promoting a nation on the often-bewildering exhibition grounds. However, for the first time in Philadelphia the Brazilian Empire was given specific space to design its own architectural representation. This fair was divided into various departments like Agriculture or Fine Art, for example, and specific buildings were constructed to house each department. Visiting nations, thus, were given space at the exhibition park for their national pavilions, plus space in each department building for the construction of ‘national enclaves’ to display specific exhibits.¹¹¹ Before Philadelphia, Brazilian commissioners had made good use of the small enclaves allocated to them in exhibition palaces, as in London in 1862 (Illustration 4), but they had little autonomy to design or decorate their exteriors. It is not surprising, therefore, that the opportunities granted in Philadelphia were seized with vigour. Brazilian commissioners erected four major built environments, or fixed agents, to represent the Brazilian Empire in the United States. At Philadelphia’s Fairmount Park, they built a small but sophisticated pavilion to serve as the commission’s headquarters. A nearby coffee kiosk was opened to promote the consumption of the nation’s chief export commodity. Finally, two large enclaves were erected in the Main Building and the Agricultural Hall, strategic departments to propagandise the national economy and the nation abroad.

When Brazilian commissioners reflected on a Brazilian representation to be sent abroad, they often used a dress metaphor to express how the ‘nation’ performed and presented itself:

Suddenly called for the peaceful combat of the industries and arts, [Brazil] was presented, not clad in the gala dress of the polite European, but simply

¹¹¹ Bruno Giberti, *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, c2002), p.75.

clothed as a modest peasant, who, measuring space, calculates the degree of force he still has to employ to side with the most cultivated and rich countries in the world.¹¹²

The description of Brazil as a modestly clad but calculating peasant referred to the first official representation sent to London in 1862 (Illustration 4), a small but neatly ordered display of manufactures, including those made of carnauba fibre from Ceará. Fourteen years later, the dress metaphor was again utilised to qualify the national appearance in Philadelphia. This time, though, the Empire's clothes had greatly changed. In the words of exhibition commissioner Nicolau Joaquim Moreira:

Accustomed to appearing in the industrial festivals of the European world, Brazil could not refuse to present itself in the American event; so [Brazil] dressed in its gala best to demonstrate to those who yet do not know her the immense riches provided by her prodigal nature.¹¹³

Having already participated in two European exhibitions (London, 1862; Paris, 1867), Brazilian commissioners placed the calculating strategy aside. In their first appearance at an exhibition in the United States, it was time to dress properly and 'side with the most cultivated and rich countries in the world'. The geopolitical reasons and importance of this dress change are intimately associated with the monumental and theatrical environments built to represent Brazil in Philadelphia, and analysed below. Besides change in dress strategy, the continual use of this metaphor demonstrates how Brazilian commissioners considered exhibitions to be sites of performance, as much as sites of commercial exchange.

¹¹² Marques de Abrantes and Fernandes da Cunha, 'Anexo I: Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional' in *Relatório Apresentado a Manoel Felizardo de Souza e Mello, pelo Diretor da Diretoria da Agricultura, Commercio e Indústria, José Agostinho Moreira Guimarães* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Paula Brito, 1862), p.4.

¹¹³ Coutinho, p.67.

Brazilian visibility in Philadelphia

The Brazilian pavilion, a key Brazilian fixed agent, was built at the Fairmount Park ‘rising near the head of the Lansdowne Ravine and east of the German Building’.¹¹⁴ It was ‘in one of the best places of the park’, according to commissioner Coutinho (Illustration 7).¹¹⁵ For securing the site the Brazilian minister in the United States, Borges de Carvalho, acted as an offsite negotiator. From Washington he sanctioned the allocation of the land and the erection of the pavilion but was unable to leave his duties to oversee construction.¹¹⁶ Exhibition commissioner Netto then became solely responsible for hiring the architect, overseeing construction, and organising the whole of the Brazilian exhibition. The Brazilian Fairmount Park pavilion was a compact, two-storey wooden structure built over an octagonal plan with loggias on each side (Illustrations 8 and 9).¹¹⁷ Adorned with arabesques, its exterior showed ‘pleasing combination of colors, in which brown, yellow and red harmoniously contrasted’ according to the illustrated album *Centennial Portfolio* (Illustration 9).¹¹⁸ The 70-foot diameter interior was decorated with examples of Brazilian furniture made by ‘skilled artists’ according to Coutinho and considered ‘plain, but in good taste’ by the *Portfolio*.¹¹⁹ The pavilion, as other Brazilian fixed agents, was not designed by a national designer or architect. Instead, Brazilian commissioners hired the high calibre, local architect Frank Furness to design Brazil’s pavilion and enclaves in Philadelphia. Both Furness’ work and the strategic significance of his hiring will be the subject of a later discussion in this chapter.

¹¹⁴ *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, Comprising Lithographic Views of Fifty Buildings [...]* (Philadelphia: Thomas Hunter, 1876), p.20; Coutinho, p.21.

¹¹⁵ *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, Comprising Lithographic Views of Fifty Buildings [...]* (Philadelphia: Thomas Hunter, 1876), p.20; Coutinho, p.21.

¹¹⁶ Coutinho, p.21.

¹¹⁷ *Centennial Portfolio*, p.20.

¹¹⁸ *Centennial Portfolio*, p.20.

¹¹⁹ Coutinho, p.21; *Centennial Portfolio*, p.20.

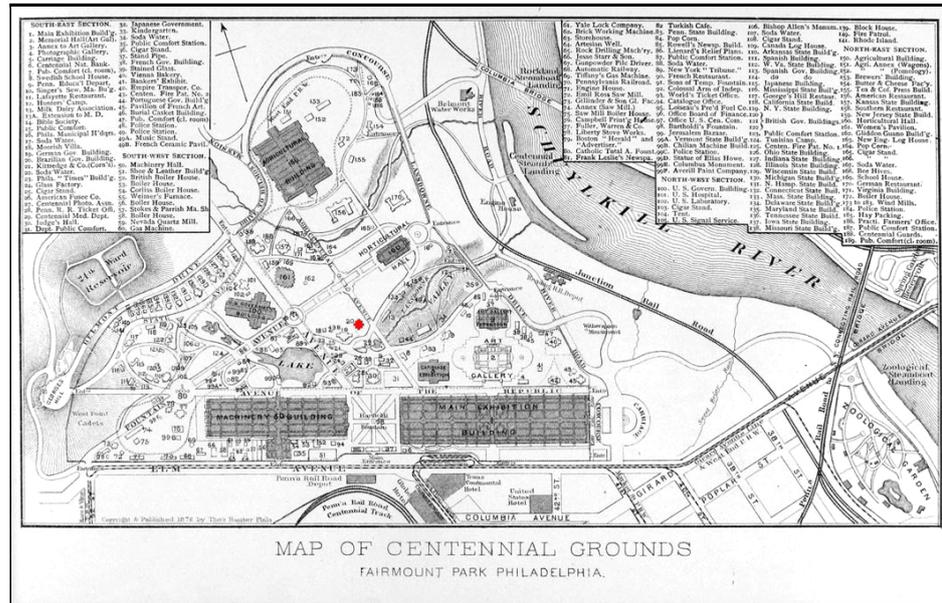


Illustration 7: The central location of the Brazilian pavilion in Fairmount Park marked in red.



Illustrations 8 and 9: The Brazilian pavilion in Fairmount Park was designed by the reputable Philadelphian architect Frank Furness.

Complementing the park site dedicated to Brazil, fairgoers found next to the pavilion an enclosure ‘neatly laid out and planted with Brazilian plants’, and an adjacent temporary kiosk dubbing as a café.¹²⁰ The *Café do Brazil*, as Coutinho named the kiosk, served as a space for conviviality.¹²¹ The *Café* was a meeting place for visitors to drink Brazilian coffee, rest and possibly exchange impressions about the festival; a pleasant addition to the vast and eclectic landscape of foreign objects and architecture surrounding these people. The *Café do Brazil*, however, was not devised only to offer sensual satisfaction and a place to rest. The *Café* was conceived to disperse international biases concerning the quality of Brazilian coffee. ‘This establishment helped very much to popularise our chief commercial genre’, rejoiced Coutinho.¹²² The commissioner referred to the fact that foreign retailers and consumers usually thought that coffees named Java and Mocha came from places with the same name, whereas in fact they were varieties cultivated and exported by Brazil.¹²³

In the United States, the task of rebranding the product and reasserting the right origin of quality coffee was paramount to Brazilian commissioners. And what better way to convince foreign opinion than offering them a luscious cup of coffee made by those in the know? With support from the imperial government, Brazilian commissioners guaranteed free supply of coffee to all foreign exhibition commissioners and sold the beverage at an affordable price to the rest of the public.¹²⁴ Their strategy paid off. The ‘recognition of the truth’, said Coutinho, ‘has shaken’ opinion about Brazilian coffee in the United States, noting that this country alone consumed half of Brazil’s coffee exports in late 1870s.¹²⁵ Moreover, the association between coffee and Brazil evolved to the point of becoming inseparable in subsequent exhibitions in the United States. It culminated at the St Louis festival of

¹²⁰ *Centennial Portfolio*, p.20; Coutinho, p.21, 24-31.

¹²¹ Coutinho, p.21.

¹²² Coutinho, p.21.

¹²³ Coutinho, pp.21, 25-26; 76-77.

¹²⁴ Coutinho, p.21.

¹²⁵ Coutinho, p.25.

1904, subject of chapter three, where the entire national pavilion was a large-scale version of the 1876 *Café do Brazil* (and, as such, was dubbed ‘Palace of Coffee’).¹²⁶

Overall, the Brazilian pavilion and coffee kiosk at the Fairmount Park received little attention from contemporary commentators and the subsequent historiography. In fact, the pavilion’s modest dimensions and simple ornamentation were entirely dwarfed by the unsettling Brazilian enclave erected in the fair’s Main Building to exhibit chief national products. Whilst the pavilion was lightly decorated with orientalist details, the Main Building enclave presented a fantastic tale from *Arabian Nights*.

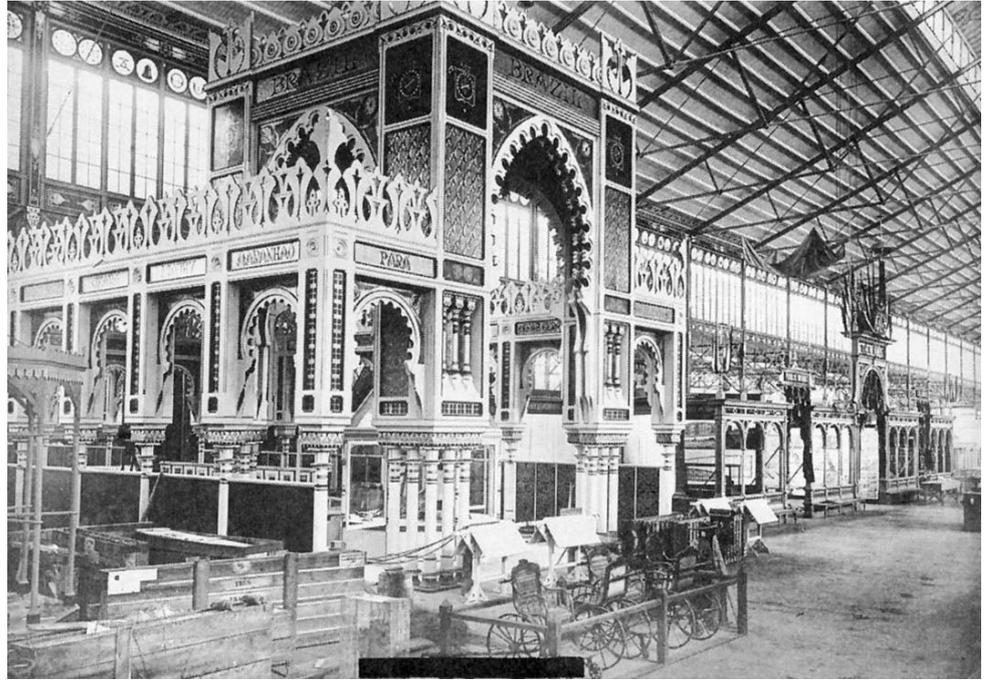
Orientalist enclaves

The Brazilian enclave, like the pavilion, was designed by Furness in a style diversely described as ‘Arabic’, ‘Alhambra’, ‘Moorish’ or ‘Moresque’.¹²⁷ This style, suggested simply in the pavilion by the octagonal plan, bold colours, and some arabesques, was conspicuously applied to the exterior and interior of this large and outlandish space (Illustrations 10 and 11).

The entrance to the spacious rectangular enclave was divided in two by a large, towering minaret profusely adorned with coloured arabesques, columns and foliage ornaments. The imperial coat of arms and the name Brazil, inscribed in a roman adaptation of Arabic calligraphy, loomed on top of the minaret’s horseshoe archway. Both the name and the arms were repeated on each side of the tower. Thus, no matter from which direction the visitor looked at it, that extravagant pavilion belonged to Brazil. Underneath, tall wooden walls also made of horseshoe arches and sustained by multicoloured thin columns boasted

¹²⁶ See second part of chapter three.

¹²⁷ IHGB, 273/12, letter 1; John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions: 150 years*, revised ed. (London: ECL, 2001), p.45 and Giberti, p.110.



Illustrations 10 and 11: Photographic perspectives of the theatrical, orientalist Brazilian enclave, also designed by Furness, erected inside the Centennial's Main Building.

the names of the imperial provinces. This hierarchical positing of national toponyms, placing provinces equally amongst themselves but subjected to the imperial unity above mirrored domestic politics of centralization and maintenance of territorial integrity at all costs.

The multicoloured, multidimensional, and extremely rich architectural orientalism became even more prominent and confusing inside (Illustration 12). Under the main tower, ‘an octagonal showcase containing eye-catching samples of Brazilian birds and bugs’ and emperor’s jewellery reminded visitors of the tropical and imperial qualities of this Brazilian Alhambra.¹²⁸ In the first room of four, the visitor found ‘furniture made of local woods’ and ‘displays of the country’s undeveloped mineral wealth’ as examples of Brazil’s ‘prodigal nature’.¹²⁹ Evidence of national moral and intellectual development was displayed in a small section of education and science fixed in long vitrines at the centre of the room.¹³⁰ Yet, displaying national development in science was so paramount to the national strategy in 1876 that such fixed exhibits were also transformed into mobile agents to circulate amongst fairgoers and beyond as seen in the previous part. Adjoining rooms reinforced the exhibition’s claims that Brazil was a developing nation by showing an incipient but diverse selection of general products from mining and metallurgy industries.¹³¹

In analyzing the orientalist form of the Brazilian environment, architectural historian Bruno Giberti compares how the interior of the enclave was different to that of the French or Swedish sections (Illustrations 13 and 14).¹³² In fact, comparisons with other foreign enclaves highlight the uniqueness of the Brazilian representation. Few nations divided their allocated spaces into inside and outside with partitions like Brazil did. Of those nations that presented their exhibits behind partitions like the Netherlands (Illustration 15), none looked as ostentatious as Brazil. In fact, building a partitioned enclave

¹²⁸ Giberti, p.111; This vitrine also included the feather flowers, or ‘Brazilian fans’, famously made and exhibited by the Natté sisters in Rio. See Livia Rezende, ‘Crafting the Nation: Brazilian ‘Civilised Exoticism’ at World Exhibitions’ in *Design and Craft: A History of Convergences and Divergences*, ed. by Javier Gimeno-Martinez and Fredie Floré (Brussels: Universa, 2010). See also Coutinho, p.17.

¹²⁹ Giberti, p.111; *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section* (Philadelphia: Hollowell & Co, 1876), s. n.

¹³⁰ *C g ...B z i i n i n*, s.n.

¹³¹ *C g ...B z i i n i n*, s.n.; Coutinho, p.18.

¹³² Giberti, pp.109-10.



Illustration 12: The interior of the orientalist Brazilian enclave in the Main Building, with the octagonal showcase on the left, the educational exhibition in the centre, and examples of furniture on the right.



Illustrations 13 and 14: The French (top) and Swedish (bottom) enclaves in the Main Building can be contrasted with the theatricality and monumentality of the Brazilian enclave.

worked ambivalently. On the one hand, the partitions hid exhibits from passing crowds, offering no opportunities for fleeting appreciation. In this way, the enclosed space could alienate fairgoers and hinder their encounter with the exhibits. On the other hand, this strategy could lure visitors inside the partitioned walls for a game of hide-and-seek where they could find preciously out of sight treasures. In the Brazilian case, the mysteriousness and exoticism often associated with Western ideas of the Orient certainly lured more than deflected.¹³³

The ‘splendour’ of the Brazilian enclave, as Netto qualified it, was complemented with patterned glass tiles of Islamic motifs mixed with ‘continuous cresting of conventionalized Victorian ornament’.¹³⁴ Giberti explains that the award-winning enclave ‘was described as being in the “Moresque style”’ but also showed general traits of High Victorian architecture’ typical of Furness’ repertoire.¹³⁵ Formal employment of an Alhambra-like ornamentation suggested association with two other traditions. Firstly, it inscribed the enclave into the Moorish revival present in United States architecture from the mid-nineteenth century, of which Furness was an exponent.¹³⁶ Thus, the Brazilian exhibitionary orientalism was not entirely divorced from the time and place of its manifestation. Secondly, it was not divorced from what had become a tradition in international exhibitions either. In 1851, Owen Jones had decorated the Crystal Palace ‘according to principles he had drawn from Islamic architecture and particularly from the Alhambra, the palace of Muslim governors in Granada’.¹³⁷ The presence of seemingly oriental buildings and cultures was the hallmark of yet another exhibition, when in 1867 the area surrounding the *Champs de Mars* in Paris was taken over by mosques, minarets and bazaars (Illustration 16).¹³⁸

¹³³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).

¹³⁴ Giberti, p.111.

¹³⁵ Giberti, p.111.

¹³⁶ George E. Thomas, *Frank Furness: The Complete Works*, revised ed. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, c1996).

¹³⁷ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1992.), pp.165-66.

¹³⁸ Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, ‘Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles’, *Assemblage*, 13 (1990), 34-59.

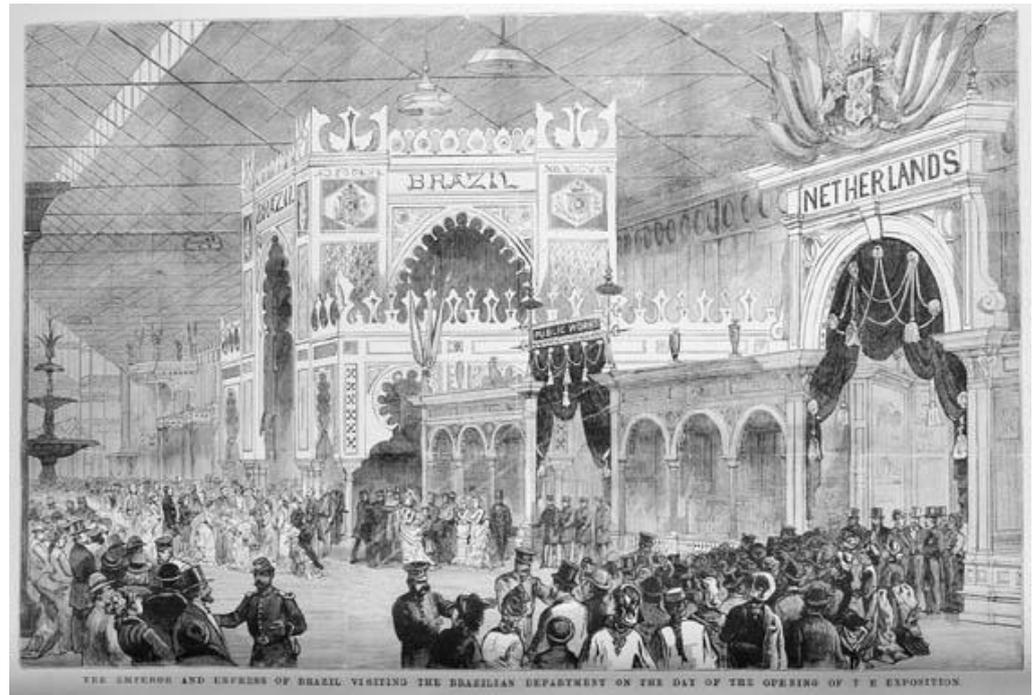


Illustration 15: A drawing depicting the Netherlands' enclave (right) next to the Brazilian one (left). Both nations used partitions to enclose their exhibitions. The Brazilian, however, looked more ostentatious.

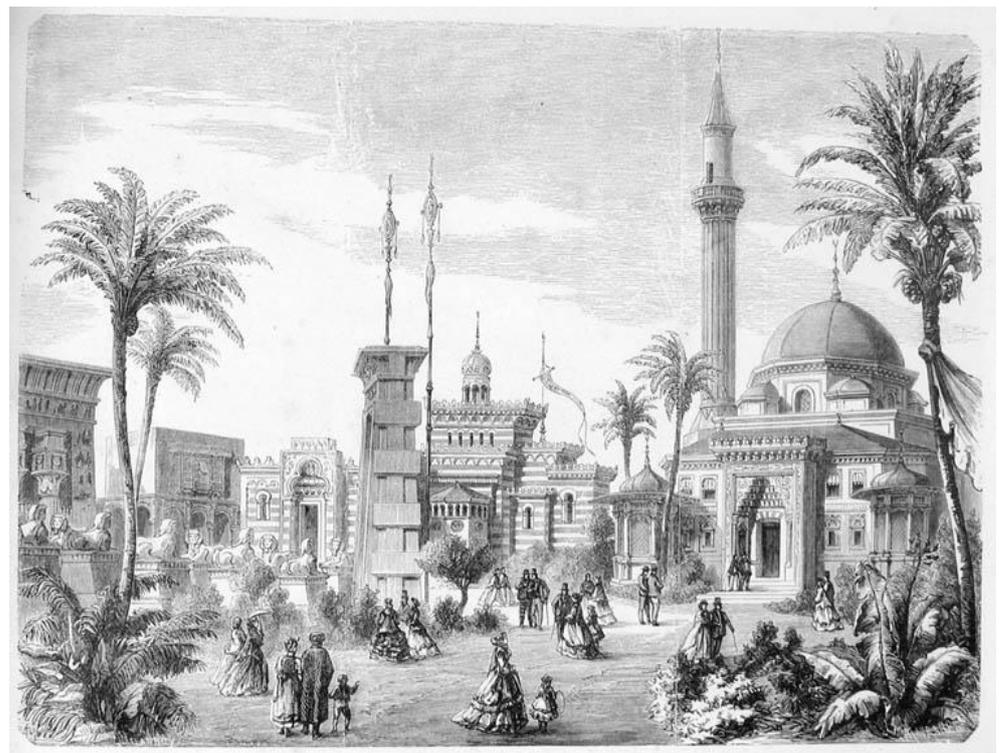


Illustration 16: A representation of the architectural orientalism of the *Exposition Universelle* in 1867.

In Philadelphia, Herman J. Schwarzmann, head of the United States Centennial Commission's Department of Engineering, also opted for a 'Mauresque [sic] style of architecture' for the design of the Horticultural Hall (Illustration 17).¹³⁹ Exhibition scholar Robert Rydell compares this edifice to 'an *Arabian Nights*' sort of gorgeousness', giving an idea of the fantasies evoked by buildings of this type.¹⁴⁰ Yet, Brazil's orientalism challenges current understandings of *brasilidade* and national identity. Issues of originality and architectural eclecticism combined with the cultural and political meanings of this orientalist representation also raise questions about design authorship and agency. Was the adoption of a Moorish style a conscious decision and made by whom? Or was it a trend inserted in an oriental revival at the United States and naively followed? Most importantly, why was Brazil almost entirely dressed in oriental garments for its first major exhibition in the American continent?

Brazilian orientalism

The application of an oriental style of architecture to Brazil's fixed agents was too coherent and conspicuous to have been just a fad or an accidental stylistic choice. Beyond the reasons for its conception and production, 'Brazilian orientalism' has to be questioned also from the angle of reception; the meanings conveyed to the general fairgoer have to be interpreted. Additionally, the Brazilian orientalism was not a mere formal alternative amongst others. The historical context of nineteenth-century imperialism; domestic decline in monarchic control; varied and contentious uses of orientalism by Western nations; exoticism, and the international economy of architectural styles are key factors that need to be addressed for the understanding of Brazil's oriental self-fashioning in 1876.

¹³⁹ Giberti, p.80; Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, p.11; Allwood, p.45 and Giberti, pp.76-80.

¹⁴⁰ Rydell, p.11.



Illustration 17: The Centennial's Horticultural Hall was also designed in an orientalist architectural style.

To date, the scarce literature on Brazilian orientalism has mostly produced straightforward formalist answers to this challenging representation. In her work addressing orientalism and exhibitions, architectural historian Zeynep Çelik attributes the application of this style solely to Furness and to a far-fetched geographic association with the country's colonial past:

Although Brazil was far from the Orient, it had a labyrinthine link to Islam through Portuguese colonization and the Moorish architectural heritage of the Iberian Peninsula; Furness evidently associated Brazil directly with an Islamic style [...].¹⁴¹

Çelik's succinct view disregards altogether the key factors noted above. Her argument based on architectural heritage is, in fact, flawed. According to historian Sandra Pesavento, one of the few Brazilian scholars to address briefly the nation's exhibitionary orientalism, 'Brazil opted for a Moorish style, without much to do with the Portuguese architectural traditions, but with great effect for its varied and bright colours and exotic ornamentation [...]'.¹⁴² Moreover, evidence shows that Furness did not opt for the 'Islamic style' by himself. Netto, in correspondence with a close friend, claimed that his was the choice of style for the Brazilian enclave: 'I have adopted the Arabic architecture, imitating the Alhambra in Granada, which is the best of its kind, as commonly known'.¹⁴³ Netto's assertions were later corroborated by the official report written by Coutinho, who ascribed to the commissioner the decision-making role of establishing 'the contract for the ornamentation of the Brazilian section'.¹⁴⁴ The same report placed Furness secondarily as someone who simply 'executed' the planned ornamentation.¹⁴⁵

From this evidence, it is impossible to measure the degree of autonomy Furness enjoyed in designing the Brazilian pavilions and enclaves, or the level of specifications dic-

¹⁴¹ Çelik, *Displaying*, p.168.

¹⁴² Pesavento, p.157.

¹⁴³ IHGB, 273/12, letter 1.

¹⁴⁴ Coutinho, pp.9-10.

¹⁴⁵ Coutinho, p.17.

tated by Netto. It is possible, however, to capture a sense of synergy between the Brazilian commissioner and the US architect, and discard Çelik's assumption that Furness worked alone or capriciously. In fact, the literature to date has overlooked the significance behind Furness' assignment as the architect for the Brazilian representation, another crucial aspect concerning agency and decision-making.

Furness, one of the most highly paid and prolific architects of his time, was completing the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts at the time he designed and built the Brazilian pavilion and enclave. The Fine Arts building, which also featured at the Philadelphia exhibition, was another high profile work amongst the 600 other buildings Furness designed throughout his career.¹⁴⁶ His interest in oriental architectural styles and ornaments were not acquired through travel, as Furness never left the United States. Rather, 'the main source of Islamic influence on Furness' appear to have been publications like Owen Jones' *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and the Details of the Alhambra* (1842-45) and *Grammar of Ornament* (1856).¹⁴⁷

Although there is no clear evidence explaining how Furness was hired, there is no doubt that Brazilian officials were willing to pay his high fees and have a high-profile architect on their side. The Brazilian pavilion alone cost U\$30,000 at the time.¹⁴⁸ Notwithstanding who chose the 'Alhambra style', Furness, known for his high-Victorian take on architectural orientalism, was the perfect professional to undertake the work and rub in 'splendour, originality, and good taste' to the Brazilian representation.¹⁴⁹

If locating the precise authorship of the Brazilian orientalist representation is complex, interpreting its meanings to the fairgoer, other nations, and a subsequent image of Brazil abroad in its historical context is not only fruitful but also paramount. Netto could not hide his satisfaction when mentioning that part of the New York press interpreted the Brazilian enclave in terms of fantasy:

¹⁴⁶ Thomas, pp.13-51.

¹⁴⁷ Çelik, *Displaying*, pp.167-68.

¹⁴⁸ Henry Vernon, 'The Centennial in Pen and Pencil – IV', *Peterson's Magazine*, July 1876, p.23.

¹⁴⁹ IHGB, 273/12, letter 1.

Our edifice in the Main Building is a true model of the most pure Arabic architecture. The Herald and the Tribunal [sic] from New York, when mentioning it, had said that they could only find a term for comparison in the fantasies of the “Arabian nights”.¹⁵⁰

Fantasy and exoticism are the most commonly found interpretations of this Brazilian orientalism. Pesavento above credited to the ‘exotic ornamentation’ a great visual effect, but did not elaborate on this exoticism’s repercussion for the image of Brazil.¹⁵¹ Giberti compared the Brazilian enclave to ‘a cabinet of curiosities illustrating the resources of a nation’, and to ‘a Moorish fantasy that evoked the image of an oriental bazaar’.¹⁵² In fact, to be seen as a bazaar or a market place, teeming with novelties, curiosities and promises of profitability was perfectly in tune with Brazilian commissioners’ commercial ambitions in Philadelphia. As mentioned above, one of the specific aims of the Brazilian representation in 1876 was to eschew United States’ misconceptions about Brazil being just a ‘country producing great quantities of bad coffee’.¹⁵³ A multicoloured collection of exhibits, disposed in an exotic bazaar environment could help convey the idea that Brazil had many more products to offer.

The Brazilian bazaar in Philadelphia evoked magic, mystery, an assault on the senses, and a peculiar sense of dislocation in time and space. After being lured into the enclave, already so large, rich and bright from the outside, visitors’ eyes were not allowed to rest. Their gaze would jump from cases of feathered fans to ornate columns, from coloured arabesques to educational displays, from elaborate screen-walls to furniture made of Brazilian wood. Did visitors find themselves in Brazil or somewhere else, where so many different and enticing things were produced? Or maybe, they were both the same? After leaving the Brazilian enclave, visitors continued their peregrination through dozens, maybe hundreds of other exhibitions. At the end of a busy day, if they could not recall specific Brazil-

¹⁵⁰ IHGB, 273/12, letter 3, original emphasis.

¹⁵¹ Pesavento, p.157.

¹⁵² Giberti, pp.111 and 211.

¹⁵³ IHGB, 273/12, letter 3.

ian objects seen on display, they would at least reminisce about that monumental and distinctively exotic space they had experienced.

The Brazilian orientalism in Philadelphia also has to be examined in the context of the nation's previous participation in European exhibitions where natural exoticism had prevailed. As will be considered in detail in the next chapter, the three occasions the Empire had 'dressed' for Europe (London, 1862; Paris, 1867, and Vienna, 1873), nature had been the main focus of displays. In 1867, Brazilian nature was made monumental and romanticized in the 'virgin forest' display. In 1873, Brazilian nature was reconstructed in Vienna with the replanting at the exhibition park of a living gigantic *Araucaria Brasiliensis*. Both displays, therefore, formed the basis of an exhibitionary argument that presented the new Brazilian nation as a supplier of good and abundant raw materials to the old continent. Now, on American soil, this argument shifted.

'Prodigal nature' was not exclusive to Brazil. Nature was more effectively, competitively exploited and transformed by industry in the United States than in Brazil.¹⁵⁴ In Philadelphia, representation of the country as being abundant in raw materials but empty in population (a strategy devised to attract European immigrants) would have placed Brazil in competition with the United States for the same workforce. What mattered politically in this first major exhibition on the American continent was indeed not to overtly compete with the United States but to side with it.¹⁵⁵ Netto's remarks that Brazil had to overcome its reputation as a producer solely of coffee ended by reinforcing this ambition of siding with the United States:

The United States will know that we are not exclusively, as they suspected, a country producing great quantities of bad coffee, but the second nation in the

¹⁵⁴ Coutinho, p.67.

¹⁵⁵ Brazil had already participated in another international exhibition in the American continent, by then, the one in Chile in 1875. The national representation, however, was not as significant as the one sent to Philadelphia.

American continent, whose progresses are well above what they say all the republics of Latin race have achieved.¹⁵⁶

The Philadelphia exhibition was therefore seized by Brazilian commissioners as an opportunity to establish the Empire's position of superiority within the continent. The exoticism of nature seen in Europe gave way to an orientalist exoticism, embracing the association between imperialism and orientalisation in play in the Western consciousness. Clearly, raw materials remained Brazil's chief exhibits, as they were the mainstays of the economy. However, by 1876, they no longer featured as the nation's chief displays. In Philadelphia, Brazil's most prominent exhibitionary apparatuses propagandised the nation itself. The modest peasant changed clothes, and the new monumental and orientalist representation was a clear demonstration of this change to the world.

Brazil's heightened imperialism in 1876, though, was not necessarily accompanied by political certainty. Six years earlier, the Empire of Brazil had finished victorious in the bloody and lengthy Paraguayan war (1865-1870), and was politically and militarily dominant on the continent. In Philadelphia, several Brazilian objects, technologies, and artworks were shown as proof of this burgeoning post-war resurgence. Brazil proudly built a navy department in the Machinery Hall, boasting the progress achieved in naval construction, artillery, and cartography during the war. In the Art Gallery annex, four large-scale history paintings celebrated triumphant war scenes and the Brazilian military supremacy in the Plata basin.¹⁵⁷

Domestically, the monarchy faced unprecedented opposition. During the 1870s, the foundation of the Brazilian Republican Party and plural criticisms against the government began to destabilise internal politics and question the monarchic regime. In the Americas too, the Empire of Brazil's political position could be seen as precarious. Republicanism

¹⁵⁶ IHGB, 273/12, letter 3.

¹⁵⁷ These paintings included *O Combate Naval de Riachuelo* (The Naval Battle of Riachuelo, 1872 – which was accidentally destroyed on its return from Philadelphia), *A Primeira Missa no Brasil* (The First Mass in Brazil, 1860) and *A Passagem de Humaitá* (The Brazilian Iron-clad Fleet Passing by Humaitá, 1868), all by Victor Meirelles; Pedro Americo's *O Passo da Pátria* (Brazilian Army Crossing the Pátria Pass, c1870), among others. See *C g ...B z i i n i n*, pp.50-52.

had an overriding impact over the continent in the previous century, as celebrated by the Centennial Exhibition itself. For Brazil's political survival, it was vital to reassert the viability of an enlightened monarchy in the Americas.

Brazilian exhibitionary orientalism, therefore, may be seen as a form of domestic and international imperialist propaganda in times of uncertainty. The Alhambra had been the palace of Muslim governors in Granada and a solid stronghold during the Moor conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Their courtly and military symbolisms were not lost on Brazilian commissioners, or on educated visitors and foreign commissioners. With clear references to the 'Alhambra palace', a strong and assertive representation could help instil monarchic control at home, and persuade an image of supremacy and stability outside.¹⁵⁸

In scholarly tradition, the Centennial International Exhibition is generally understood as representing a worldview riddled by 'an ideology of progress that linked ideas about race to nationalism and industrial growth'.¹⁵⁹ The Empire of Brazil conformed to this worldview. Instead of drawing from a Portuguese architectural heritage associated with an undesired former colonial status, the new Empire appropriated orientalism as a sign of power. Search for self-definition in architectural forms that could convey *brasilidade* or a national identity as such, was not imperative. Most important was to convey Brazil's hegemony. By borrowing from other's architectural traditions, the Empire placed itself in the Western world economy of building spaces, assuming the position of appropriator, not of an appropriated place.

¹⁵⁸ Coutinho, p.17.

¹⁵⁹ Rydell, *The World's Fair*, pp.21-22.

Chapter three

The raw and the manufactured

Commodities, raw and cooked

In *Das Capital*, published as the 1867 Parisian exhibition unfolded, Karl Marx proposed that a ‘thing can be a use-value though it has no value. That is the case when its utility to mankind is not the outcome of labour’.¹ Instances of this case were given: ‘air, virgin soil, prairie, primeval forests’.² In the short space of this idea, Marx touched upon many of the most prominent anxieties revealed by Brazilian commissioners on their way to Paris.

How to conceptualise – and commodify – that which is construed as given by nature, the ‘primeval’, the ‘virgin’? How to ascribe value to something which is considered lacking in value due to its alleged lack of labour? Historian Sandra Pesavento substantiates that, during the second half of the nineteenth century, ‘the formation of a free labour market, the central axis of the process of internalisation of capitalism’ was Brazil’s main economic problem.³ Thus, in short, how to inscribe Brazil’s perceived ‘utility to mankind’ – its ‘virgin soil’, its ‘primeval forests’ – into a system of labour, and therefore into a system of commodities exchange? The exhibitionary strategies used to overcome that anxiety are shown and discussed in this chapter. Brazilian commissioners eventually showed exhibits that concurred with Marx’s analysis: ‘To produce commodities he [a worker] must produce, not use-values merely, but use-values for others – social use-values. [...] To become a commodity, a product must pass by way of exchange into the hands of the other person for whom it has a use-value’.⁴ This place for exchange was the 1867 Paris

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, translated from the fourth German edition by Eden and Cedar Paul, vol.1 (London: Dent, 1972), p.9.

² Marx, p.9.

³ Pesavento, p.132.

⁴ Marx, p.9, original emphasis.

and the 1904 St Louis exhibitions where the usefulness and the commodification of Brazilian nature completed in the passing into the hands of industries abroad.

Marx's political economic model – descriptive or prescriptive – had also another resonance with the contemporary experience of Brazilian exhibitionary efforts in the city Benjamin called the capital of the nineteenth century. A crucial characteristic of the commodification of Brazilian nature in these exhibitions was the gendering of nature and labour. These associations are also found in Marx:

The use-values coat, linen, commodities in general, are compounded of two elements, matter and labour. [...] In the process of production, man can only work as nature works- by changing the forms of matter. [...] We see, then, that labour is not the only source of the use-values it produces, is not the only source of material wealth. As William Petty phrases it, while labour is the father of material wealth, the earth is its mother.⁵

Marx's words suggest identification between female and passiveness, male and exploitation. 'Matter', in Marx, awaits labour. This separation – present in the core of capitalist thinking – brings us back to that question posed by scholars like Pesavento, to whom the positioning of Brazil in the international market as raw materials provider was similar to that of a colony.⁶ The analyses undertaken in this chapter, however, will show that such was not the case. The St Louis exhibition demonstrated that in the increasingly competitive and imperialistic arena of exhibitions, Brazil's international legitimisation went up as native peoples and formal colonies began to populate the bottom of the evolutionary scale as the end of the nineteenth century approached. Moreover, as exhibitions show, this allegedly colonial role was never imposed on Brazilian commissioners or on the modes of national representation. It was played, though, by those very 'labourers' who in the process of placing Brazilian nature (the mother) on the market became the 'fathers' (and beneficiaries) 'of material wealth'.

⁵ Marx, p.12.

⁶ Pesavento, pp.131-32, 137, and 140.

Commodities, Marx identified, are ‘very queer’ things, especially in their relationship with each other. After labourer-fathers transform earth-mothers’ natural substances into commodities through the process of transformation and exchange, Marx points out, commodities on the market spin out of control:

At the first glance, a commodity seems a commonplace sort of thing, one easily understood. Analysis shows, however, that it is a very queer thing indeed, full of metaphysical subtleties and theological whimsies. In so far as it is a use-value, there is nothing mysterious about it – whether we regard it as something whose natural properties enable it to satisfy human wants, or as something which only acquires such properties as the outcome of human labour. It is obvious that man, by his activity, modifies the forms of natural substances so as to make them useful to himself. For instance, the form of wood is altered when we make a table of it. None the less, the table is still wood, an ordinary, palpable thing. But as soon as it presents itself as a commodity it is transformed into a thing which is transcendental as well as palpable. It stands with its feet solidly planted on the floor: but at the same time, over against all commodities, it stands on its head; and in that wooden head it forms crotchets far stranger than table-turning ever was.⁷

Table and wood, cooked and raw. Marx was then intrigued by analogous questions that occupied Claude Lévi-Strauss’ mind decades later, namely the transformation of nature into culture. Above, Marx wonders about these transformations that so distinctively characterise human endeavour; the transformation of natural substances into useful things – or commodities, according to his political economic model. Wood, as a raw, natural, substance is easily comprehensible for Marx. It is solid, palpable; it is ‘given’ by nature. After the process of transformation, Marx concedes, what is altered is the ‘form’ of the wood: ‘the table is still wood’, he says. Labour (and design) transformed the wood’s use-value into exchange value. What makes the table eventually stand on its head, however, is its relation to other commodities. In the exchange of commodities, Marx’s

⁷ Marx, pp.43-44.

table is no longer a simple, palpable form made of wood; it transcends all previous ‘natural’ materiality, its solidity melts in the air of exchange relations.

It is this transcendental behaviour of man-made things that has united the two Brazilian exhibitionary moments discussed in this chapter. Marx’s wood carries obvious parallels with both the *virgin forest* and the displays of forestry products. In different temporalities, Brazilian commissioners aimed at solving, in concrete and symbolic terms, this strange riddle posed by the international exchange of commodities and so clearly identified by Marx. In their time and space, they aimed to transcend nature with culture.

The title of this chapter is indebted to Claude Lévi-Strauss’ seminal work *The Raw and the Cooked*.⁸ In his conceptualisation, the *raw* meant the natural, untouched, and untransformed world, whereas the *cooked* meant that which was cultural, or had been produced, or transformed by humans. However, by definition, nothing exhibited is raw. Raw is a useful concept, both in this study of exhibitions and in Lévi-Strauss’ body of work, in so far as it stands in a dialogical relation to its symbolic counterpart, the cooked. The raw was a construct devised and used in exhibition displays precisely for its potency to project other constructs as cooked. At the core of this symbolic mechanism – the raw and cooked – lies another idea of transformation and transcendence congenial to Marx’s view, I argue, but established by Lévi-Strauss’ structural analysis of Amerindian myths.

In a study that spanned from fieldwork in Brazil in the 1930s to publication in the 1970s, Lévi-Strauss established that myths (like commodities) are relational. The hundreds of myths Lévi-Strauss examined travelled over hundreds of years through numerous tribes of indigenous South-American peoples and their contents changed along the way. But even after such changes, some mythic structures remained the same, and it was such structures that informed Lévi-Strauss in his reconstruction of the *pensée sauvage* – or human thinking gone wild.⁹ One of his major contributions for an understanding of how humans – ‘primitive’ or ‘civilised’ – structure their thinking was by observing that many

⁸ Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*.

⁹ In French *la pensée sauvage* does not mean primitive thinking, as it is usually translated.

myths ‘refer directly or indirectly to the invention of fire and, therefore, of cooking’.¹⁰ By possessing fire, humans could, according to mythological construction, protect and separate themselves from animals; they became predators and not prey; they could cook food while animals ate raw. Cooking, therefore, became a quintessential mediation by human-kind between a departing nature and the development of culture.

In Lévi-Strauss’s collection of studies called *Mythologiques*, it becomes clear that the raw and the cooked are atavistic categories of classification and thought that do not simply oppose each other. They are not in a dialectical and conflicting interaction, but in a dialogical relationship: the cooked postulates the raw, as Marx’s table postulates its wood. It may seem perverse or anachronistic to use categories and constructions established to understand thought ‘gone wild’, unrestricted by the grids of rationalisation, to illuminate the behaviour of humans and things in exhibitions – the very embodiment of civilisation as willed by their organisers. However, the observation and interpretation undertaken in this chapter indicate the persistence within exhibitions of such dialogical relationships between raw materials and manufactures; industrialised nations and raw-material providers; colonisers and colonised, and ultimately, of primitive and civilised. I propose, finally, that the imperialist thinking that sustained such dichotomies reveals more fractures than advancements in the Western project of civilisation. From the Paris exhibition of 1867 to the one in St Louis in 1904, the rationalisation of our material world set in motion by the symbolic and economic distinctions between the raw and the cooked became more intense.

This chapter follows the discussion centred on agents and their political participation in exhibitions. The *Raw and the Manufactured* will offer, altogether with chapter three, a detailed analysis of Brazilian exhibits – objects, displays, publications, and architectural structures – shown abroad. This chapter will question what type of modernity Brazil was presenting in international exhibitions. It will also investigate how the nation’s

¹⁰ Roque de Barros Laraia, ‘Claude Lévi-Strauss, Quatro Décadas Depois: As Mitológicas’, *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 21 (2006), 167-69.

professed 'agricultural vocation' at exhibitions is currently interpreted by economic history. I will argue that, despite the fact that Brazil did not possess certain indicators of progress such as mass literacy for example, during the nineteenth-century, it participated actively in the international economy, providing 'central' nations with essential raw materials and absorbing their capital investments and manufactured goods. Therefore, this part aims to enquire whether the much-discussed perception of national 'belatedness' was beneficial and profitable to some people in Brazil and abroad.

Whilst the next chapter will centre on displays of national progress that presented to an international audience Brazil's sure stride on the 'path of civilisation', the current chapter will consider some of the cultural and economic aspects of national exhibitions. The coupling of chapters three and four aims to address two sides of one exhibitionary endeavour. On one side, as mentioned above, was Brazil's participation in the international market as a tropical raw materials provider – traditionally associated with colonial exhibits. On the other, there were displays of fine arts, science, and technology – traditionally acknowledged as indicators of civilization and progress. These distinctions, though, are artificial. As this chapter will demonstrate, ascending economic powers, for example, like Prussia in the late 1860s, displayed technological advances (such as their famously brutal Krupp cannons) and of raw materials exploited in their territory with equal pride.

The focus on two exhibitions offers an opportunity to assess what changed and what did not in the transition from the Empire to the Republic. The Paris exhibition was chosen as an early moment in the Empire of Brazil's exhibitionary presence when the nation's raw materials began to draw international attention. Not coincidentally, the Amazon River and forest were 'opened' for international navigation and exploitation around the same period, facilitating and promoting the exploitation of the natural resources by foreign companies. The exhibition held in St Louis signalled one of the last attempts at representing the nation abroad before the newly instated Republic organised its own exhibition in 1922. Brazil's representation as 'the land of coffee' in 1904 makes the

Louisiana Purchase International Exposition an appropriate case study to pose questions of commodification and symbolic representation through natural resources. This analytical comparison of two exhibitions also offers an insight into changes and continuities in the Brazilian representation for two different hosts, one European and another American.

Encyclopaedism and capitalism at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867

On April 1, 1867, the Champs de Mars palace opened its gates to the second international exhibition held in France, and the first under Napoleon III's Second Empire. Created to out-do the London festivals in the ongoing rivalry between Britain and France, the 1867 *Exposition Universelle et Internationale* succeeded in promoting an 'optimistic and progressive view of society'.¹¹ The *Exposition Universelle*, according to exhibition scholar Pieter van Wesemael, signalled 'a genuine innovation of the exhibition concept' as 'it was the transition from traditional industrial exhibitions to modern culture expositions'.¹² This means that an unprecedented emphasis was given to the display of national cultures, from the flaunting of orientalist imperial displays around the exhibition palace (Illustration 16) to the construction of specific pavilions to represent and differentiate nations from each other. These novelties, firstly introduced in 1867, became mainstays of exhibitions in decades to come.

Characterised by the literature as a 'big step forward' in exhibitionary terms, or as the French Empire's 'swan song' before its defeat in the Prussian war, the Paris fair also features in materialist historical accounts as an event aiming to dissipate class struggle and ameliorate social dissatisfaction by convincing poor people and labourers of the virtues and promises of capitalism.¹³ Walter Benjamin famously conceptualised exhibitions

¹¹ Greenhalgh, p.33.

¹² Wesemael, p.221.

¹³ Allwood, p.31; Pesavento, pp.20 and 117.

as ‘places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish’ when analysing the *Exposition Universelle*.¹⁴

The phantasmagoria of capitalist culture attained its most radiant unfurling in the World Exhibition of 1867. The Second Empire was at the height of its power. Paris was confirmed in its position as the capital of luxury and fashion. Offenbach set the rhythm for Parisian life. The operetta was the ironical utopia of a lasting domination of capital.¹⁵

In the same year that Karl Marx published the first edition of *Das Capital*, the festival’s organisers wished to promote ‘social peace’ by offering the ‘less fortunate’ the promise that material improvement was attainable by all.¹⁶ Whilst Marx predicted a proletarian revolution that would overthrow capitalism, exhibition organisers favoured the display of objects and housing systems, for example, designed for the consumption of low-income labourers.¹⁷ In this way, the *Exposition Universelle* organisers devised symbolic and concrete ways of winning workers’ consent and absorbing them as consumers into the capitalist economic system. Moreover, Benjamin’s ‘radiant unfurling’ of the phantasmagoria of capitalist culture was not exclusive to France or Britain in the 1860s. In different but no less ‘lasting’ forms, the Paris festival also contributed to the unfurling of capitalist culture in nations like Brazil. The *Exposition Universelle*, as its name testifies, wanted to be ‘universal’ and one of the facets of this universality was the unobstructed expansion of capitalism.

The *Exposition Universelle*’s wishful universality was constructed in many forms. In material terms, the above noted ‘design for the poor’ objects inscribed the labour classes into the expansion of consumerism already enjoyed by other classes, transforming

¹⁴ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), p.7.

¹⁵ Benjamin, pp.7-8.

¹⁶ Pesavento, p.120.

¹⁷ Pesavento, p.120.

this aspect of capitalism, at least theoretically, into a universal possibility.¹⁸ In geopolitical terms, the erection of more than one hundred pavilions, cafés, and typical eateries at the exhibition park wished to promote the idea that all nations gathered in Paris. The French capital, therefore, would be not only the ‘capital of luxury and fashion’ but also the capital of the planet. This geopolitical arrangement of the exhibition was obviously conflictual. Whilst the festival promoted the representation and differentiation of nations and cultures, it also promoted the superiority and universalising qualities of the Parisian lifestyle and the French Empire. Finally, in historical terms, the *Exposition Universelle* attempted at a universalising reorganisation of time offered by its ‘History of Labour’ special exhibition. This display ‘showed the various phases through which each country had passed before arriving at its present state of civilization’.¹⁹ By historicising human endeavour under an evolutionary aegis of productivity whose apex was industrialisation, the French exhibition organisers argued for a European superiority into a seemingly untroubled historical perspective that also demoted non-industrialised nations to a lesser degree on the scale. Below we will investigate how the Brazilian Empire, in its exhibits, circumnavigated the conflict imposed by this Eurocentric view of the world.

European superiority and imperialism were also visualised and legitimised as ‘inevitable’ through the displays of colonies that populated the park (Illustration 16). Prominent at exhibitions since the 1855 fair, French colonial displays had become larger, more costly to create and more exotic by 1867 when, for the first time, colonised peoples were shown in *tableaux-vivants* of Egyptian bazaars, Tunisian barber shops and ‘various cafés staffed with imported waiters and chefs’.²⁰ The orientalist exoticism attributed to the colonies’ objects, architecture, and customs also established a sense of ‘the physical manifestation of the French national character’.²¹ As asserted by Paul Greenhalgh, ‘The proof of Frenchness only emerged when it was recognised by others, when it exerted in-

¹⁸ Greenhalgh, pp.145-47.

¹⁹ Allwood, p.32.

²⁰ Greenhalgh, pp.64-65, 85.

²¹ Greenhalgh, p.116.

fluence – directly and indirectly – outside France’.²² The *Exposition Universelle* clearly proved and celebrated such influence.

Within the Paris exhibition palace, another type of ‘Eurocentric universalism’ was embraced. The premise of possessing and diffusing a totalising knowledge was materialised in both the edifice constructed for the exhibition and the classification system applied to the exhibits displayed inside. ‘The crowds were to be educated not by selective instruction’, asserts Greenhalgh referring to previous exhibitions based on object lessons, ‘but by the presentation of every aspect of existence in one spectacular edifice’.²³ The exhibition palace, a magnificent, one mile-wide oval building (Illustration 18) was designed to house objects from around the world under an all-encompassing but seemingly comprehensive classification system. The classification system, a hallmark of the ‘encyclopaedic ambitions of the Second Empire’, was initially devised to order exhibits following two simultaneous principles: class and country of origin.²⁴ The first principle grouped objects together according to their attributes, usually material qualities, function, and/or usage. The second principle grouped objects according to provenance and imparted a sense of ‘nationality’ to otherwise inanimate matter. The dual system induced visitors to draw comparisons between nations acting in similar industries and to judge what nations were best producers.

²² Greenhalgh, p.116.

²³ Greenhalgh, p.20.

²⁴ Greenhalgh, p.20; Allwood, p.31.



Illustration 18: The elliptical palace erected at the Champ de Mars in Paris expressed encyclopaedic ambitions. It wanted to compare and rank all exhibits by class and nationality at the same time, an endeavour that failed due to the diversity of exhibits.

Both the compartmentalisation of the edifice and the exhibits' classification system, though, proved flawed before the exhibition opened. 'Some, like the large industrial nations of Europe, had a large quantity of manufactured goods and little or no raw materials', explains exhibition specialist John Allwood, 'whilst those with predominantly agrarian economies [...] had only produce and raw materials to show, with little, if anything, in the way of engineering or manufactures'.²⁵ Allwood's assertion, although overly polarising and inaccurate in regards to the European exhibition of raw materials (as we will see below) echoes an observation made by a Brazilian exhibition commissioner who worked in Paris in 1867, Jules Constance Villeneuve (also known as Júlio Constâncio de Villeneuve), a Brazilian journalist born of French immigrants. He reported to the Brazilian emperor commenting that the French system was inadequate when it came to classifying and organising the Brazilian exhibits. Villeneuve noted that the 'methodical division adopted by the French Commission, extremely ingenious and effortless for the industrial nations, presents serious inconveniences to the essentially agrarian countries, whose products, like ours, consist above all of raw materials'.²⁶ One of the strategies adopted by Brazilian commissioners to overcome classificatory shortfalls, errors in the official catalogues and an apparent negligence for all things raw was the publication of the propaganda and scientific works already discussed in the previous chapter. Villeneuve's remark, however, places us in the midst of the present chapter's preoccupations, that of establishing the importance of raw materials and the techniques used to display them at Benjamin's 'capital of luxury and fashion'.

At the *Champs de Mars* palace, whole sections of displays from colonies like Australia or Canada, for example, included mainly displays of raw materials. These sections demonstrated the pervasiveness of raw materials exhibits in these festivals of industry and their importance for the maintenance of imperialist attitude and discourse. Not-

²⁵ Allwood, p.31.

²⁶ Julio Constancio de Villeneuve, *Relatório Sobre a Exposição Universal de 1867* (Paris: Typographia de Julio Claye, 1868), p.xli.

withstanding the significance of raw materials for colonial assimilation and exploitation, exhibits displayed in the Prussian sections also showed that European nations flaunted raw materials from their own territory as signs of power. These European raw materials were often presented in large and sophisticated displays, close to some of the most advanced technological achievements of the old continent. In its metallurgical section, Prussia caused a stir by exhibiting the immense, steel Krupp cannon, one of the most powerful in the world (Illustration 19).²⁷

At the same time, in its own court, one of Prussia's main exhibits consisted of displays of raw materials. Illustration 20 shows a large exhibit of salt from Strassfurt cut into blocks and made into a cave-like structure that formed the centrepiece of this strong exhibitionary composition topped by an eagle representing the Kingdom of Prussia. The salt cave was flanked by two columns of charcoal arranged in the most typical exhibitionary technique of display used for raw materials, the trophy. In general, the trophy consisted of three-dimensional volumes of real or fake raw materials stacked high in a quasi-pyramidal form. In some instances, as in the Prussian case, the trophy acted as an index to reality since the exhibited blocks represented the actual volume of charcoal extracted from Prussian mines. Trophies, though, as techniques of display are not usually associated with those nations that located themselves high in the ranking of industrialisation promoted by exhibitions. On the contrary, in exhibition literature trophies are mainly associated with colonial displays of raw materials and placed in opposition to displays of industries and 'civilisation'.²⁸ Wesemael, for instance, insists on this oppositional premise for his account of differences in architectural forms of national displays at the *Exposition Universelle*:

²⁷ Pesavento, p.127.

²⁸ Wesemael, p.293.

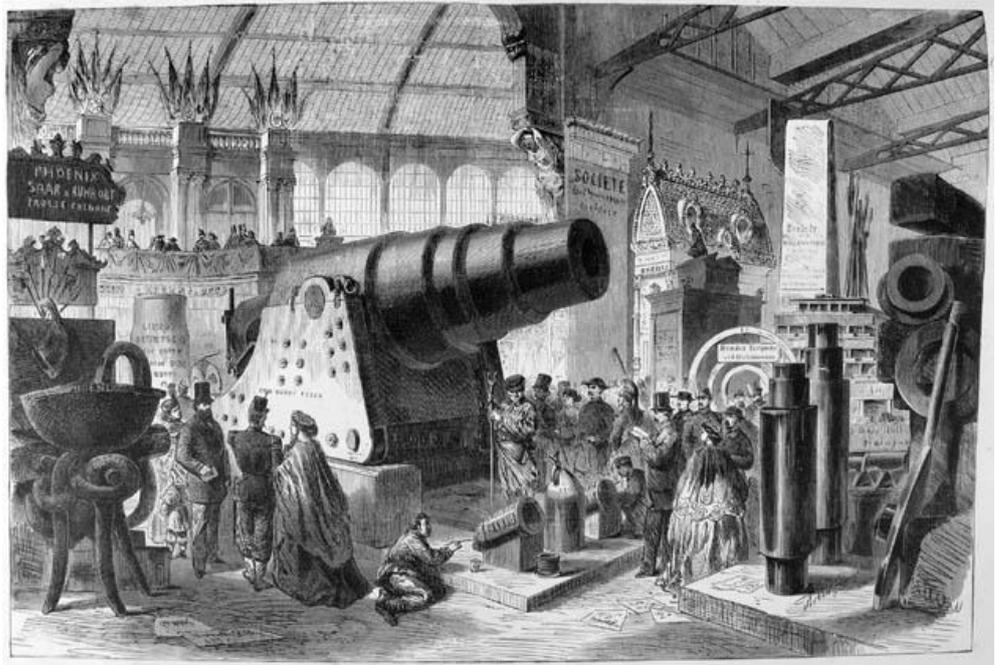


Illustration 19: The Krupp Cannon was the chief technological and military object exhibited by Prussia in 1867. Prussia, however, also exhibited raw materials as proof of power and control over nature. See Illustration 20.

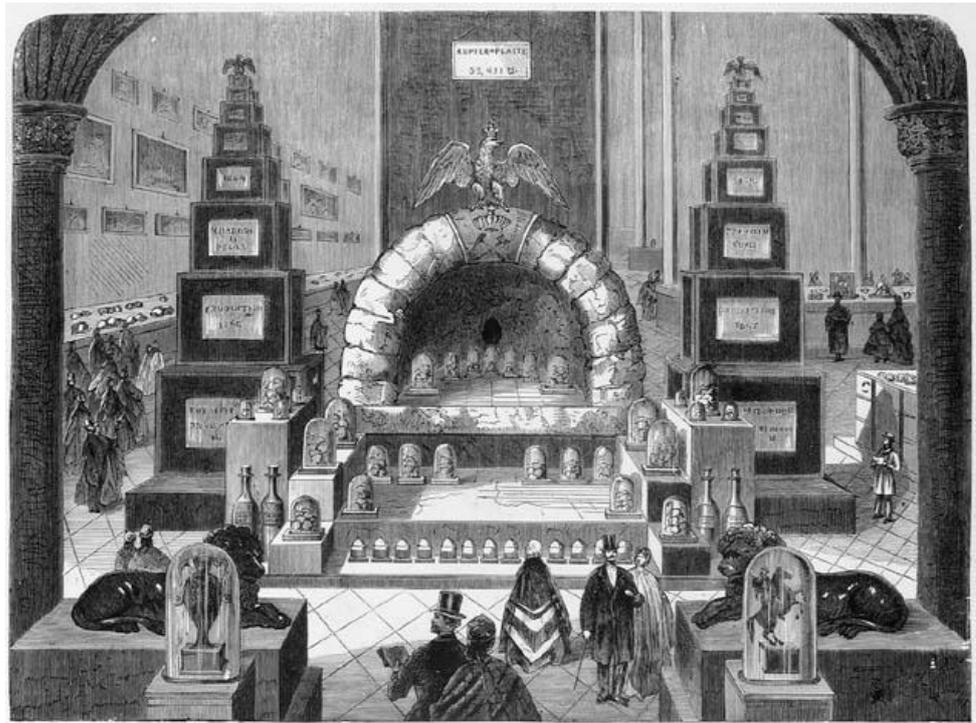


Illustration 20: A 'salt cave' and pyramids shown as indexes of the amount of charcoal extracted from Prussian mines. Prussia was among industrialised states that also relied on the exhibition of raw materials extracted in their territory as signs of power.

Where the highly industrialised countries were presented in a fictive-historical national style, the less developed countries were immersed in authentic, indigenous architecture. [...] Colonies apparently had no culture of their own, they had been designed as a trophy of products, the symbol of the country's natural wealth instead of its civilization. For example, the Canadian façade consisted of one long trophy of wood. The Australian one was comprised of a kind of triumphal arch made of wool and maps of the most important wool sheep-farming areas, crowned by stuffed ostriches, kangaroos, and the flags and insignia of the colony. The trophy that, in 1851, had been simply stacked to form a pillar had now grown to form complete façades and rooms.²⁹

Wesemael's interpretation of the meanings of 'authentic, indigenous architecture' is challenged by the self-orientalisation of the Brazilian enclave discussed before. In addition, natural wealth, as seen in the Prussian case noted above, was not always displayed in opposition to 'civilisation'. In fact, power was located, in exhibitions and outside them, precisely in the possibility of controlling raw materials *and* the marks of civilisation. Wesemael's analysis is not entirely flawed, though. His examples of the Canadian timber (Illustration 21) and the Australian wool (Illustration 22) reveal that a significant opposition between nature and culture was construed in exhibitions. Canada and Australia were exhibited under the aegis of the British Empire after all, and their displays were deliberately designed to convey the impression that both colonies could only prosper by furnishing the metropolis with their nature, as in raw materials, and by absorbing the metropolis' culture, or 'civilisation'. As will be discussed below and in the following chapter, the dichotomy between displaying nature and culture played a huge part in the exhibitionary strategies of the Brazilian Empire and Republic at international exhibitions. In 1867, the Empire of Brazil was a sovereign nation that authored its own exhibition, designed its own displays, and filled them with raw materials exhibits. Some exhibition scholars

²⁹ Wesemael, p.293.

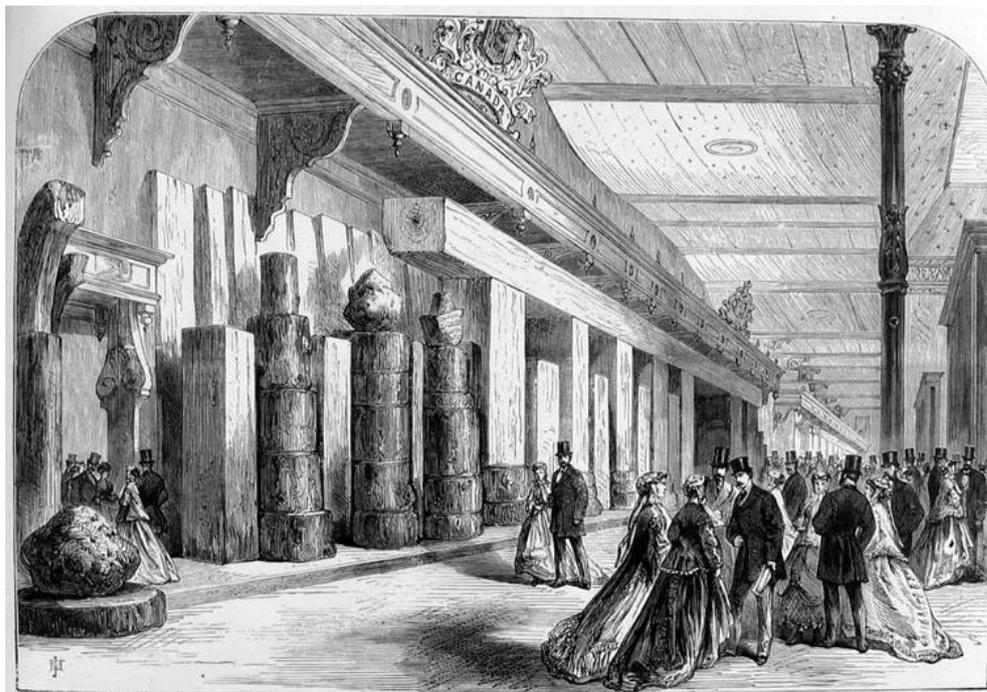


Illustration 21: Timber from Canada was exhibited in the British colonial court to show the productivity of overseas colonies.



Illustration 22: British colonies such as Victoria, Australia, were mainly represented by raw materials like wool.

interpreted this move as an Empire representing itself in a colonial mode.³⁰ This interpretation, however, cannot be sustained in the light of the evidence and discussion presented in the next sections, which will cover the Brazilian preparation and participation in the *Exposition Universelle*.

The National Exhibition in 1866: a display of technical progress

By 1866, when France invited the Empire to participate in its exhibition, Brazil was involved in the ongoing Paraguayan war (1865-1870). National finances were in a bad state and a severe shortage of workforce, lingering since the slave trade abolition of 1850, concerned both landowners and industrialists.³¹ Nevertheless, the imperial government decided to form a delegation to go to Paris, allegedly, hoping for better days.³² ‘An exhibition must be considered the sowing season’, said Villeneuve, ‘with time it will come, infallibly, the season for harvest’.³³ With an agricultural metaphor suiting a country whose output was chiefly agrarian, the commissioner summarised the Empire’s expectations and strategy for the 1867 exhibition. However, participation alone was not sufficient; the Empire had to show greatness. As the preface of the propaganda publication *The Empire of Brazil at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867* announced, ‘in order that Brazil may become one of the greatest nations of the world, nothing is wanting but population, and to attract this, it is only necessary to render herself known’.³⁴ The Brazilian Empire, therefore, seized the *Exposition Universelle* as a fertile ground for encouraging and attracting European immigration into the country, a strategy that, it was believed, would yield glories.

In Brazil, planning for Paris began with a system of smaller, preparatory exhibitions similar to the system adopted in 1861. Exhibits were collected from all over Brazil for a major exhibition in Rio during local, short-lived provincial exhibitions or sometimes

³⁰ Pesavento, pp.130-37.

³¹ Richard Graham, ‘Empire, 1850-1870’ in *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*, ed. by Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.113-160 (p.113).

³² Pesavento, p.131.

³³ Villeneuve, p.cxxxix.

³⁴ *The Empire...1867*. The issuing of this propaganda book is discussed in chapter two.

simply amassed by appointed local commissioners. From these exhibitions, it was expected, the best exhibits would be selected, packed and sent to Paris. Occasionally, remote provinces like Pará, for example, bypassed the centralising endeavours of Rio politicians and commissioners and sent their exhibits straight to the Brazilian legation in Europe. This was the case with the *virgin forest* display, to be analysed in detail below, which was not scrutinised by the imperial capital's eyes.

The second National Exhibition (18 October –16 December 1866) was housed at the *Casa da Moeda* (National Mint), and showed more than 20,000 objects from 2,374 exhibitors.³⁵ The exhibition, according to Pesavento, showed 'more pomp' if compared to its first counterpart of 1861, meaning that more 'allegorical representations of industry, progress, and science' were displayed.³⁶ Pesavento's characterisation is supported by visual evidence given by the refined and comprehensive photographic album *Recordação da Exposição Nacional de 1866* (Souvenir of the National Exhibition of 1866), produced by photographers Barboza & Lobo, which presented more than 40 vistas of exhibition rooms (Illustrations 23 to 27).³⁷

The *Recordação* makes a compelling visual argument for a national economy in a progressive state.³⁸ And progress, according to this argument, meant manufactures and the transformation of raw materials into objects like hides, shoes, hats, candles or textiles. According to the *Recordação*, no trophy of natural resources was shown in Rio in 1866. Instead, its pages publicised many more displays of paintings and manufactures than those of raw materials *in natura*, which were usually shown not as trophies but contained in small, glass jars. Illustration 23, for example, presents Brazil's production of textiles and Illustration 24 records a cotton-gin machine, responsible for mechanising and accelerating this production. Illustration 25 shows how cattle raised in the southern imperial

³⁵ *The Empire... 1867*, p.129; Pesavento, p.131.

³⁶ Pesavento, p.131.

³⁷ Turazzi, p.219.

³⁸ Economic historian Wilson Suzigan describes the Brazilian economy from 1850 as an 'era of progress', in Wilson Suzigan, *Indústria Brasileira: Origem e Desenvolvimento* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2000), p.7.



Illustration 23: Exhibition of leather, textiles and other manufactures in the Second National Exhibition in Rio in 1866.

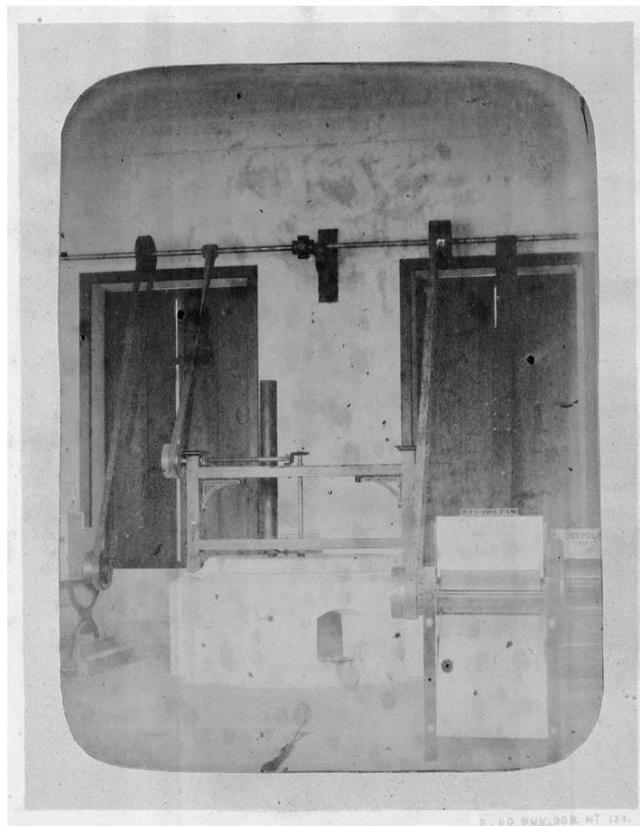


Illustration 24: Cotton-gin machine, exhibited in the Second National Exhibition, 1866, evidence that the promotion of mechanisation of agriculture was at the forefront of the national exhibition's agenda.



Illustration 25: Manufactures of hides and leather-related objects were emphasised during the Second National Exhibition, 1866.

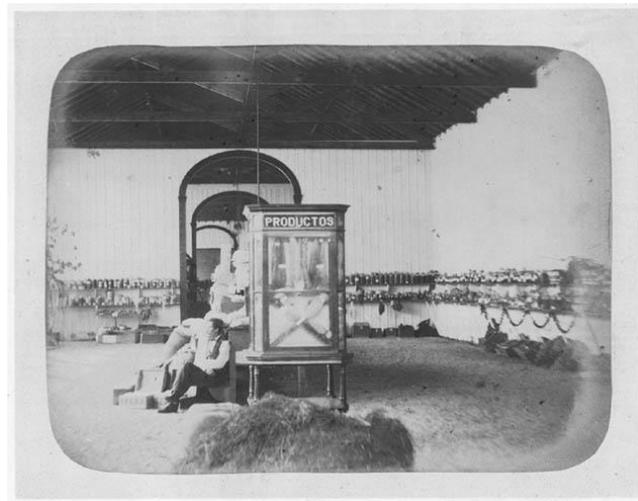


Illustration 26: This unglamorous take of agricultural products contrasts with the profusion and abundance seen in the rooms where manufactures were displayed.



Illustration 27: Agricultural products with some level of transformation, like refined sugar, were exhibited in glass jars and advanced the argument pro-industrialisation proposed by the exhibition organisers. No trophies of nature were exhibited in Rio.

provinces supported leather industries like tanning, which in turn encouraged the manufacture of hats, shoes, and saddles. In contrast, a few modest photographs show rooms dedicated simply to ‘productos agrícolas’ (agricultural products). Illustration 26 is a rare exception in which a man, apparently idle and informally dressed, is seated in an open space where agricultural products are displayed. This unattractive photograph operates as the perfect visual assertion that the outdoors – the space of agrarian production – was not as interesting, modernised, and organised as the indoors space of manufactures and consumption (Illustration 27). This view, geared towards an internal projection of production, development, and progress changed when the Empire took its exhibition to Paris.

The *Recordação da Exposição Nacional de 1866* echoed the view already disseminated by the *Recordações da Exposição Nacional de 1861*, a publication with a similar name but different authorship. Both publications, and to a certain extent the exhibitions they represented, sustained that the agrarian output of the Brazilian economy did not preclude the emergence of transformation industries or manufactures. Economist historian Wilson Suzigan, in his study of Brazilian economic history, also concludes that expansion in the Brazilian economy and its process of industrialisation were linked to the cultivation and commercialisation of agricultural products like cotton and coffee, for instance.³⁹ Suzigan maintains that in economic terms, the profits made from the exportation of these staples were responsible for the creation of a market economy and for the increase of general income. In the period under study, exportation of agricultural products was also associated with a rise in demand for consumer goods; an increase in agricultural mechanisation; investments in infrastructure technologies (including railways and telegraph); promotion of a bank system and expansion of internal and external commerce. In turn, Suzigan concludes, these activities stimulated industrial growth.⁴⁰

Both publications show, however, that contemporary perception of this causal link between agricultural and industrial growth was not as clear as historical accounts

³⁹ Suzigan, p.17.

⁴⁰ Suzigan, p.18, 82-84.

suggest. The force with which these publications and the national exhibitions promoted images of mechanisation and manufactures reveal that opposition like the one from Tavares Bastos was fierce and frequent.⁴¹ Eventually, as it will become clear in the second part of this chapter, this progressive exhibitionary view of development, which proposed the maintenance of agro-exportation combined with industrial growth, would be supplanted by crushing agrarian oligarchic interests. By the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, a completely different representation of Brazilian development would take place.

‘Sui Generis’ Brazilian representation in Paris

Despite being only its second official participation in an international exhibition, for the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* the imperial government made use of the expertise accrued by commissioners five years before in the London exhibition. Francisco Ignacio de Carvalho Moreira, the Brazilian minister in Britain, also known as Barão de Penedo, is a good example of a professional frequently employed by the Empire. After heading the Brazilian committee in London, Carvalho Moreira was once again led the national representatives in Paris. However, as with the case of minister Carvalho Borges in Philadelphia discussed in the previous chapter, Carvalho Moreira’s European contacts and shrewd diplomacy were more useful in the negotiation stages of the exhibition than in the executive ones.

John Miers was another expert hired by the Brazilian Empire for both exhibitions. A British botanist associated to the Royal Society, Miers lived and worked for a good part of his life in South America, including Rio between 1831 and 1838, classifying and studying local flora and minerals.⁴² For the London exhibition, the Empire hired and nominated Miers as a juror for Brazil; his duties included comparing and assessing Bra-

⁴¹ See discussion of Tavares Bastos’ views in chapter two.

⁴² Moreira, *Relatório*, p.xvii.

zilian exhibits against those of other contestants.⁴³ In Paris, Miers studied the Brazilian natural collections, and wrote significant reports instructing how the Empire should exploit its prodigal nature.⁴⁴ One of these reports praised the Brazilian collection of tropical woods included in this chapter's case study below.

Jules Villeneuve was another key Brazilian player in Paris. His knowledge of French and communication skills – Villeneuve would become one of the most powerful journalists in Brazil as the editor and publisher of the *Jornal do Commercio* – gained him the post of secretary of the Brazilian commission. Villeneuve wrote lengthy reports about the overall national performance in Paris. His documentation and vivid description of the *virgin forest* display, for instance, are among the rare pieces of evidence that have survived to reveal this monumental affirmation of the tropics in Europe.

At the *Champs de Mars*, French exhibition organisers originally intended to combine all Latin American countries in one single room. This idea prompted furore among Brazilians commissioners. Led by Carvalho Moreira, they challenged the French decision arguing that Brazilian goods were 'more numerous and more indispensable to the world commerce than the rest of the Central and South Americas'.⁴⁵ Brazilians commissioners' stern opposition reveals not only fervour in securing commercial opportunities but also a sense of superiority from Brazil over its South American neighbours. This sense of superiority, already considered in the orientalist display of chapter two, was a hallmark of Brazilian exhibitionary endeavours during the period under study.

At the *Champs de Mars*, the Empire of Brazil was eventually granted a separate enclave for its exhibits. The enclave, though, was still located too near other South American nations.⁴⁶ Villeneuve noted in his report that 'the vicinity to the republics obliged us to give the ornamentation of the Brazilian rooms a *sui generis* character, in

⁴³ Moreira, *Relatório*, pp.xvii, xxi.

⁴⁴ John Miers, 'O Brazil na Exposição Universal de 1867, em Paris' in Villeneuve, pp.587-676 (p.588.).

⁴⁵ Villeneuve, pp.xxxii-xxxiii.

⁴⁶ Pesavento, p.137; Brazil occupied an area of 785 square metres, larger than the aggregate area given to all other Latin American countries, who were conceded 603 square metres. Villeneuve, pp.xxiii-lix.

order to avoid confusion at all costs'.⁴⁷ The proximity of republicanism not only in the continent but also at the *Exposition Universelle* had to be offset by a properly imperial decoration. Thus, the main entrance to the enclave was covered in a checked pattern of alternating squares, each square showing either the Brazilian imperial coat of arms or the dragon of the *Bragança* dynasty (Illustration 28).⁴⁸ The pattern was painted in the heraldic colours of the Brazilian monarchy – yellow and green – forming an embryonic visual language of nationalism displayed abroad for the first time.⁴⁹ Over the enclave entrance gate, two 'green-and-golden imperial flags' also helped mark the Brazilian imperial territory.⁵⁰

In order to reach to Brazil's colourful enclave, Villeneuve noted in a sneering tone, visitors had to pass by a room that 'the South American republics have populated with gauchos' (Illustration 29).⁵¹ Gauchos, for Villeneuve, meant not only the inhabitants of the Plata Basin as the term usually denotes. It also indicated a rejection of the 'popular spectacle' to which, he thought, the South-American republics resorted. Moreover, Villeneuve added, these 'mannequins in national costumes' were 'artifices that many times served to distract from the scarcity of their exhibits'.⁵² 'It would have been easy to decorate our rooms with indigenous costumes, or typical outfits from the inhabitants of our provinces', continued Villeneuve.⁵³ However, the Empire of Brazil was against 'vulgarity and exoticism'.⁵⁴ Instead, Brazil opted for showing its 'inexhaustible resources, [...] precious products, [...] the advantages of its fertile territory, its healthy climate, and its liberal institutions'.⁵⁵ To attract potential immigrants and investors, Brazil strategically showed in Paris 'products of first necessity for the European commerce and industries'.⁵⁶

⁴⁷ Villeneuve, pp.xxxii-xxxiii. Original emphasis.

⁴⁸ Villeneuve, p.xliv.

⁴⁹ Villeneuve, p.xliv.

⁵⁰ Villeneuve, p.xliv.

⁵¹ Villeneuve, p.xliv. *Gaúchos* is the name given to inhabitants of the Plata basin.

⁵² Villeneuve, p.xlii.

⁵³ Villeneuve, p.xlii.

⁵⁴ Villeneuve, p.xlii.

⁵⁵ Villeneuve, p.xlii.

⁵⁶ Villeneuve, p.xlii.

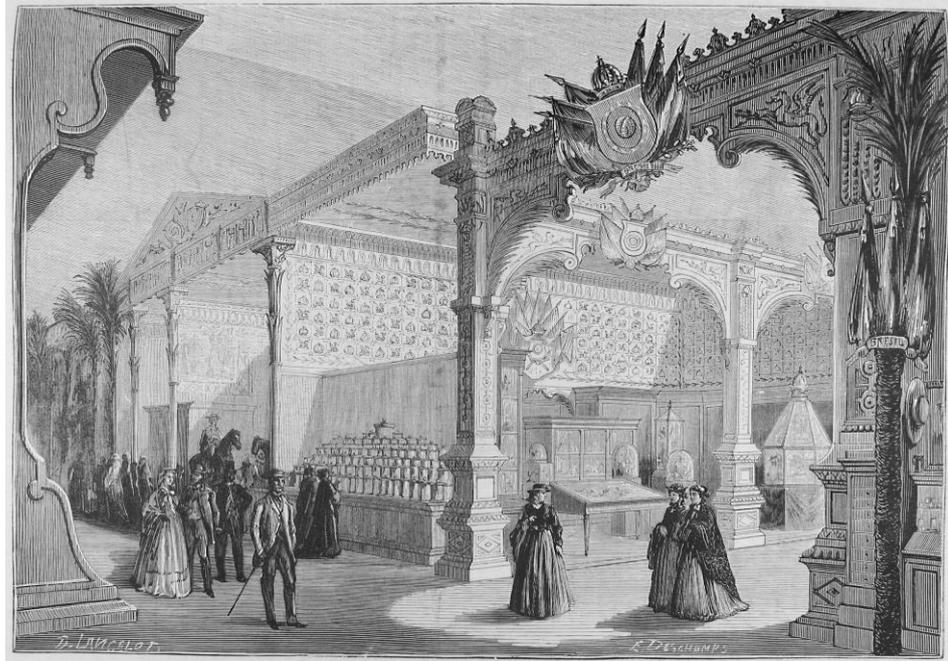


Illustration 28: Entrance to the Brazilian enclave at the *Champs de Mars* Palace. Green and yellow patterns on the wall made of the imperial coat of arms and the *Bragança* dynasty heraldry expressed incipient visual nationalism. Commissioners stressed the need to mark the Brazilian enclave as imperial and distinguish it from the nearby enclave of the South American republics, ‘populated with gauchos’ (the mannequin of the horsemen to the left of the Brazilian enclave entrance).

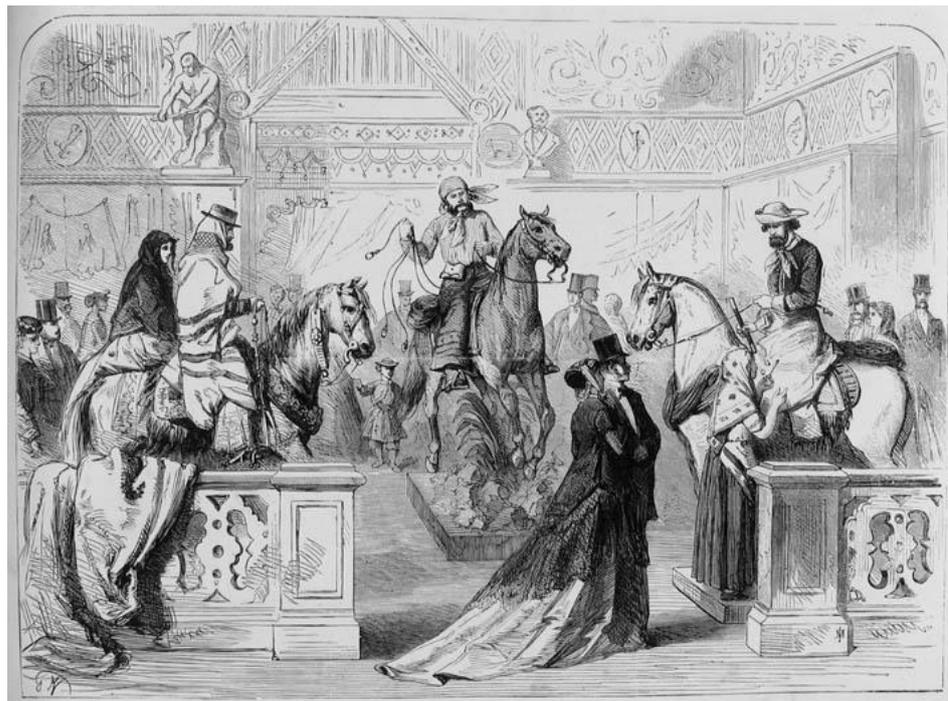


Illustration 29: Mannequins of horsemen, or ‘gauchos’, typical of the Plata Basin, in South America exhibited in 1867 as representatives of the peoples and activities of that region. Brazilian commissioners sneered at this ‘vulgar display’ and criticised the show of inhabitants and costumes from the Latin American republics.

In total, more than 3,500 exhibits of all ‘classes’ were taken to Paris, from coffee beans to leather goods and from cotton pods to photographs.⁵⁷ No matter how diverse this collection was, Brazilian agricultural and forestry exhibits were those that most frequently called the attention of foreign visitors and exhibition experts. A review article published in the *L’Exposition Universelle Illustrée*, for example, discouraged the Empire’s attempt at displaying manufactured objects. ‘We cannot deny that the true, useful and practical side of the Brazilian exhibition is not [with the leather goods, felt hats and fabrics], but with its so rich and varied products of the earth’, the article concluded.⁵⁸ Tellingly, more than half of the 106 medals awarded to Brazil were for goods extracted from the earth, like timber, and those cultivated, like cotton.⁵⁹ Even among the mostly praised Brazilian goods, a further judgement and ranking occurred. Miers, the British expert, judged Brazil’s mineral collection as poor, except for a few coal specimens described as ‘more precious than [the] famous [Brazilian] gold mines’.⁶⁰ Not surprisingly, the scientist suggested that ‘for the economic development of Brazil’ the coal should be exploited by ‘an international enterprise, preferably an English one’.⁶¹ Miers’ shrewd advice, opportunistic as it may seem, shows how the Brazilian strategy of showing ‘products of first necessity’ formed a convenient synergy between offer of raw materials and industrial demand. This synergy will become clearer below, when we investigate the exhibit shown in Paris that stirred the Briton’s pragmatic mind and inquisitive eye. A large collection of woods from the Amazon region, to Miers, ‘exceeded any other of the same type’.⁶²

Exoticism and civilisation: ways of seeing, ways of knowing

As discussed by historian Ana Maria Mauad, ways of seeing and representing Brazilian tropical nature during the nineteenth century involved wider body of visual rep-

⁵⁷ Villeneuve, p.xliii.

⁵⁸ *L’Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*, ed. François Ducuing, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Générale de Ch. Lahure, 1867), p.391.

⁵⁹ Villeneuve, p.cxi.

⁶⁰ Miers, pp.589-91.

⁶¹ Miers, pp.589-91.

⁶² Miers, p.492.

resentations that included foreign travellers' paintings created during expeditions around the country in that same period.⁶³ Mauad identifies three central phenomena that contributed to the construction of a particular image of imperial Brazil, an image she describes as partial as the act of illuminating a fraction of a picture whilst darkening the rest.⁶⁴ Firstly, she notes the literary Romanticism of the 1830s and 1840s that constructed a myth of origin for the modern nation-state during the Second Reign (1841-1889) based on the idealisation of the Brazilian tropical landscape and its indigenous inhabitants.⁶⁵ Secondly, she mentions how photography, a practice that took hold of the court after the 1860s, borrowed from conventions established by landscape painting to convey the image of an urbanised capital amidst tropical exuberance. Finally, Mauad credits the Brazilian participation in international exhibitions for the dissemination and pervasiveness of such mythical images even when derived from traditional painterly canons.⁶⁶

A significant visual example of this conflation of modernity, tradition and exhibitionism is the large-format photograph *Panorama do Rio de Janeiro Visto da Ilha das Cobras* (Panorama of Rio de Janeiro as seen from the Cobras Island) produced by George Leuzinger, exhibited and awarded in Paris in 1867 (Illustration 30).⁶⁷ Leuzinger, as many other painters and photographers who helped construct this particular vista of imperial Brazil, was a German immigrant who adopted Rio as his hometown.⁶⁸ As those painter-travellers like Thomas Ender or Johan Moritz Rugendas investigated by Mauad, Leuzinger brought a foreign gaze to his portrayal of Rio.⁶⁹ This type of foreign gaze, historicised in Brazilian visual culture as the formative gaze through which the nation learned to look at itself, is explicit in the distant positioning of the viewer who aims to

⁶³ Ana Maria Mauad, 'Entre Retratos e Paisagens, as Imagens do Brasil Oitocentista' in *Turbulência Cultural em Cenários de Transição: o Século XIX Ibero-Americano*, ed. by Neide Marcondes and Manoel Belloto (São Paulo: EdUsp, 2005), pp.13-49.

⁶⁴ Mauad, p.16.

⁶⁵ Livia Lazzaro Rezende, 'Do Projeto Gráfico ao Ideológico: A Impressão de Nacionalidade em Rótulos Oitocentistas Brasileiros' (unpublished masters' thesis, Universidade Pontifícia Católica-Rio, 2003)

⁶⁶ Mauad, pp.13, 16-17. Only 28% of the Brazilian population was considered literate in 1872.

⁶⁷ Turazzi, p.129.

⁶⁸ Turazzi, p.149.

⁶⁹ Mauad, p.16.



Illustration 30: A photographic montage of the *Panorama do Rio de Janeiro Visto da Ilha das Cobras* taken by George Leuzinger and exhibited in Paris in 1867 evidencing urban expansion and tropicality in Brazil.

apprehend the whole scene objectively, as an eyewitness.⁷⁰ Such a point of view ‘refers to a manner of perceiving space in terms of a scene situated at a distance from the observer [...] rooted, then, in the Western way of organizing the visual field’.⁷¹ The unsettling aspect of such landscapes, however, can be their neglect of the detail. A ‘detail’ that Mauad compares to the ‘elimination of social relations juxtaposed in a collage of the real in which progress is equated with what is apparent, not with reality’.⁷²

Leuzinger’s choice of subject and point of view illustrates how the aforementioned construction of a partial national image operated. Rio was often depicted as a synthesis of the vast Brazilian Empire for being the locus of political power, the main national port for agro-exportation, and because of the unrivalled aesthetic qualities of its nature. In the *Panorama* these themes converge: tall, tropical palm trees in the foreground carefully frame a considerable fleet of commercial and military ships at the entrance to the capital. These are signs of political authority and commercial power. The foreground and middle plane demonstrate modern urban expansion, while the uniqueness of Brazilian tropical nature and its sublime, colossal mountains are again reiterated in the distant background. Historian Maria Ines Turazzi says that, despite its positive appraisal by the French press and exhibition, the *Panorama* landscape caused surprise among foreign photography specialists for its technique and thematic choice.⁷³ Photographers and critics did not expect such high photographic quality coming from the tropics, a place usually fixed by tropes of exoticism and difference. From such distant and alleged inhospitable lands another genre of images was expected, says Turazzi, that of ethnographic photography.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ See Mauad; Ana Maria de Moraes Belluzzo, *the Voyager’s Brazil: Imagery of the New World*, vol.1, *A Place in the Universe*, vol.2 and *The Construction of Landscape*, vol.3 (São Paulo: Metalivros, 1995); Luciana Martins, *O Rio de Janeiro dos Viajantes: o Olhar Britânico, 1800-1850* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2001)

⁷¹ Stepan, p.25.

⁷² Mauad, p.16.

⁷³ Turazzi, p.129.

⁷⁴ Turazzi, p.137.

Europe sees the Amazon (and vice versa)

Ethnographic photographs, however, were also present in the Brazilian exhibition in Paris. Albert Frisch's (Illustration 31 and 32) were the first photographic register and portraits of Amazon peoples ever shown in Europe.⁷⁵ His photographs not only revealed how the Amazon people of Brazil looked like but also testified for their ongoing catechisation by the Catholic Church and the state.

In Frisch's photographs the logic of nineteenth-century portraiture and ethnographic eye combine. According to Mauad, social identities are constructed in photographs by the use of codes of social belonging deliberately included in portrait composition like poses, gestures, background, objects, and dress.⁷⁶ In the Amazonian case, though, such codes were not adopted by those photographed but prescribed for them. Illustration 31 clearly shows a disciplined group, arranged in a rigid composition and dressed with the modesty imposed by the contact with religion. Men with hats, woven baskets and textiles, and controlled gestures duplicated among the group work together to demonstrate to European spectators that a certain degree of civilization – developed or acquired – was possible amongst Brazilian natives. The second Amazonian photograph (Illustration 32) evokes the productive side of the region by showing its mighty but navigable river and 'prodigal nature' in the shape of a dense forest. In the foreground, a small boat and captain mark life, transportation, and regional economic production. This photograph, nonetheless, reveals an unexpected sight. A small indigenous child lies on the ground, on the lower left corner of the photograph, near the large trees. Is hers a serendipitous participation in this otherwise objective view? Did she perhaps escape through the cracks of Mauad's 'collage of the real' that eliminates social relations from landscapes? In this photograph, the child returns Frisch's gaze with enquiring curiosity,

⁷⁵ *Points of View: Capturing the Nineteenth Century in Photographs*, ed. by John Falconer and Louise Hide (London: British Library, 2009), pp.50 and 63.

⁷⁶ Mauad, p.16.



Illustration 31: Among the first photographs of Amazonian indigenous people were these taken by Albert Frisch and exhibited in Paris in 1867. In this group portrait, modest clothing, controlled posture and gestures, and items of material culture work to convey the presence of civilisation in the jungle.



Illustration 32: This shot by Albert Frisch, arranged to show the navigable Amazon River and evidence of economic activity in the region, reveals a young indigenous child returning the gaze of the Europeans who saw this photo when it was displayed at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867.

perhaps mystified by the presence of the German in the Amazon as much as Europeans were mystified by the Amazon presence in Paris.

The virgin forest

At the *Exposition Universelle*, the display that most significantly combined and compounded Brazil's representation of exoticism with civilisation was the one that Miers described as exceeding any other, a collection of tropical woods from Pará (Illustration 33). Villeneuve wrote a detailed description of the display to the emperor:

Palm-tree leaves indicate a new Brazilian room, this is the woods' room; all samples are gathered in a high and large pyramid disposed in such a way as to show to the public the horizontal, vertical and diagonal sections of the trunks. Around this room, runs a decoration that represents a virgin forest, under a dome formed by the lofty branches of a tree, behind of which one can see the blue and transparent sky. This decoration, owed to the skilled brush of one of the main stage designers of the Parisian Opéra, M. [Auguste] Rubé, immediately earned a good reputation in the *Champs de Mars*, and the *virgin forest* was soon one of the most visited places of the exhibition, being reproduced in illustrated magazines, and mentioned in all newspapers and journals.⁷⁷

The *virgin forest* display, nicknamed as such by the French press, allowed visitors to walk around the centrepiece.⁷⁸ They could inspect this imposing collection, measure their bodies against the gigantic and mythical Amazon trees. The spectacular painted setting gave them an immediate feel of the bounty of such legendary and distant forest. The Brazilian wood display, though, brought the forest near, making it reachable, touchable. In fact, before the opening of the *Exposition Universelle* Brazilian commissioners granted permission to foreign carpenters who worked on other nations' exhibitions to handle the rare and valuable tropical wood specimens that they had never seen before.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Villeneuve, p.xlii. Original emphasis.

⁷⁸ Villeneuve, p.xlii.

⁷⁹ Villeneuve, p.xxxix.

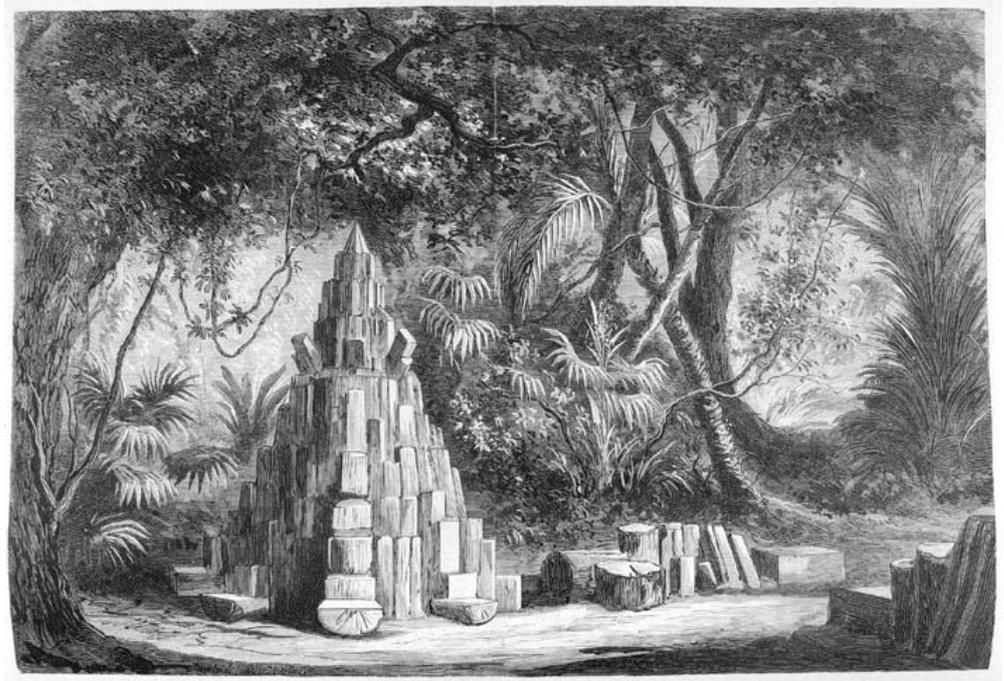


Illustration 33: The Brazilian timber display designed for the *Exposition Universelle* in 1867, nicknamed *virgin forest* in the French press. The set designer of the Paris *Opéra* painted a tropical forest as a backdrop for the built main piece, an ‘architectural’ construction conceived to show the material properties of each wood specimen.

Contrary to contemporary exhibitionary conventions, the Brazilian wood was not encapsulated in vitrines. Vitrines that are to scholar Francisco Hardman ‘the most cynical way in which luxury shows itself, signalling, at the same time, its price and its owner. It is an exhibitionism that also means a radical mode of separation’.⁸⁰ The open Brazilian display, instead, promised and delivered reunion, close contact, and demystification. Through an ordered and symmetrical architectural design, the public was offered an intelligible glimpse of the Amazon’s riches. Brazilian commissioners demonstrated they knew their resources and knew how to manage them. Subsequently, so could Europeans. The display of the Amazon wood could not have been more timely and strategic. Just the year before the Amazon River had been opened for international shipping and the region’s resources became relatively free of protectionist constraints.⁸¹ This governmental decision was met with excitement and relief by some Europeans, as this remarkable quote from a French exhibition report reveals:

The Brazilian government has understood all the advantages that the international commerce will be able to [...] take of its forestry riches, and a liberal decree has just opened to all countries’ flags this ocean of fresh water we call Amazon. There, the gigantic trees offer themselves [...] for those who want to bring them down, and the river itself furnishes the easiest and less costly means of transport until the port of Para, which is the great Brazilian gateway open to the sea, it is, to the old continent. It is a relieving thought that industry will not stop for lack of nourishment, and that it can follow without fear this route of progress of which this exhibition is a striking manifestation.⁸²

This quote discloses how by the late 1860s European industrial development was beginning to depend on raw materials from abroad. This sort of mutual dependency, however, is rarely addressed as such by the literature on exhibitions. The above quote is also extraordinarily rich in what scholar Louise Guenther calls ‘the tone of gendered desire

⁸⁰ Hardman, p.49.

⁸¹ Miers, p.492; Turazzi, p.135.

⁸² Raoul Ferrère, ‘La Forêt Vierge du Brésil’ in *L’Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée*, p.278 (own translation).

that operated in informal-imperial relations' like those established between Brazil and Britain at that time.⁸³ For Guenther, imperialist metaphors like *penetration*, *expansion*, and *decline* attest to an 'intellectual tendency [that] favour[s] vital interests of male bodies', a language bias that 'has had the effect of distorting historical understanding'.⁸⁴ Guenther admits the improbability of naming the presence of British merchants and investors in nineteenth-century Brazil, for example, a process of 'invagination of Britain by Brazilians', despite the accepted penetration metaphor. 'Yet', she concludes, 'even this would suggest different ways of asking just what happened, how and why'.⁸⁵ Guenther has argued that Brazil's role in relation to Britain was more active than the conventionalized male-gendered terminology allows us to think.⁸⁶ My argumentation that Brazil uses of tropical visual representation at exhibitions were strategic corroborates with Guenther's assertion.

The naming of the display as 'virgin' forest perfectly suited the convergence of nature and feminine proposed in the French exhibition report. In the report, Guenther's idea of a gendered desire is clearly in play. The male-gendered and alleged active players coincide with governmental and commercial interests, both Brazilian (the decree that *opened* the Amazon) and international (the commerce that *will take advantage of forestry and bring trees down*). The female-gendered, alleged subordinated subjects concur with nature: the great provider of *nourishment* for industries, the trees who *offer themselves*, and the river that *furnishes* transport. The quote discloses a European desire to 'discover' Brazil's female-gendered nature, and rejoices in the nation's *openness* to the old continent. Brazilian commissioners, accepting of this gendering worldview, asserted a male-gendered position for themselves. They organised Brazil's raw materials in a sophisticated architectural form, and made their national resources known and visible to potential

⁸³ Louise Guenther, 'The Artful Seductions of Informal Empire' in *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp.208-28 (p.209).

⁸⁴ Guenther, p.209.

⁸⁵ Guenther, pp.209-10.

⁸⁶ Guenther, p.228.

business partners and immigrants. Furthermore, they offered these resources in a way Europeans wanted them; abundantly and easily accessible.

Besides its gendered significance, the terming of the wood display as ‘virgin’ should also be understood through the trope of travel writing identified by Mary Louise Pratt as that of ‘the place for improvement’. In her influential investigation of travel writings, *Imperial Eyes*, Pratt speaks of a ‘textual apartheid that separated landscape from people, accounts of inhabitants from accounts of their habitats’.⁸⁷ This is very similar to what Brazilian commissioners exhibited in 1867. The photos of the Amazon people dressed with modesty were exhibited in the same festival but starkly dissociated from the wealth of their land, the Amazon forests. This dissociation coupled with the aesthetic qualities of the *virgin forest* made an exhibitionary argument that Brazil, and specifically the Amazon, was an empty place in ‘want of population’ and, as such, a place awaiting improvement. As convincingly argued by Pratt, ‘it is not only habitats that must be produced as empty and unimproved’, as the idea of the *virgin* as untouched suggests, ‘but inhabitants as well’.⁸⁸ This show of emptiness, unprepared inhabitants, and abundance clearly favoured Brazilian commissioners’ intentions of attracting ‘labour, capital and intelligence’ from Europe.⁸⁹ It was in fact the European ‘improving eyes’, Pratt concludes, that in the first place had produced ‘habitats as “empty” landscapes, meaningful only in terms of a capitalist future and of their potential for producing a marketable surplus’.⁹⁰ Brazilian commissioners, in this aspect, appear to have internalised such ‘eyes’ when adopting the foreign gaze to represent their own land.

The impressive staging of Brazilian wood – turned into timber and turned into a *virgin forest* – spoke to a European consciousness other than just commercial interests. Like the visual codes of photographic landscaping discussed above, the *virgin forest* related to the prolific travel literature and ensuing visual representations that populated nineteenth-

⁸⁷ Pratt, p.61.

⁸⁸ Pratt, p.61.

⁸⁹ Turazzi, p.107.

⁹⁰ Pratt, p.61.

century European thought. In her comprehensive analysis of the representations of tropical nature throughout history, Nancy Leys Stepan affirms that *tropicality* is an ‘an imaginative construct’ constituted by a persistent and misleading ‘visual grammar’ that evolved in time, especially after European Enlightenment.⁹¹ The *virgin forest* display is thoroughly inscribed in this construction, profiting from the partiality and selectiveness of tropical nature to which the 1860s European audience was becoming accustomed.⁹² In fact, if the nineteenth century was, according to Stepan, ‘the tropical century *par excellence*’, the 1860s marked, I argue, the culmination of the visual tropicalisation of Brazil.⁹³

Representations of Brazil as a tropical landscape – which have been unstable and often required ‘periodic reinvestment in times of change and challenge’ – date back at least to 1660, when Franz Post’s paintings of the New Dutch World followed European landscape conventions, ‘with little of the exotic in them’.⁹⁴ Eighteenth-century colonial expansion and scientific circumnavigation of the globe, with the fundamental help of German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, ‘provided a model for writing about and viewing the tropics that influenced naturalists and artists’ for decades to come.⁹⁵ This model included exaggerating the differences between tropical and temperate climates and vegetations (not to mention further differentiation of peoples and races). It described the tropics as primeval, purer, abundant, sinister, untamed, sublime, and/or untouched. In short, these writings and subsequent visual representations transformed the tropics into a foreign other, into being exotic. Humboldt’s tropical project was continued in Brazil by the extensive Austrian-Brazilian Expedition (1817-1835) and its fourteen naturalist scientists and painters. Amongst them was Thomas Ender who lately inspired Rugendas to create the first painterly version of a *virgin forest* (Illustration 34). Rugendas also published

⁹¹ Stepan, pp.11-13. She borrows the term tropicality from historian David Arnold ‘to indicate the constructed or discursive representation of the tropics in modern geography’, p.13.

⁹² Stepan, pp.14-15.

⁹³ Stepan, p.31.

⁹⁴ Stepan, p.19 and 21.

⁹⁵ Stepan, p.25.



Illustration 34: Johann Moritz Rugendas participated as illustrator in the scientific expedition organised by Baron von Langsdorff into the interior of Brazil in the 1820s. His interpretation of the ‘virgin jungle’ (*Landscape in Brazilian Virgin Jungle*, c1830) was among one of the most well known images of the tropics in Europe by the time Auguste Rubé painted the tropical forest at the *Champs de Mars*. (See Illustration 33)

‘one of the most important visual documents’ about nineteenth-century Brazil, his monumental book *Voyage Pittoresque dans le Brésil* (Picturesque Voyage to Brazil, 1835).⁹⁶

As revealed by Stepan, ‘the distinction between what was tropical and what was not took on new material, representational and symbolic meanings’ through the commodification of raw materials. The *virgin forest* display has to be understood as one of these moments when tropicality was compounded.⁹⁷ Besides commercial interests and the European construction of tropicality, the wood display was also inscribed into the scientised and utilitarian views of nature discussed in chapter two. In fact, scientist-commissioners José Saldanha da Gama and Ladislau de Souza Mello e Netto directly influenced the aesthetics of the *virgin forest* display by studying the woods and exalting which of their distinctive qualities should prevail: rawness.

Gama systematically described, measured, and classified Brazilian woods similar to those used in the display. He tested their resistance, flexibility and density, and as noted in the previous chapter, shared his findings with the *Société Botanique* (Botanical Society) in Paris.⁹⁸ To argue for a more effective presentation, Gama traced a genealogy of the national displays of wood in exhibitions. In Paris in 1855, according to him, the Brazilian Empire also failed to promote its forestry riches when ‘products of an indigenous palm-tree’ were scantily shown in enclosed vitrines.⁹⁹ Looking back at previous Brazilian exhibitionary attempts, Gama condemned the presentation of Brazilian woods in London in 1862 for its lack of scientific information. He also criticised their inappropriate display in small, polished blocks, which did not ‘attract the eyes of those who walked around the exhibition’ (Illustration 4 – the small blocks of wood are to the left of the im-

⁹⁶ Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Malerische Reise in Brasilien* (*Voyage Pittoresque dans le Brésil*) (Paris: Engelmann, 1835).

⁹⁷ Stepan, p.17.

⁹⁸ Gama, *Quelques Mots...* (Paris: Imprimerie de E. Martinet, 1867).

⁹⁹ Gama, *Quelques mots*, pp.3-4.

perial flags in the rear).¹⁰⁰ In 1867, therefore, Gama wanted to see something quite different, a *revanche* in his words.¹⁰¹ This revenge took the form of a large, collection of Amazon tree trunks, cut in meticulously determined sections that showed the best usage of each wood type. As Gama proposed, the more than 200 specimens that formed the display were shown in the open, as a provisional material awaiting usage by European industries. The trunks were exposed in their entirety – bark, core, grain. In this way, they could also be the subject of further studies and prove their applications in medicine, art, and construction. Vitrines, polishing or varnishes were abolished; they were trappings for luxury products and detracted from showing the texture of the bark or the quality of the grains. Brazilian woods, therefore, had to be exhibited in their raw and profitable state.¹⁰²

The question that remains from the discussion above is why did Brazilian commissioners reproduce Europeanised tropicality in their project of self-representation? Firstly, it is important to highlight that such reproduction was not without a degree of ‘appropriation and re-elaboration’ of the established pictorial and verbal elements of the tropical repertoire.¹⁰³ As shown by Stepan above, the European conceptualisation of tropicality was not necessarily a positive one. Displays of the *Panorama*, the Amazon portraits and the *virgin forest*, I argue, had the power to destabilise the negative aspects of this established tropical visual grammar whilst making use of it. This undermining was achieved through the efforts of commissioners to show how a civilisation was being constructed in the tropics. Be it through exposing Rio’s urban expansion, the spread of religious values and habits into the jungle, or by showing possession and control over the bounty of the Amazon forest, these displays projected an exotic but also a progressive image of Brazil.

¹⁰⁰ Gama, *Quelques mots*, p.3. Mello e Netto made similar comments in Ladislau de Souza Mello e Netto, *Apontamentos...* (Paris: JB Baillièrre et Fils, 1866), p.41.

¹⁰¹ Gama, *Quelques mots*, p.4. Gama spoke of ‘revanche’, in French, which translates as revenge.

¹⁰² Another publication, authored by Gama, Mello e Netto and Freire Allemão, spoke exclusively of the woods sent to Paris. See Gama, *Breve Noticia...* (Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Nacional: 1867).

¹⁰³ Stepan, p.23.

Racialised landscaping at the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, 1904

If the French exhibition wished to promote a ranking of cultures and reconciliation between labour and the capitalist system of production and consumption, the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition contributed to the intensification of yet another chief characteristic of Western modernity, the differentiation and ranking of peoples according to race. In effect, this exhibition is acknowledged in the scholarly literature for its ambitious displays of the United States' imperial power and for its unprecedented spatial immensity.¹⁰⁴

The St Louis exhibition was devised to commemorate the centenary of the land purchase that greatly augmented United States' territory. Mirroring this acquired vastness, the exhibition expanded over an area in St Louis amounting to 1,272 acres (almost twice as large as the Chicago fair of 1893).¹⁰⁵ Its exhibitionary complex was formed of 1,576 buildings and fifteen mammoth exhibition palaces. The Palace of Agriculture alone measured over 20 acres in length. The fair – privately organised by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company and supported by President Theodore Roosevelt – welcomed all the federated states, 34 foreign nations and 20 million visitors during the seven months it remained open.¹⁰⁶ It is believed that between 15,000 and 20,000 people lived *in situ*, most of them brought by exhibition organisers as live displays of foreign people.¹⁰⁷ Sheer grandiosity prevailed not only in numbers. The same theatrical, neoclassical architecture based on white sculptural decoration, long colonnades, and large water basins that had made the reputation of Chicago's *White City* was replicated (and augmented) for St Louis' rendition of grandeur (Illustration 35).

The 'largest international exposition the world had ever seen' was set up to convince Americans that the United States thrived again after a period of economic

¹⁰⁴ Allwood, p.83.

¹⁰⁵ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, pp.155-57.

¹⁰⁶ Allwood, pp.83-87. It was open from 30 April until 1 December 1904; See Rydell, *Fair America*, p.56.

¹⁰⁷ Allwood, pp.84-86.

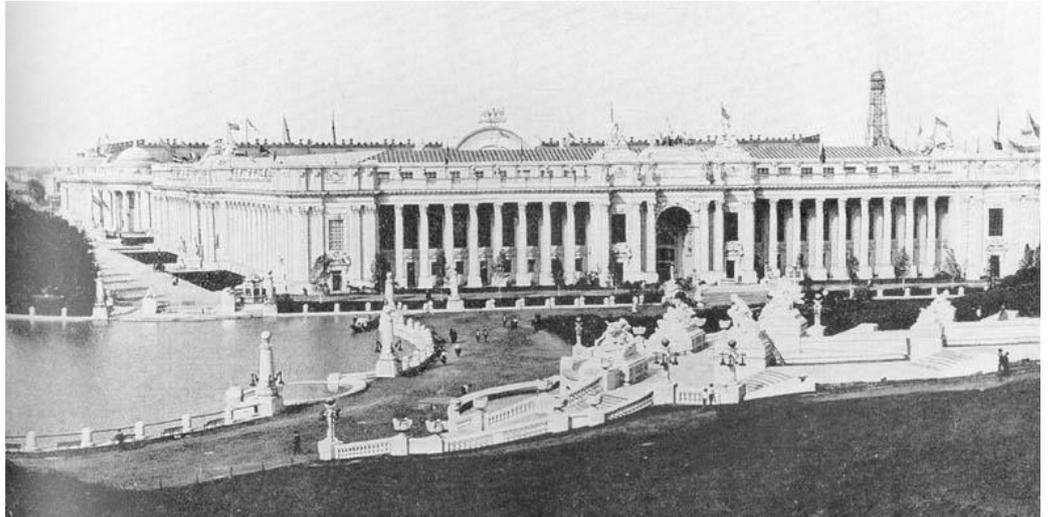


Illustration 35: The Palace of Education at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. As with the rest of the exhibition, it was built in neoclassical style to express grandiosity and civilisation on American soil.

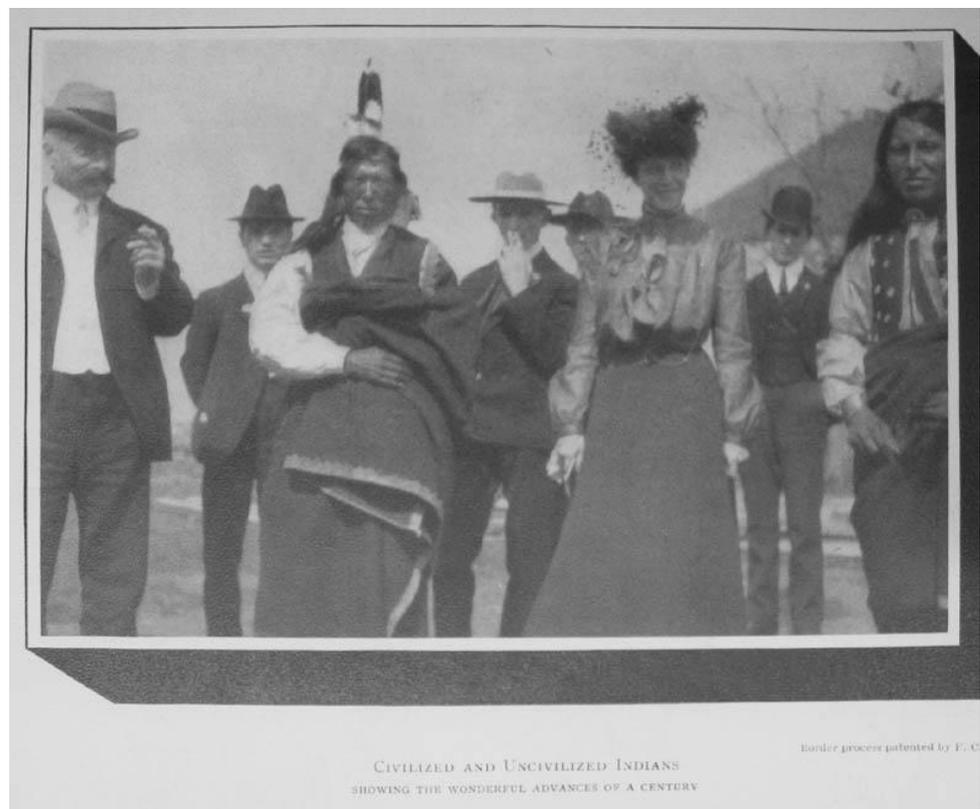


Illustration 36: Picture and caption from an illustrated album for the St. Louis exhibition separating 'Civilised' from 'Uncivilised' Indians, a strategy widely employed by exhibition organisers who promoted a fierce racial landscaping and ranking of peoples, cultures and nations on the fairgrounds.

recession.¹⁰⁸ The depression that hit Western economies between 1873 and 1890 had challenged the country's position as an industrial power and shaken people's confidence in the future of the United States.¹⁰⁹ According to exhibition scholar Robert Rydell, the St Louis exhibition was 'one thread in a web of expositions, and each sought to distill and to reconfigure crucial components of the nationalizing synthesis that came into view at the *World's Columbian Exhibition* in 1893'.¹¹⁰ Such nationalizing synthesis, he adds, was made of two components. First, an 'essentially economic' one that 'entailed convincing an American mass audience that the progress of the United States depended on overseas expansion and, if necessary, on extending America's political and military influence to secure economic ends'.¹¹¹ The other, a racial component, 'involved winning the support of white Americans, regardless of social class, for a view of the world the held that progress toward civilization could be understood in terms of allegedly innate racial characteristics'.¹¹² This believed 'manifest destiny' of the United States – to succeed economically and racially – began to be materialised and visualised through this sequence of fairs; their ephemerality being surpassed by their frequency.¹¹³ As Rydell summarises, 'local and national elites' joined efforts to 'issue [this] manifesto of racial and material progress and national harmony'.¹¹⁴

In the case of St Louis, the materialisation of the idea of a racialised and expansionist national progress was achieved by a design staunchly based on contrasts. The classically white-clad exhibition palaces, built to house wonders from the industrialised and manufacturing world, contrasted highly with the chaotic heterogeneity of the amusement park called The Pike, devised to host less official and more exotic exhibits, among them, foreign peoples and cultures. The ethos of contrast and separation of the St Louis exhibi-

¹⁰⁸ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, p.157.

¹⁰⁹ Marx, p.304; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, pp.8-9.

¹¹⁰ Rydell, *Fair America*, pp.8-9 and 125.

¹¹¹ Rydell, *Fair America*, pp.8-9.

¹¹² Rydell, *Fair America*, pp.8-9.

¹¹³ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, p.157.

¹¹⁴ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, p.155.

tion culminated with the alleged scientific differentiation between ‘savagery’ and ‘civilization’. This differentiation was mainly played out and displayed through ethnological shows in the Anthropology Hall performed by peoples believed to be in different stages of evolution.¹¹⁵ Ultimately, such contrast and separation aimed at establishing a ‘racial landscape’ according to which the majority of the inhabitants of the United States were to be located close to their cultured European ancestors.¹¹⁶ This superior evolutionary position would allegedly allow the United States to impart its own culture and values upon those classified and shown as inferiors (Illustration 36).

In St Louis, one of the best examples of ‘racial landscaping’ was found in the Philippines Reservation exhibition, an idealised replica of a Filipino village built on a 47-acre site at the fairground (Illustration 37). Following the American-Spanish War and the United States’ annexation of the Philippines, more than a thousand Filipinos were brought to St Louis with full support of the federal government to be shown as the ‘centrepiece of America’s empire’.¹¹⁷ The Filipino village was built as a miniature city, with streets, parks, a cathedral, a typical Manila house, Government Administration buildings, and examples of tribal dwellings.¹¹⁸ Daily, Filipinos had to perform roles prescribed according to their perceived degrees of civilization. Those accustomed to urban life and adapted to colonial control, for example, worked as constables and policed the village or acted as artists making local craft. The sensation of the Reservation, however, centred on the more conspicuous displays of tribal peoples brought from the interior of the Philippines. These displays included parades of scantily dressed natives around their fake dwellings, as Illustration 38 shows. As a result, Filipino natives known as Negritos, for example, were described and assumed as being the ‘missing link’ in the history of human evolution, placed at the lowest rank of racial progress, and doomed to be extinct

¹¹⁵ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, p.182.

¹¹⁶ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, p.157.

¹¹⁷ Greenhalgh, p.77; Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, pp.167-68.

¹¹⁸ Greenhalgh, p.77 and 101.

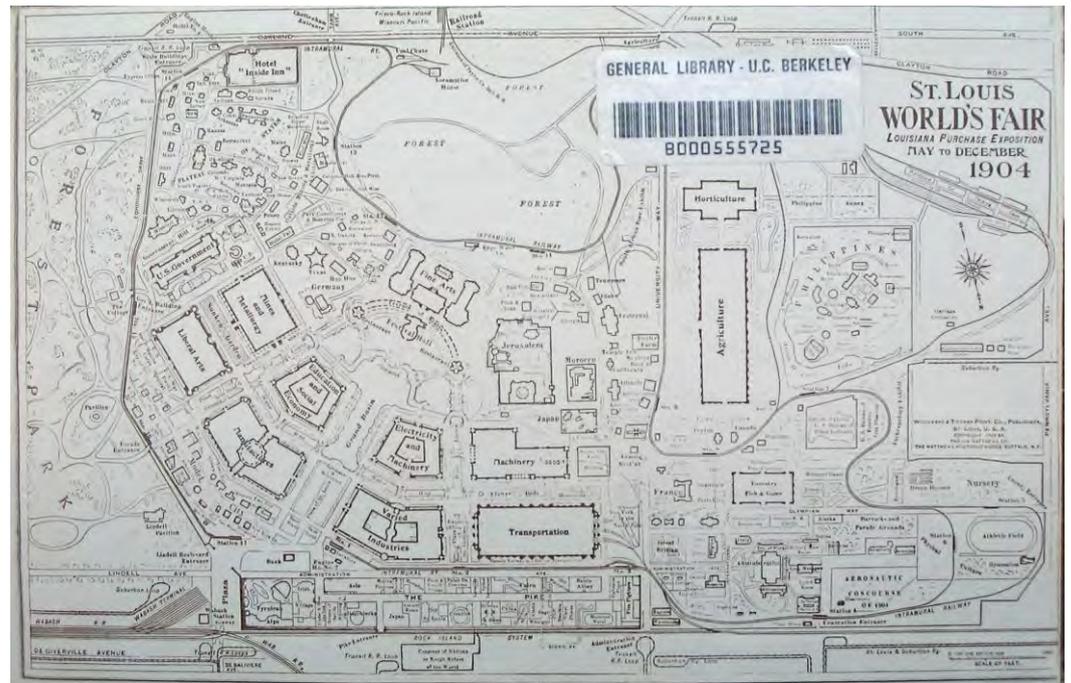


Illustration 37: Ground plan of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, with the huge Philippine Reservation delimited on the top right hand side, near the also large Palace of Agriculture. The Philippine Reservation was yet another element in the racial landscaping promoted in St. Louis.

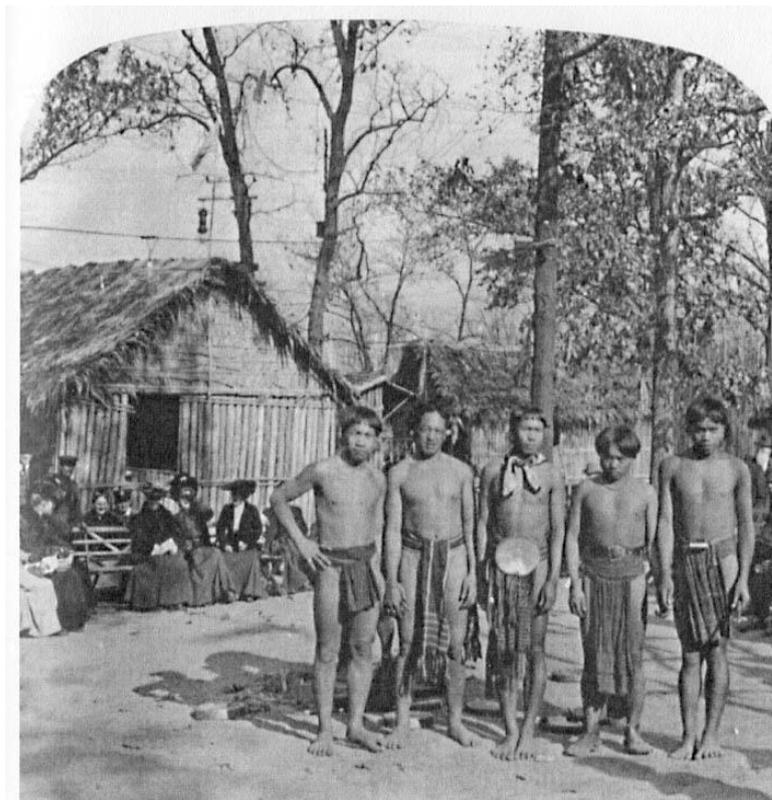


Illustration 38: A replica of an Irigot village inside the Philippine Reservation. Rydell rightly notices the incongruity of the Western ladies at the back watching the nearby natives through binoculars, as if the subjects were removed in space as well as in time by their ranking as 'primitive'.

soon (Illustration 39).¹¹⁹ The Philippines Reservation, in the words of Rydell, ‘provided fair-goers with an anthropologically calibrated yardstick for measuring the world’s progress’.¹²⁰

Anthropological exhibits, however, were not the only way whereby United States exhibition organisers expressed their nation’s self-professed superiority in the world order. A few years before St Louis, the 1901 Buffalo exhibition foreshadowed a similar imperial vision by adopting the theme of Pan-Americanism. The concept was borrowed from the Pan-American Conferences spearheaded by United States’ entrepreneurs who, since 1889, promoted an international forum ‘to discuss trade relations between the Northern and Southern continents’.¹²¹ The conferences were often held during international exhibitions and provided, according to scholar Paul Greenhalgh, opportunities for the United States to flex their ‘imperial muscles on a global stage’ in economic and military terms.¹²² For the Republic of the United States of Brazil instated in 1889, both phenomena – United States’ expansionism and display of power – had significant consequences for Brazil’s relative positioning within the continent. As seen in 1876 in Philadelphia, Brazil’s wishful position as the ‘second nation’ in the Americas and the ‘first’ in South America continued to motivate and impact on its exhibitionary representation in the United States.¹²³ After the 1900s and with Pan-Americanism in full throttle, ‘power relations became increasingly clear through the World’s Fairs’, adds Greenhalgh, ‘the treatment of some nations being tantamount to a recognition of colonial status’.¹²⁴ This possibility of being mistaken as a colony represented a major national anxiety, as we already know, to be fiercely rejected and renegotiated by Brazil on the very exhibition grounds where they were being instated.

¹¹⁹ Yvonne Condon, ‘St. Louis, 1904: Louisiana Purchase International Exposition’ in *Historical Dictionary of World’s Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, ed. by John E. Findling (Greenwood, 1990), pp.178-86 (p.183). Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, pp.175-76.

¹²⁰ Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair*, p.178; Greenhalgh, p.101-02.

¹²¹ Greenhalgh, p.76.

¹²² Greenhalgh, p.76.

¹²³ The pavilion built in St Louis was later reconstructed in Rio and housed Pan-American conferences.

¹²⁴ Greenhalgh, p.76.



Illustration 39: Negrito natives from the Philippine Islands, as the one in the photograph, were displayed in the St Louis exhibition as the 'missing link' between animals and mankind.

Preparatory exhibition in 1904: urban reforms and de-tropicalisation

At the time that Beaux-Arts edifices and boulevards were being constructed to convey a particular idea of civilization in St Louis, the capital of the United States of Brazil was undergoing a dramatic urban redefinition along similar lines of architecture and segregation. Rio's *Belle Époque*, as this period of urban reforms became known, was part of the wider project of Brazilian president Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906) to 'promote national change along European lines by encouraging immigration, building infrastructure, and securing more foreign credit'.¹²⁵ The capital of the new Republic became the centrepiece of Rodrigues Alves' national promotion. In the old city centre, once the heart of the imperial port capital, 1,600 buildings were demolished and more than 20,000 people, mostly poor and of African descent were forced to leave without compensation.¹²⁶ Old colonial buildings and afro-descendants had to give way to wide boulevards and neoclassical theatres and museums modelled on the Haussmann ideal of Paris (Illustration 40). In his account of the reforms, historian Jeffrey Needell interprets the uprooting of the poor and the demolition of their 'decrepit housing' as the destruction of a certain tradition, the exorcising of Afro-Brazilian Rio, and the triumph of 'the elite's vision of modernity'.¹²⁷ 'The new streets and boulevards that smashed through the Old City, the dockside area, and the New City destroyed a world' says Needell, a world that was not only associated with Empire and Afro-Brazilian culture but also with the negative aspects of the construct of tropicality discussed in the first part of this chapter.¹²⁸

In effect, a radical new way of seeing and representing Rio and subsequently Brazil (the mistaking a part for the whole persisted) emerged from this long period of

¹²⁵ The urban reforms began under Campos Salles administration in 1898 and lasted until 1914. Jeffrey D. Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904: the Revolt Against "Modernization" in Belle-Époque Rio de Janeiro', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 67 (May, 1987), 233-269 (pp.241-243).

¹²⁶ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', p.257.

¹²⁷ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', pp.256, 267 and 269. See also Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

¹²⁸ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', p.256.



Illustration 40: A southerly shot of the *Avenida Central* (Central Avenue) which cut through old imperial buildings and was part of the larger project of modernisation of the republican capital undertaken in the early 1900s. This modernisation, beyond destroying signs of Empire and tropicity, employed neoclassicism as the capital's official style and included copies of Parisian edifices, such as the Opera on the left hand side of the avenue.

destruction and reforms. As it will be discussed in chapter five, the ethos of destruction and reform of the early twentieth century engendered a significant way of seeing and representing modernity that culminated in the construction of the first international exhibition in Rio in 1922.

As part one showed, by the mid-nineteenth century the landscaping of Rio was founded on a foreign gaze fixed outside the city, which pictured tropical nature on a par with urban development. During and after the 1900s reforms, this landscaping was transformed by an official, state gaze, located from within the city, and which privileged urban magnificence above all (Illustration 41). Photographers commissioned by the government to document the urban reforms contributed to the establishment of this new visual grammar. Bird's eye views, long shots that privileged the perspective of avenues, and wide angles that embraced architectural grandeur – they all worked for a change in the representation of Rio as much as the reforms themselves. As Illustration 42 shows (and this photograph is by no means an exception to the rule), the new representation was frequently taken from above – a viewpoint in accordance with the top-down governmental project for national promotion. Rio's landscape, which once was perceived as wide enough to be captured in a panorama, by the 1900s fit in just a close-up, a framing conscious of the elements it leaves out, i.e. the numerous remains of the past not yet destroyed.

This new republican representation of the capital pushed the traditional tropicality of Rio's bay and mountains to far planes and reduced them to a backdrop (Illustration 43). In the foreground, elements that could convey an image of progress – the traffic of cars, the leisured middle-class promenading amongst new neoclassical buildings, and the overall consumption of modernity – constituted the new action (Illustration 42). Rio's improvement, beautification, and rationalization worked towards what I hereafter call the 'de-tropicalisation' of the capital (and therefore of Brazil).¹²⁹ Telling of such 'de-tropicalised' representation is the absence from the new esplanades of palm-trees.

¹²⁹ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', pp.243-44.



Illustration 41: A top-down view of the *Avenida Central*. The *Pão de Açúcar* Mountain, previously one of the chief elements of Rio's tropical landscape, became barely visible behind the opulent newly-built skyline. The process of 'de-tropicalisation' of the capital was enhanced in this photograph by motorcars lined along the modern boulevard and its neoclassical buildings.



Illustration 42: The *Avenida Central* was the place to see and to be seen in Rio's *Belle Époque*. The building of museums, operas and libraries was part of the modernisation process. On the left, the *Museu Nacional de Belas-Artes* (Fine Arts National Museum).

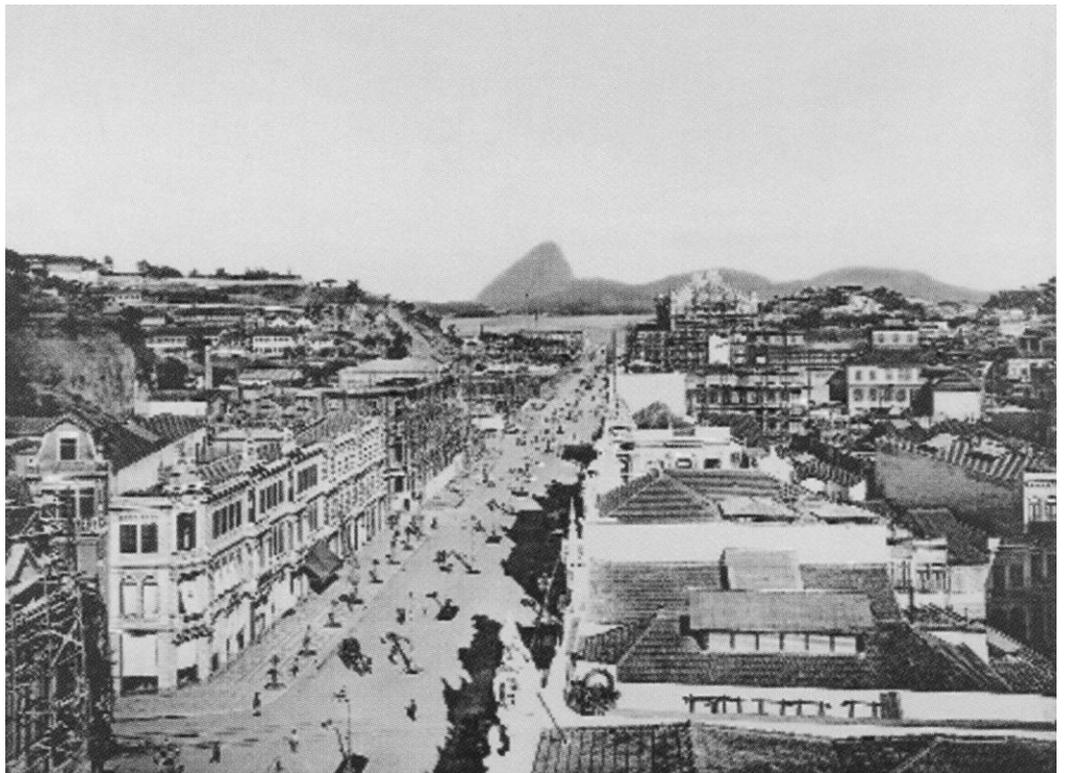


Illustration 43: Another bird's eye view of the newly opened *Avenida Central* and the construction of its imposing buildings. The hill to the left, Castelo, was to become the last victim of the republican policy of destruction of the Old City: in the 1920s the hill was razed to make space for Rio's own international exhibition, inaugurated in 1922.

These are ‘objects of nature’, explains Stepan, ‘claimed by Humboldt to be the most noble of tropical plants, whose mere presence was responsible for much of the aesthetic impact that tropical landscapes has on the human imagination’.¹³⁰

This formation of a locus of modernity within the country had crucial consequences for the Brazil representation in St Louis. Associated with the eradication of tropicality from the representation of the capital, a new view of Brazil was constructed and shown abroad. This view, as the discussion in the last part will demonstrate, was polarised between a modern and modernising Brazil, materialised in the republican reforms, and a primitive, stagnant Brazil, waiting for international capital and exploitation for its development.

In the midst of this modernising project, which also included the construction of a new port and a massive campaign for the eradication of tropical diseases in Rio, Rodrigues Alves’ government accepted the invitation for the 1904 festival.¹³¹ This was the second republican representation put together for an international exhibition, after participation at the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. Not surprisingly, the first two republican exhibitionary efforts were directed to the United States, a nation central to the commercial and political interests of the new government.¹³² The republican presence in St Louis, however, was fundamentally different from its participation in Chicago, to be discussed in the following chapter. In 1893, conflicting factions of the Brazilian republican movement disputed power at home and subsequently projected a fragmented view of Brazil in Chicago. By 1904, a determined and carefully constructed view of Brazil was projected in St Louis, result of the hegemony acquired by the conservative, oligarchic faction within Brazilian republicanism.

The preparation at home of an exhibition to be taken to St Louis was also done differently from previous attempts. Whilst during the Empire and for the exhibition of

¹³⁰ Stepan, p.19.

¹³¹ Needell, ‘The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904’, pp.243-44.

¹³² Telling of the bias towards the United States, the Brazilian Republic was absent from the large and popular Parisian festival of 1900, an absence also considered in chapter five.

1893 preparatory exhibitions had been concentrated in the capital, in 1904 many scattered and small-scale exhibitions were mounted across the country. It seems that ‘almost all states of the Union’ prepared some type of exhibition; that most of their chosen exhibits were sent to the capital only to be shipped abroad, and also that some states (especially northern ones) skipped this detour and sent their exhibits straight to St Louis.¹³³ This decentralised system of exhibitions mirrored the policy of less central state interventionism known as *política dos governadores* (politic of governors) practiced since the presidency of Manuel Ferraz de Campos Sales (1898-1902). According to this political precept, more autonomy was granted to ‘local reorganized machines controlled by each state’s agroexport oligarchy’ in return for presidential support.¹³⁴ The São Paulo exhibition, for example, was tellingly organised by the *Sociedade Paulista de Agricultura* (Society for Agriculture from São Paulo State), an organisation representative of the interests of the local coffee oligarchy.¹³⁵ Despite its blatant emphasis on coffee display and promotion abroad, the *Sociedade* also claimed that its local exhibition confirmed ‘the degree of progress and intellectual culture from [this] rich state’.¹³⁶ This claim and the local exhibition aimed to position the state of São Paulo as the burgeoning economic pillar of the national economy as well as its driving intellectual force – a reputation traditionally claimed by Rio. The São Paulo case shows that exhibitions, after the first republican decade, became tools not only for international comparison and competition but also for domestic political rivalry.¹³⁷

Besides reinforcing local rule, these regionalised exhibitions also provided evidence that the economic crisis Brazil had suffered in recent years was over as they con-

¹³³ *Gazeta de Notícias (GN)*, 14 January 1904, p.1; *Jornal do Brasil*, 12 January 1904, p.1, noticed that exhibits from Sergipe and Bahia states were dispatched straight to the United States; *GN*, 7 February 1904, p.1, noticed that exhibits from Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Mato Grosso do Sul states passed through Rio’s ports beforehand.

¹³⁴ Needell, ‘The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904’, p.242.

¹³⁵ *GN*, 14 January 1904, p.1.

¹³⁶ *GN*, 14 January 1904, p.1.

¹³⁷ See *Kosmos*, 1 (February, 1904), pp.5-6 for severe criticism on particular states.

veyed an idea of optimism in national growth.¹³⁸ As Suzigan summarises, a crisis due to the overproduction of coffee affected the national economy from 1896 until 1901. This created deflation and drastically stagnated investments in industries such as textiles or food processing, the most established sectors in Brazil at the time. Around 1898, Brazil was hit by one of the worst depressions of its economic history. General production declined and only after 1902 investment revived and a new phase of economic expansion began.¹³⁹ Not surprisingly then, the underlying ethos of the 1904 Brazilian exhibitions was geared towards the attraction of foreign capital into the country and the commodification of national products for sale abroad.

An oligarchic Republic in St Louis

After the regional exhibitions closed around February 1904, thousands of exhibits were shipped to St Louis and by the end of April news regarding the materialisation of the national exhibition abroad started to fill newspaper headlines.¹⁴⁰ The news celebrated and proudly described the ongoing erection of the national pavilion. For some, it appeared like ‘a pearl in the crown of the foreign edifices’.¹⁴¹ For the fair correspondent of the newspaper *Gazeta de Notícias*, Captain José Carlos de Carvalho, the yet unfinished construction became ‘a grandiose pavilion, singled out amongst all’, and responsible for ‘firming [Brazil’s] credit as a civilised nation’.¹⁴² Obtaining credit was, indeed, one of the evident reasons given by the republican government for a representation in the United States. Credit, however, had multiple meanings. For Carlos de Carvalho, the nation’s ‘credit’ was aesthetically and morally implicated, and was reinstated abroad through the ‘correct’, ‘monumental’ architecture of the national pavilion, destined to redeem the nation of its per-

¹³⁸ *GN*, 14 January 1904, p.1.

¹³⁹ Suzigan, pp.87-89.

¹⁴⁰ *Kosmos*, 1 (March, 1904), pp.27-30, mentions that the Paraná state alone sent 15,000 exhibits. Evidence does not clarify the quantity of exhibits dispatched, nor the criteria applied to select exhibits sent to St Louis.

¹⁴¹ *JC*, 31 May 1904, p.1.

¹⁴² *GN*, 25 April 1904, p.1.

ceived lack of civilisation.¹⁴³ For the Brazilian exhibition commissioners and the government, credit meant, above all, the prospect of an influx of foreign capital investment into the country.

The majority of commissioners who worked for Brazil in St Louis were military men – majors, generals, or captains – and/or had military education (usually engineering). They held government positions back home and mostly came from the urban sectors but at the same time favoured the ruling system of regional agrarian oligarchies. These oligarchies' long-lasting influence on the history of the First Republic (1889-1930) commenced with their candidate's ascension to presidency in 1894.¹⁴⁴ Prudente José de Moraes Barros (1894-1898) and his successors Campos Sales and Rodrigues Alves triumphed in reasserting their 'traditional agroexport bias as national policy' since the 1900s.¹⁴⁵ The oligarchies were a heterogeneous amalgamation of representatives from different states who were firmly led by the *paulista* agricultural elite that yielded the three cited presidents.¹⁴⁶ Their policies mostly benefited coffee growers in the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais.¹⁴⁷ Such policies instated a 'limited [state] intervention to encourage foreign credit, and with it, facilitate infrastructural expansion, access to cheap labour, and foreign investment and trade'.¹⁴⁸

Needell's above summary of the politically conservative and economically liberal policies of the oligarchies greatly reflects the tone used to describe and promote the nation in the chief propaganda publication issued for the St Louis Exhibition. The publication, which will be analysed below, together with Rio's urban reforms and 'de-tropicalisation', spoke for 'the triumph of the traditional elites' vision of Brazil as a progressive but agroexport participant in the North Atlantic economy'.¹⁴⁹ The Brazilian par-

¹⁴³ GN, 25 April 1904, p.1.

¹⁴⁴ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', p.242.

¹⁴⁵ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', p.241-42.

¹⁴⁶ This term designated whom or what belongs to the state of São Paulo.

¹⁴⁷ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', p.247.

¹⁴⁸ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', pp.241-42.

¹⁴⁹ Needell, 'The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904', pp.243-44.

ticipation in the St Louis exhibition was in effect a confident crowning of the victory of the coffee oligarchies and their liberal-conservative worldview.

The effect and response once caused by the *virgin forest* display was equalled, In St Louis, by the extraordinary exhibition of coffee housed in the neoclassical Brazilian pavilion erected at the exhibition park. Several press articles on United States and Brazilian newspapers and exhibition albums praised the majesty of the governmental building and its interior, lavishly decorated to host a large coffee exhibition and to become a temporary coffee house. Brazilian commissioners working in St Louis mounted displays and enclaves in at least thirteen other department buildings. However, it was a special exhibition in the national pavilion that fixed the identification between Brazil and coffee. After 1904, Brazil, Republic and coffee became inextricably associated in the minds of North-Americans and Europeans.

Before analysing in detail how this identification occurred in the national pavilion, our journey through the St Louis exhibition will commence with an analysis of the main Brazilian publication designed for the festival. The propaganda book *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* was the mobile agent through which exhibition commissioners verbalised their resolutely commercial endeavour in the United States. We will then move on to consider two national enclaves as fixed agents. Like their mobile counterpart, these agents compelled a particular conceptualisation and commodification of Brazilian nature, and promoted a view of national development in tandem with specific oligarchic interests. Finally, we will arrive at the national pavilion – nicknamed in St Louis as the ‘Palace of Coffee’ – and will examine how it became the pearl in the crown of Brazil’s First Republic.

The primitive and the modern in images and text

The profusely illustrated and carefully designed *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Illustration 44) was similarly structured to the propaganda publication issued

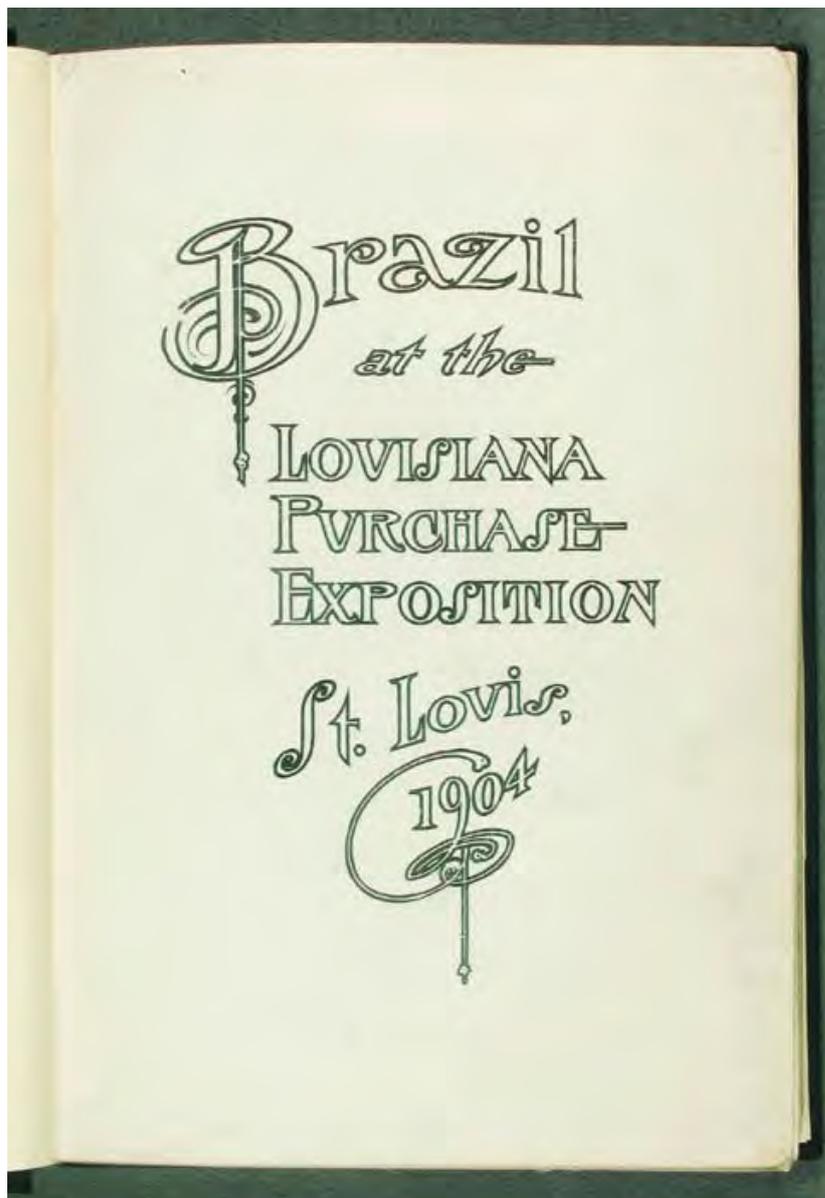


Illustration 44: The cover page of the chief vehicle for republican propaganda in St Louis. The *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* was profusely adorned in the modern style of Art Nouveau and fully illustrated with photographs.

in 1867, the *Empire of Brazil*, analysed in the previous chapter.¹⁵⁰ In both publications, an explicative preface welcomed potential readers; their tone was less that of an intergovernmental document and more targeted to common foreign readers and investors. Both were divided in two parts. The first part offered a general description of Brazil and its resources and set the tone government and commissioners adopted for the promotion of the nation in each exhibition. Whereas in 1867 an optimistic and generalised description of the country prevailed, and sometimes an apologetic tone was used to defuse controversial subjects like slavery, decades later the editorial rhetoric became almost exclusively commercial, as will be detailed below. The second part of both publications specifically addressed the exhibitions they promoted. This part functioned as concise exhibition catalogue that listed exhibitors and included some description of Brazilian exhibits. By 1904, though, it is no exaggeration to claim that the previous format of an exhibition directory evolved into a veritable department store sales catalogue.

Another major and essential difference between the two publications was their use of printing technology. While the *Empire of Brazil* was criticised by an astute contemporary for being printed in ‘wrapping paper, with old, out of style typefaces’, the *Brazil at the Exposition* took advantage of the most advanced graphic design and printing techniques of its time including photography.¹⁵¹ Its visual profusion, in fact, became an integral part its editorial aggressively commercial tone. Hundreds of photographs showed medical activity, sumptuous government buildings, state-of-the-art bridges crossing dense forests, or crowded coffee plantations, for example, to convey the assertive idea of a progressed and productive nation (Illustrations 45, 46 and 47). Drawing a last comparison with the former national projection in exhibitions, in 1904 Brazil was no longer depicted

¹⁵⁰ *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St Louis: S. F. Myerson Printing Co., 1904).

¹⁵¹ Andre Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional. Estudos Economicos. Propaganda Abolicionista e Democratica* (Rio de Janeiro: Lamoureux, 1883), pp.215-16.

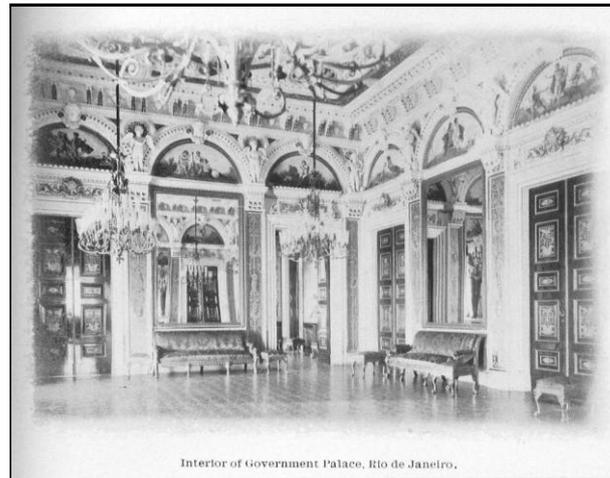


Illustration 45: The interior of the governmental Palace in Rio, one of the several modern illustrations circulated in the *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*.

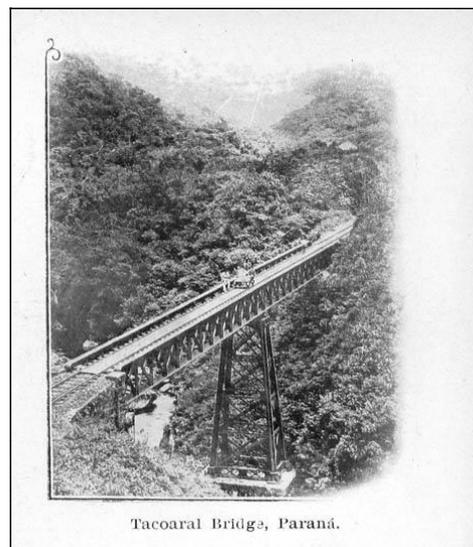


Illustration 46: This photograph of the Tacoaral Bridge confirmed important engineering improvements in Brazil.

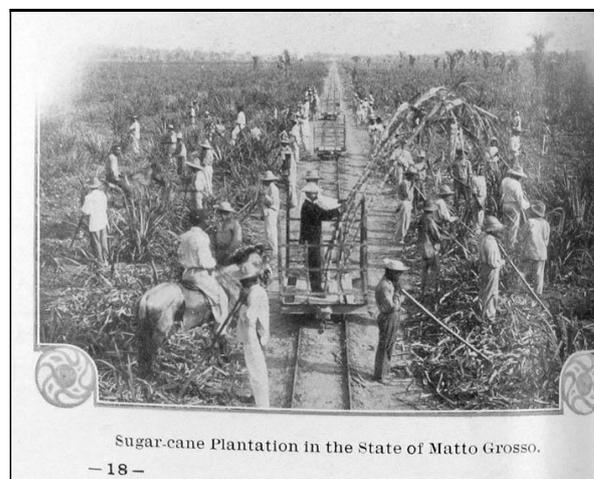


Illustration 47: In contrast to its imperial precursors, republican commissioners wanted to demonstrate that Brazil was a nation in full motion, and not only a place waiting for improvement as before.

as a ‘land of improvement’ as it was in 1867. ‘These visual collages’, asserts scholar Jens Andermann, ‘convey the notion of a “land of opportunity”’.¹⁵²

The *Brazil at the Exposition*’s aesthetic qualities, enhanced by carefully arranged, ornate photographic montages and art-nouveau lettering (Illustrations 44 and 48), impelled the president of the Brazilian commission, colonel Francisco Marcellino de Souza Aguiar, dedicate the publication as a ‘souvenir’ to the exhibition visitor.¹⁵³ The publication’s tone and vocabulary, however, spoke more directly to the ‘representatives of the large industries’, whom Souza Aguiar also addressed in his opening preface.¹⁵⁴ ‘Inexhaustible deposits of iron ore, of the finest quality imaginable’, promised the publication, ‘are found [in Brazil], awaiting only the ingenuity of man to extract it [sic] from its beds, to be used to further his most ambitious projects’.¹⁵⁵ Several tables with detailed financial information and data concerning Brazil’s general imports and ‘exports of national and nationalized products’ provided these industrialists with ‘a source of information from which they can conveniently obtain reliable data upon which to judge and decide’ where investment should go.¹⁵⁶

Apart from offering an insight into the commercial aims and motivations of commissioners in St Louis, the publication’s text and images also reveal how nature and raw materials were conceptualised during the Brazilian exhibition of 1904:

With its variety of climate, fertility of soil, luxuriant growth of vegetation, Brazil could scarcely have a less abundant and rich fauna: a logical conclusion of natural economy. Fields, forests and jungles, lakes and rivers, gulfs and bays, extensive mountain ranges and valleys give to Brazil the elements and necessary conditions for sheltering and nourishing the richest and most

¹⁵² Andermann, ‘Tournaments of Value’, p.346.

¹⁵³ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.4. The photographs in this publication were, in many cases, authored by Brazilian professionals such as Marc Ferrez. The publication was designed and printed by SFM, the St Louis firm of Samuel F Myerson, also responsible for several other exhibition-related publications.

¹⁵⁴ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.4.

¹⁵⁵ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.13.

¹⁵⁶ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.4, the data are on pages 67 to 76.

varied fauna. In reality, this country possesses a wealth of resources in every division of natural history.¹⁵⁷

This quote illustrates the twofold strategy whereby nature was conceptualised as a commodity by commissioners. First, complimentary adjectives like ‘varied’, ‘fertile’, ‘luxuriant’, ‘abundant’, ‘rich’ and ‘extensive’ characterised Brazil’s nature as ideal and, as a consequence, Brazil itself was characterised in this way. Following this exaggerated idealism, a guarantee was given that great business could be done from the exploitation of such ideal nature. Terms like a ‘wealth of resources’ and a ‘a logical conclusion of natural economy’ (despite leaving unclear what a ‘natural economy’ was) promised great profitability. The former promised land of naturalists, which in the 1860s showed potential for scientific discoveries and domestic empowerment through knowledge, was turned into a promised land for business. Brazil was characterised as rich but largely untapped; a place where nature was conceptualised and displayed as national resources for international consumption.

This argument is further sustained by the commissioners’ usage of the term ‘tropical’ in this publication. A term that had been so central to the conceptualisation of the nation and of Brazilian nature in the 1860s, the ‘tropical’ in 1904 was turned into a category of scientific interest and classification and used with surprising parsimony. Of its twelve occurrences in the *Brazil at the Exposition*, the term ‘tropical’ was twice used to refer to the geophysical delimitation by the tropics.¹⁵⁸ ‘Tropical’ was used seven times as a classificatory term to define ‘zoological sections’ and a sub-division of ‘agricultural zones’.¹⁵⁹ The term was used only three times with reference to a wider construct of tropicality; in two occasions to name the Brazilian ‘virgin tropical forest’, and only once to typify Brazil as a ‘tropical country’.¹⁶⁰ According to the publication, Brazil certainly had ‘tropical qualities’, seen in its flora, fauna and planetary location, but this term – with

¹⁵⁷ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.38.

¹⁵⁸ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.31 and 33.

¹⁵⁹ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.38.

¹⁶⁰ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, pp.34 and 152.

its derogatory connotations and disadvantaged positioning within St Louis' promoted 'racial landscaping' – no longer served to define the nation itself. This observation demonstrates how commissioners distanced themselves and their projection of Brazil in the United States from the idea of tropicality, even from the positive aspects nurtured by the Empire. By doing so, I argue, they carried the republican project of 'de-tropicalisation' already noted in Rio.

Beyond being conceptualised as the ultimate accessible and profitable commodity, nature was also constantly measured against progress, and progress, in turn, was frequently marked by the mention of industries and manufactures. In relation to progress, nature was usually placed as opposite but subordinated, as exemplified by the quote above in which 'deposits of iron ore [...] are found [...] awaiting only the ingenuity of man to extract it [sic]'.¹⁶¹ In another instance, fairgoers are described by the publication as 'desirous of possessing knowledge of the progress and natural resources of the country', as if one excluded the other. Nature, therefore, was not pictured in opposition to progress; it did not deter progress.¹⁶² Brazilian commissioners characterised their nation's nature as a stagnant space whose development and growth depended upon a progress equated with exploitation, which in turn depended upon foreign capital investment.

The *Brazil at the Exposition* also showed that industries and manufactures, and hence progress, were not alien to the Brazilian republican landscape. The depiction of a cotton mill in São Paulo in Illustration 49 evidences how these aspects of the national projection abroad coexisted with the above conceptualisation of nature as a 'commodity in waiting', as I term this phenomenon. Nationally manufactured and industrialised products, however, mainly featured as insufficient for domestic demand:

¹⁶¹ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.13.

¹⁶² *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.4.

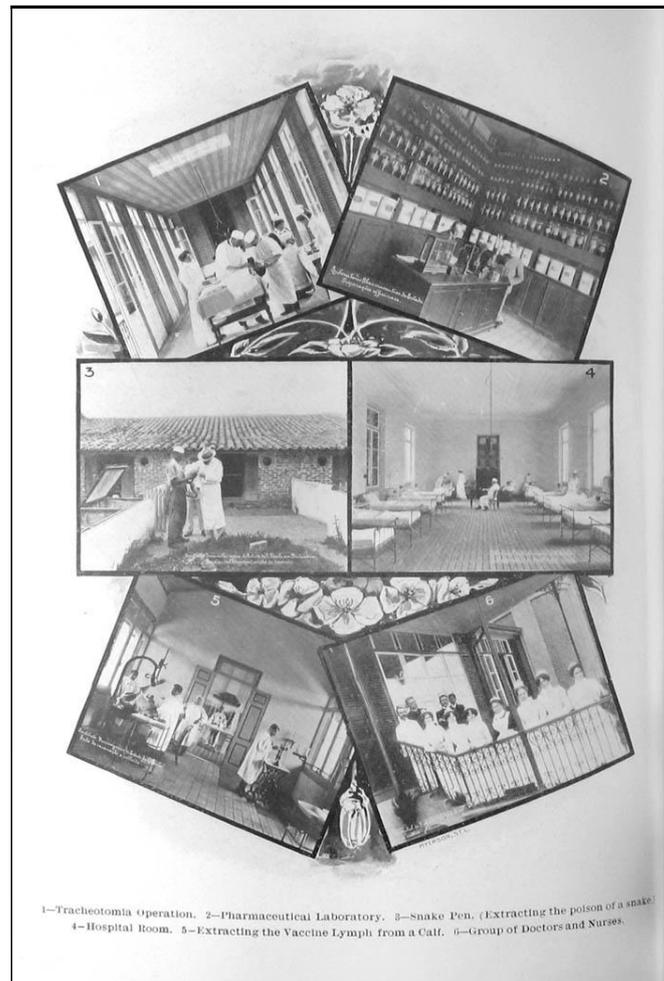


Illustration 48: This page from the *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* propaganda book displays in a sophisticated fashion, aspects of modernity in Brazil difficult to convey in an international exhibition through exhibits alone.

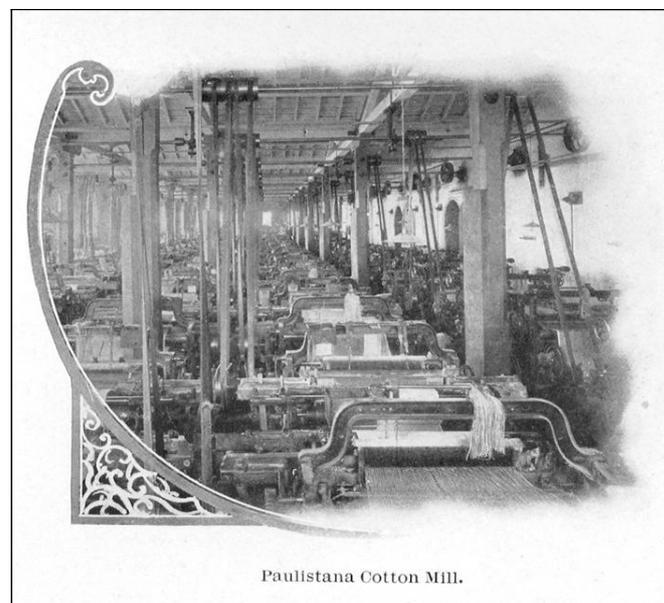


Illustration 49: This cotton mill was one amongst many other markers of progress shown by the *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* publication.

Very little is manufactured yet in Brazil for exportation and the manufactured supply of many articles is not even sufficient for the demands of the country. There is, therefore, a very good market for foreign goods and splendid opportunities for the establishment of factories both to supply the home market and for exportation. Especially when taken the fact that raw material of first-class quality is inexpensive and abundant, that almost all kinds of machinery enter the country free of duty, and that labour is plentiful and cheap.¹⁶³

This paragraph establishes the logic of capitalist offer and demand repeatedly emphasised by the publication and exhibition commissioners. The representation of Brazil the ‘land of opportunity’ was compounded by the announcement that immigrants, together with foreign capital, were ‘pouring into the country with increasing rapidity each year, as the natural resources and the limitless opportunity for profitable investment [were] becoming more widely recognized’.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, up to 1901 more than 2 million *colonos* (settlers) had entered Brazilian ports to stay.¹⁶⁵ The logic was simple and seductive: Brazil’s population was growing, bringing with them ‘plentiful and cheap’ labour and the promise of a consumer market. In this way, more manufactured and industrialised goods were necessary, but Brazil’s output was inadequate. If only foreign capital could continue ‘pouring into the country’ to exploit the ‘inexhaustible’ and ‘abundant’ commodities in waiting mutual profits for Brazil and the investor would ensue.¹⁶⁶ Brazilian commissioners swore by this creed in St Louis. We shall now analyse how national displays of raw materials on the exhibition grounds sustained this gospel.

¹⁶³ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.105.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Brazil at the World’s Fairs’ in *The History of Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St Louis, 1904), p.7.

¹⁶⁵ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.65: ‘In 1901, Brazil received 76,292 colonists. In 1902, 14,358 landed in the city of Rio de Janeiro and from 1855 to 1901 the total number of colonists recorded at different ports was 2,023,693’.

¹⁶⁶ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.4.

Enclaves: polarised exhibitions

The polarised view of Brazil disseminated by the publication, a view divided between a modern and modernising nation, and a primitive, stagnant nature, awaiting its development, was furthered by the large Brazilian enclaves built in the departments of Forestry and Agriculture. These enclaves were fundamentally different from the orientalist enclave analysed in chapter two in what they did not represent the entire nation (this role was ascribed to the ‘Palace of Coffee’), but sectors of its productive forces. These two enclaves were designed with the purpose of representing and promoting the specific products they housed. In tandem with the specialised commodification of Brazilian nature seen above, republican commissioners erected a sort of log cabin in the Forestry, Fish, and Games building teeming with wood, ‘fish and game’ implements (Illustration 50). In the massive Agricultural building, they built a heavily ornate, architectural structure to house exhibits from tobacco to cigars and liquors (Illustration 51). Between these two enclaves, as this part of the chapter will argue, an exhibitionary narrative was built based on polarisation and separation. At the start of this narrative, the Brazilian Republic displayed stagnant nature in displays designed to convey just that, the image of commodities in waiting. At the end, sophisticated displays conveyed cultivation, progress and modernity. This evolutionary narrative culminated in the palatial coffee exhibition.

The first, elementary constituents of this narrative of stagnation and growth corresponded to the elementary constituents of manufactures and industries themselves – raw materials. These were deliberately displayed in a raw-like, unadorned way as Illustration 52 perfectly illustrates. The amorphous vegetable fibres (in fact, only identifiable due to the publication’s caption) were stacked in a disorderly and unexciting shape that vaguely resembled those trophies of the past. This seemingly unrefined piece, though, can be compared to the *virgin forest* as both were designed to look raw. As such, the tree fibres were intentionally displayed in their most basic, raw state to act as reminders of the bounty of raw materials Brazil had to offer to international investors.

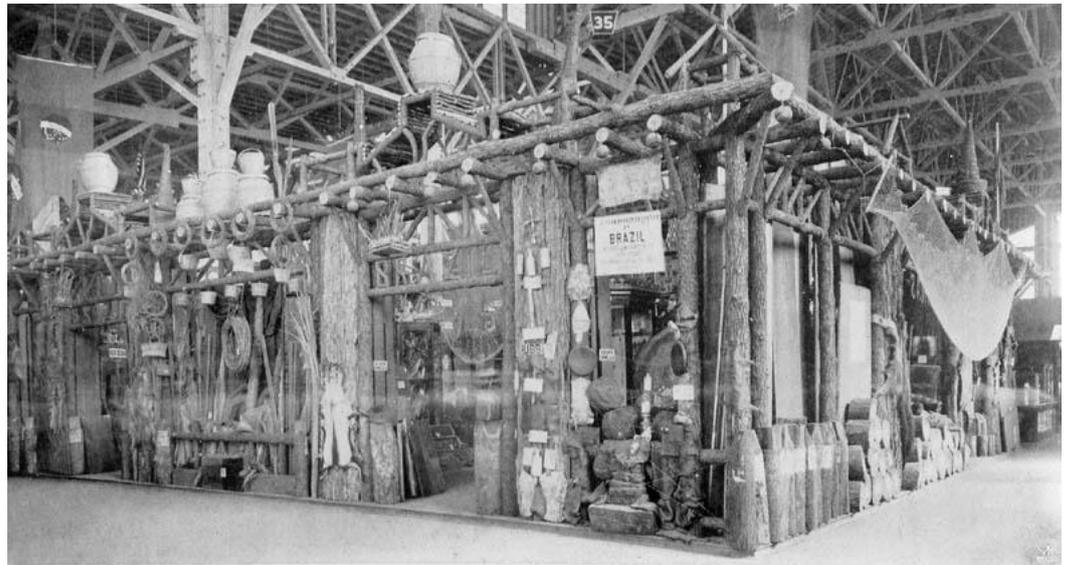


Illustration 50: The Brazilian enclave erected at the Forestry, Fish and Game department of the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in 1904. This environment emphasised the extractive side of Brazilian economy and, in contrast to the cultivation side, seen in the Agricultural department (Illustration 51), was built in a ‘primitive’ or ‘primitivised’ style.



Illustration 51: The Brazilian enclave erected at the Agricultural department of the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in 1904. Coffee production, which was displayed in St Louis as being the pillar of Brazilian economic wealth and general progress, was made into a literal example in this enclave whose pillars were filled with coffee beans.

The pile's apparent lack of aesthetic value implied the potential of its commercial and industrial uses. According to a report published by French Ministry of Commerce, Industries, Post and Telegraph, tree fibres were a burgeoning branch of commercial exchange between Brazil and Europe.¹⁶⁷ Thus, this is how the Brazilian tree fibres were shown in St Louis: as fodder for the engines of foreign industries.

Brazilian woods and their by-products went through a similar process of de-tropicalisation and de-romanticising. Once associated with narrative typologies like the sublime and the picturesque in the 1860s, in 1904 Brazilian wood was broken down into smaller, useful, discrete parts. Tree and plant roots (Illustration 53) were displayed separately from tree barks (Illustration 54) that were also disconnected from tree trunks, shown cut into large sections (Illustration 55). As with the display of tree fibres, these disassembled parts of forestry by-products showed a level of elementariness and bareness that was in complete accord with the 'commodity in waiting' conceptualisation discussed above. Such expectancy, promised in print on the pages of *Brazil at the Exposition*, finally materialised on the exhibition grounds, in raw-like display of natural materials waiting for industrialists to activate and transform them into commodities. The commercial purpose of these forestry by-products were clearly stated in captions and labels exhibited nearby. The barks were good for tanning, the roots were useful for pharmaceutical industries, and the varied and abundant tropical woods served for all types of construction and woodworks. The itemisation of wood into useful parts indicated their increasingly specialised values, their increasingly specific and profitable place in the world of commodity exchange.

It was not by accident that these elementary constituents of the stagnant stage within the republican narrative of growth came from forests, where the main productive activity is extraction not cultivation. Regions like the Amazon, for example, which experienced a lower level of economic growth on a national scale, began to be characterised

¹⁶⁷ *Rapport des Groupes 81, 84 85 et 95*. Published for the Ministère du Commerce, de l'Industrie des Postes et Télégraphes (Paris: Imprimerie Duruy et Co., 1906), pp.151-22.



Illustration 52: The amorphous, raw-like display of Brazilian tree fibres, mainly recognisable as such by the accompanying caption.



Illustration 53: Parts of trees were exhibited separately, according to their commercial uses. In these jars, plant roots were exhibited for their medicinal properties.



Illustration 54: As the caption on top of the exhibit explains, tree barks used for tanning leather were exhibited in separation to other parts of trees



Illustration 55: Large tree trunks were exhibited separately and displayed as being useful for navigation and construction.

as peripheral and primitive.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, these peripheral regions functioned even more as the locus of stagnation in the national territory when contrasted to the locus of modernity and growth associated with Rio (the modernising capital) and São Paulo (the coffee cultivation state). This strategy included the incorporation of a discourse of belatedness and its relocation to particular national regions and its manifestation in particular exhibitionary displays. In this way, a clear separation and polarisation was made. In Brazil, some regions and peoples were modern while others were not.

The case of rubber is telling of this polarisation and biased representation. As one of the most significant national export items since the Amazonian ‘rubber boom’ of the 1880s, Brazilian rubber became hugely important to local society and foreign industries in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The rubber boom brought wealth and hope for growth in the region, as exemplified by the building of an opera house in the state capital, Manaus, inaugurated in 1896. However, rubber trees were easily accessible by river navigation and the extraction of rubber sap did not require high skill or advanced technology. Moreover, the federal power encouraged the extraction of rubber from existing trees, a practice deemed more quick and profitable than the cultivation of new trees.¹⁶⁹ This short and contained economic growth – the boom busted around 1910 after rubber trees were successfully planted in European colonies in Asia – was downplayed in the Forestry Brazilian representation in St Louis.¹⁷⁰ Rubber was timidly seen in that exhibition as transformed into a few implements and, like the fibre, only identifiable by captions (Illustration 50).

At the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, these unexciting and raw-like parts of forestry products argued visually that forests were a stagnant place useful only for the extractive industries. Extraction, also according to these displays, was a less sophisticated and less advanced form of production than cultivation, albeit as abundant. A

¹⁶⁸ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.267.

¹⁶⁹ *Relatório. O Brasil na Exposição da Compra da Luisiana* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1906), p.384.

¹⁷⁰ Suzigan, p.17.

contemporary commentator concluded about this aspect of the Brazilian forestry exhibition: 'here everything was presented with brutality and abundance. This allowed us to draw the attention of the knowledgeable and the industrialists, and even the admiration of visitors usually indifferent to this genre of exhibitions'.¹⁷¹

This exhibitionary argument was furthered by the second national enclave to constitute the republican narrative of growth, the Brazilian exhibition at the Department of Agriculture. Like the forestry enclave, the agricultural one was also made of as an assembly of productive parts in an architectural unity, as seen in Illustration 51. This unity, however, highly contrasted to the forestry enclave by conveying a higher degree of order, refinement, and process. The oligarchic rhetoric that held that agriculture was the source of progress and the future of Brazil materialised in the ornate capitals of solid pillars, and in the decorated walls finished with cornices that held pyramids of packaged foodstuff. The building material and decorative arrangement communicated refinement and cultivated choices: spherical and oval glass jars containing grains were displayed in a particular pattern in between the numerous glass pillars of the enclave. The jars and pillars' shiny and transparent surfaces spoke of uniqueness and elusiveness; they participated in the whole both as an intrinsic structural part and as an ornamental focus of interest. Unlike the rough, untreated wood of the forestry enclave, the glass enticed touch, invited visitors to make a closer visual inspection and an aesthetic contemplation of their contents. Thus, by looking closely at these inviting, shining structural vitrines, a visitor would notice that they were replenished with nothing else but coffee beans. These coffee pillars that physically sustained the Brazilian agricultural enclave reinstated in architecture what happened in economic practice.

The forestry and agricultural enclaves looked both like and unlike each other. They looked similar in that they were large assemblies of commodified parts, set in a theatrical space and organised around the commercial imperatives of each economic activity.

¹⁷¹ 'Exposição de São Luiz', *Kosmos*, 10 (October, 1904), p.40.

In their own ways, these enclaves used the very products they wished to promote as structural architectural elements and, as such, managed to create a homogenous whole out of the assembly of heterogeneous parts. The enclaves, however, differed strongly both in the organisation of their structural parts and their finishing. The forestry enclave, designed to house the products of the economic activity mostly related with stagnation, emphasised the raw-like characteristic of its exhibits. The log cabin was erected over unprocessed trunks of wood and was decorated profusely with seemingly arbitrary and disconnected pieces of rubber, animal hides, ropes, and baskets. Products from forestry, fish, and game were used both as structural and ornamental elements of a space that evoked a rural and primitive pace of life. An inattentive or uninformed fairgoer could easily mistake this artificially produced enclave for a 'natural' habitat of Brazilian indigenous peoples, for example. The Brazilian forestry enclave conformed and corroborated the racial and productive scales that were being constructed throughout the overall exhibition in which indigenous peoples and extractive industries featured at the bottom, as discussed in the first part.

The representation of Brazilian coffee was so fundamental for the republican interests in the United States that it merited repetition. The material and symbolic alliance between agricultural activity and governmental power, clearly materialised in the Agricultural enclave, was extended beyond the boundaries of the agricultural department and gained a 'palace' of its own. Within the republican narrative of stagnation and growth, and within the material and visual argumentation made by the many displays of Brazilian products, the eventual stage of *progress* was likened to the cultivation, commercialisation, and exportation of coffee.

The Palace of Coffee

The association between Brazil, coffee and international exhibitions, although heightened in St Louis, was not exclusive to the 1900s nor had it been initiated by the republicans. From 1876 onwards, the Empire and its commissioners no longer controlled the national participation in exhibitions. Following a period of imperial political crisis and

of economic growth accompanied by the elevation of coffee into ‘the most important and most dynamic’ export staple, the international representation of Brazil was seized by private commercial bodies essentially identified with coffee growers.¹⁷² As Turazzi summarises it, the representation of Brazil from 1880s onwards was reduced to that of an ‘Empire of coffee’, a representation pre-empted by the *Café do Brazil* of 1876 and examined in chapter two.¹⁷³ The *Clube da Lavoura de São Paulo* (São Paulo Farming Club), for example, was the only Brazilian representative to appear at the Parisian festival of 1878, whilst the *Centro de Lavoura e Comércio do Rio de Janeiro* (Centre for Farming and Commerce of Rio de Janeiro) took over the representations in St Petersburg (1884) and Antwerp (1885). In 1889, imperial funds once again financially supported the Brazilian representation in Paris, but this was organised by a privately formed Franco-Brazilian syndicate.¹⁷⁴ This was a belated reappearance, however, and a few months after the Parisian exhibition, the republicans seized political power. A battle for a new national identity thus ensued.¹⁷⁵

The ‘Empire of coffee’ representation proposed during the 1880s had become established into an undisputable ‘Republic of coffee’ by 1904. In effect, by this year, the production of coffee had soared and Brazil exported four-fifths of the world production.¹⁷⁶ Coffee production and exportation accounted for more than half of the country’s total export revenue.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the Brazilian ‘black gold’ was not the only source of revenue for Brazil. As discussed in the first part, the exportation of agricultural staples like coffee, for example, was intimately linked to the growth of the national economy and industrialisation. Moreover, the 1880s was a favourable decade not only for coffee growers but also for great expansion and diversification of the Brazilian economy in general.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² Suzigan, p.17.

¹⁷³ Turazzi, p.150.

¹⁷⁴ Turazzi, p.152.

¹⁷⁵ This political conflict and its repercussion abroad will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁷⁶ *Rapport*, p.119.

¹⁷⁷ *Rapport*, p.119.

¹⁷⁸ Suzigan, p.86 and 368.

Despite this, the representation of Brazil as the land of coffee was ferociously promoted in St Louis. This promotion, therefore, has to be understood as a politically rather than a solely economically driven phenomenon. The identification between nation and coffee – and the subsequent materialisation of this identification in specific displays – served not only to strengthen commercial ties between oligarchs and international businesses, but also to strengthen their hegemony over the country. The efforts of modernisation seen in Rio, including the cleansing of streets and peoples from indicators of Empire and tropicity, were repeated in St Louis. As seen above, the republican exhibitionary narrative of stagnation and growth was carefully constructed following the same principle used at home: Architecture – both as a technological and an aesthetic triumph – would redeem the nations' alleged backward past and ensure a grand future. In this context, we can understand why the strongest emphasis in the Brazilian representation in St Louis was given to the national pavilion, a pavilion that completed its exhibitionary cycle by being re-mounted in Rio after the closure of the exhibition. Its location at the bottom of the central avenue that opened symbolically the capital's path to progress could not have been more appropriate.

At the exhibition park, the Brazilian pavilion was well located in the foreign governments section near the Belgian, Chinese, and French pavilions.¹⁷⁹ Designed by the military engineer and commissioner, colonel Souza Aguiar (who also designed the Brazilian pavilion in Chicago in 1893) the award-winning building stood out for its 'French renaissance style of architecture' laid on a rectangular plan with 'two circular loggias at each end'.¹⁸⁰ Following the Beaux-Arts style of the exhibition, the Brazilian pavilion boasted several Doric and Corinthian columns, high, decorated cornices and projecting domes above the rooftop where a gallery offered splendid views of the fairgrounds below (Illustration 56).¹⁸¹ The pavilion's interior also flaunted grandeur and elegance with its

¹⁷⁹ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.83.

¹⁸⁰ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.83.

¹⁸¹ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.83.

‘flight of granitoid steps’, marble statues and upholstered settees, large porticos, and a majestic double staircase that led to the second floor where ‘a spacious reception room, two apartments for ladies, and the offices of the commission’ were (Illustration 57).¹⁸²

However, it was the unusual coffee exhibition and the coffee house installed on the pavilion main floor that may have surprised and impressed President Theodor Roosevelt during his visit (Illustration 58).¹⁸³ The French report that nicknamed the Brazilian pavilion a ‘veritable palace’ also informed that the ‘enormous and imposing monument’ was ‘entirely consecrated to the exhibition of coffees [sic]’.¹⁸⁴ The suggestion of growth and cultivation implied in the refined architecture of the monumental, palatial pavilion was furthered by two particular features of this extraordinary coffee exhibition: ritual and performance.

Every day, freshly ground and brewed coffee was served free of charge to the visiting public. With their imaginations whetted by the powerful and tempting smell of coffee that permeated the pavilion, visitors enjoyed their hot beverage and some Brazilian conviviality sitting at charming little tables placed in the main hall or in the lateral open-air loggias (Illustration 59).¹⁸⁵ The ‘flavoursome national beverage’ was distinctively served ‘in small cups’ as it is usually drunk in Brazil, and it was ‘prepared by a skilled person expressly brought from São Paulo’.¹⁸⁶ By the end of the exhibition, more than two-hundred thousand pounds of coffee had been served, ‘with the result of greatly popularizing the use of the Brazilian coffee under its own name instead of under the fictitious name of Java or Mocha, by which it is commonly sold’.¹⁸⁷ However, for the Brazilian commissioners it was no longer simply important to assert the origin and ownership of those worldwide known and desired beans.

¹⁸² *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.83.

¹⁸³ *Brazil at the Louisiana*, p.83, on May 24.

¹⁸⁴ *Rapport*, p.11.

¹⁸⁵ *Relatório*, pp.137-38.

¹⁸⁶ *Relatório*, pp.137-38.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Brazil at the World’s Fairs’, p.20.



Illustration 56: The national pavilion designed by exhibition commissioners, Colonel Souza Aguiar. The pavilion housed a special exhibition of coffee on the ground floor, where cups of freshly ground coffee were served to visitors, bestowing the pavilion the nickname 'Palace of Coffee'.



Illustration 58: The coffee exhibition held in the national pavilion. Besides several jars and photographs displaying coffee production and coffee beans, the pavilion also housed coffee machines for roasting and grinding the beans in situ.



Illustration 59: Interior of Brazilian pavilion, turned into a temporary coffee house. At these quaint tables and chairs coffee was served, Brazilian-style.

In the process of ‘nationalising’ coffee production and commercialisation, it also became paramount to *Brazilianize* coffee drinking, as confirmed by the attempts at changing international preparation and consumption habits. By serving free *Brazilian* coffee in their national pavilion, commissioners were at the same time providing a leisurely experience to visitors and inculcating coffee as a Brazilian thing both in its production and consumption stages.

Whilst *Brazilianized* consumption was promoted by drinking rituals, the association between nation and coffee production was helped by the *in situ* performance of coffee-related machinery. The commissioners believed that an ‘exhibition as complete as possible’ should be mounted near the space where coffee was offered.¹⁸⁸ Machinery was then placed on the pavilion main floor to instruct visitors about coffee production as they consumed their free, hot drink. Operating machines demonstrated how coffee beans were sacked for exportation, while several open sacks displayed *in natura* the abundant varieties cultivated back home. Visitors could touch, smell or taste the beans, judge them by their colour or shininess, and decide which among the numerous varieties offered by Brazil was their favourite.¹⁸⁹ These beans, then, were taken to roasting machines that transformed the green, unprocessed pieces into hard, brown shells, which in turn were ground into a powder and brewed into a steaming and fragrant beverage served in those peculiar, small Brazilian cups. This exhibitionary progression – from beans to beverage – was reinforced by photographs of Brazilian coffee farms and plantations that fostered the instruction of the visitor on how coffee was ploughed and harvested in Brazil (Illustration 60).

¹⁸⁸ *Relatório*, p.138.

¹⁸⁹ *Relatório*, p.138.

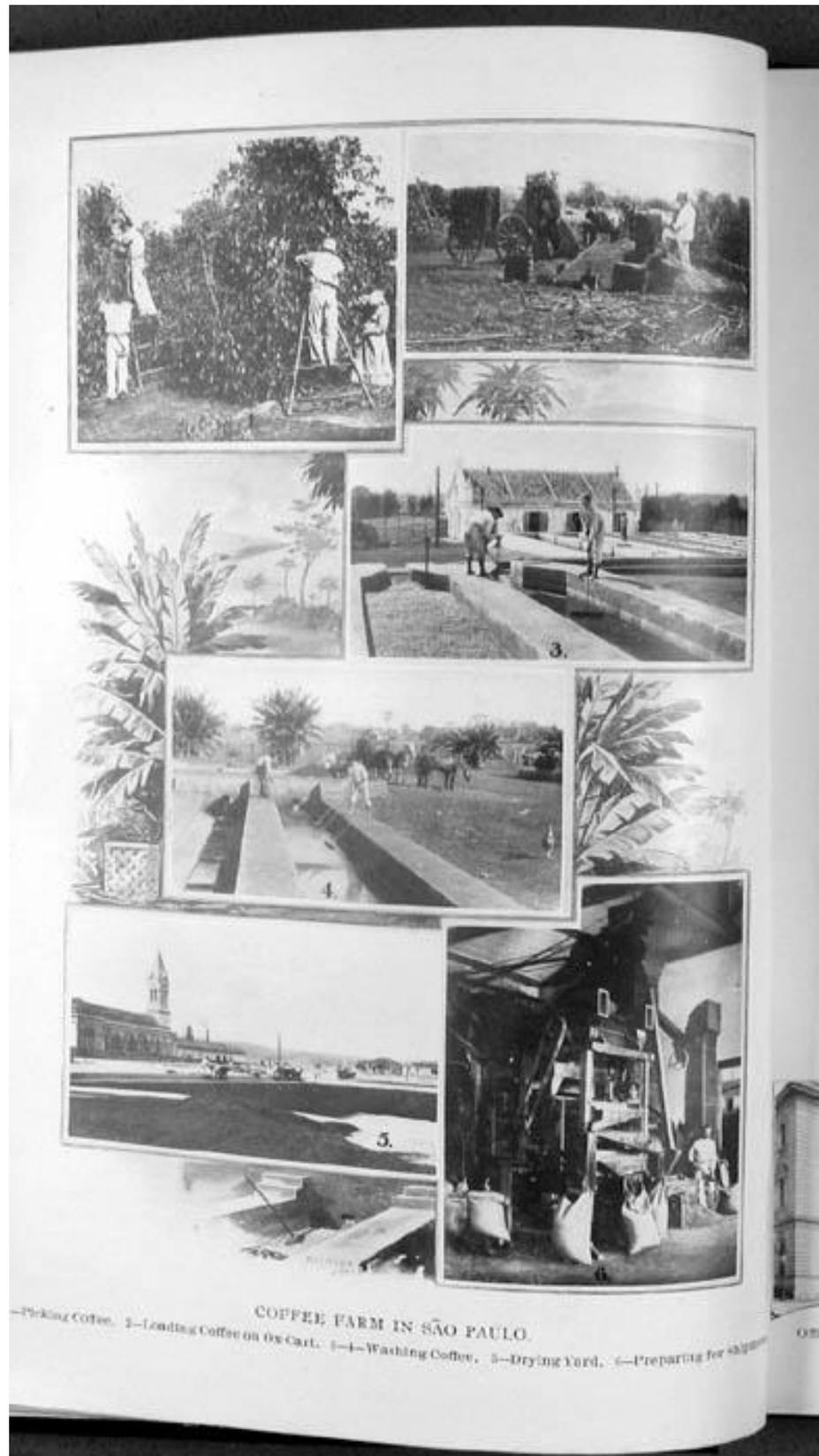


Illustration 60: This page from the *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* propaganda book displays in a sophisticated fashion the usually invisible side of production of agricultural goods. This emphasis on coffee production is aligned with the republican commissioners' most ambitious intentions of signalling Brazil as the land of coffee abroad.

Usually invisible, stages of commodity production were exposed like never before. Moreover, this sequential display from production to consumption argued that Brazilian coffee resulted from and was responsible for a larger productive system existent inside and outside the country. Brazilian coffee growers provided the means necessary for this operation to continue, working machines made the productive process tangible and credible, migrants and national workers populated Brazilian fields. In this sequential narrative, foreign people, as coffee consumers, were placed at the culmination of this exchange.¹⁹⁰ Through these rituals of consumption and the performance of production, the republican narrative of stagnation and growth reached its climax. Whereas the displays in the forestry department testified to a still developing country and served to attract foreign capital to exploit raw materials and improve national infrastructure, the palatial coffee exhibition argued for a nation cultivated and partially developed, thanks to the affirmation of the oligarchic republicans in power. Those stagnated products – things from the past – were displayed as passive raw materials waiting international intervention, ready for export; coffee was flaunted as an active national resource, a means of growth – the future – ready for importation and consumption by the United States.

¹⁹⁰ *Relatório*, p.137-38.

Chapter four

Changing the national past

Civilisation and progress, difficult concepts

In the big arenas of the human industry, in the big ‘exhibitions’ [...] people are represented not only by those artefacts or natural products which are the object of their wealth or industry, of their commercial exchanges or material life, but also by everything that demonstrates their degree of development in the field of civilisation: sciences, arts and letters.¹

With this statement made in 1892, before the upcoming World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the *Jornal do Brasil* newspaper summarised the importance of defining civilisation and progress to some contemporary Brazilians. This passage gives us an insight into how some Brazilians conceptualised both phenomena. The statement equates civilisation to a scale on which nations and cultures in different levels of development, or progress, could be found. This view culminated a decade later in the racialised ranking of peoples, cultures, and nations; a view also promoted at the St Louis exhibition, as discussed before.

For recently independent nations like Brazil, exhibitions became crucial sites in which to claim a place on this civilised scale and to establish its progressive status as a sovereign, modern state. Nineteenth-century exhibitions accelerated not only the consumption of the commodity fetish, as stated by Benjamin, and the asymmetrical exchange of natural resources and manufactures between nations. They also accelerated the insertion of recently formed nation-states in what scholar Francisco Hardman calls the ‘international concert of nations’.² Brazilian elites were eager to participate in this ‘concert’ and to demonstrate, with

¹ ‘O Brazil em Chicago’, *JB*, 29 December 1892, p.1.

² Hardman, mainly chapter three.

increasing desire and strength, how far their nation had developed ‘in the field of civilisation’.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the notion of progress in Brazil, like elsewhere in the Western world, was tantamount to technological and scientific advancements that impacted on people’s everyday lives – electricity, steamships, railways, telephones, and so on. In Brazil, the convergence of scientism with this conceptualisation of civilisation and progress had already been established since mid-nineteenth century when commissioners flooded international exhibitions with demonstrations of their domestic production of knowledge.³ The turn-of-the-century exhibitions in Chicago (1893) and St Louis (1904) prompted a change in people’s perception of time and space. As demonstrated by cultural historian Stephen Kern, the experiences of speed, simultaneity, the acceleration of time and collapse of distances engendered by the technologies cited above were major contributors to this alteration in perception, especially for those living in Europe and the United States.⁴

International exhibition were also at the core of this change. In spatial terms, exhibitions offered simultaneous experiences of different nations, cultures, and peoples of a kind never seen before in the history of humanity. The collapse of space, a key factor in this new apprehension of time and space was another phenomenon promoted and made visible by exhibitions. Exhibitions promoted a view of the modern world as a composite of different temporal realities as seen in the discussion of the racialised ranking of peoples and cultures promoted in the St Louis exhibition. This segregation of cultures, peoples and nations into ‘primitives’, ‘developing’ and ‘advanced’ resonates with what anthropologist Johannes Fabian calls ‘chronopolitics’:

More profoundly and problematically, they [the expansive, aggressive, and oppressive societies which we collectively and inaccurately call the West] required Time to accommodate the schemes of a one-way history: progress, development, modernity (and their negative mirror images: stagnation, underde-

³ See discussion of mobile agents in chapter two.

⁴ Kern, pp.16, 29, 81 and 114.

velopment, tradition). In short, *geopolitics* has its ideological foundations in *chronopolitics*.⁵

Chronopolitics, after the advent of the Brazilian Republic in 1889, became an increasingly fundamental tool for the establishment of an identity for the nation. Previous chapters have demonstrated how Brazil was represented in exhibitions as a composite of progressive and stagnant regions to serve the interests of regional oligarchies. The present chapter will demonstrate, by exploring the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, that in order to control the nations' political future, republicans aimed at symbolically changing the nation's past. New technologies, as Kern notes, 'provided a source of power over the environment and suggested ways to control the future'.⁶ For a nation like Brazil, which did not possess technological power, the manipulation of national symbols in exhibitions became a strategy to reassure control of the future.

This chronopolitics, or the political control of time, has to be considered in the context of late nineteenth-century imperialism and the conceptualisation of civilisation it provoked. National sovereignty in this new world order was no longer seen necessarily as a means to self-government, as fiercely defended in 1893 by the British foreign minister, Lord Roseberry:

We have to consider not what we want now, but what we shall want in the future. We have to consider what countries must be developed either by ourselves or some other nation, and we have to remember that it is part of our responsibility and heritage to take care that the world, so far as it can be moulded by us, shall receive an English-speaking complexion.⁷

The control of other nations in the name of development was, in this way and period, understood as legitimate. The future, understood as progression on the scale of civilisation, had become at the turn of the twentieth century a matter of 'responsibility' of those

⁵ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p.144, original emphasis.

⁶ Kern, p.90.

⁷ Kern, pp.92-93.

self-proclaimed 'central' nations that possessed technological innovations and contended among themselves for territorial expansion. 'Annexation of the space of others', concludes Kern, 'outward movement of people and goods, and the expansive ideology of imperialism were spatial expressions of the active appropriation of the future'.⁸ The Chicago and St Louis exhibitions, as utmost spaces for the movement of peoples and goods under this new order, offered crucial - albeit incipient - visualisation of and visibility for expressions of geopolitical and chronopolitical control.

For the newly instated Republic of the United States of Brazil, opposing the former imperial regime and siding with North-American and French republicanisms were central interests around the 1890s. Affirming a new national identity and national sovereignty in this international imperialist order was another. For Brazilians, at least for those who lived in urban centres like Rio and São Paulo, progress was associated with an increased acceleration of the pace of their everyday lives. As extolled by a contemporary Brazilian journalist, everything that 'increases the speed of the means of circulation and consequently reduces distances' should be considered 'blessed progress'.⁹ A more nuanced description was made by Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, one of the most acclaimed Brazilian writers of all times, in an article published in 1894. 'So then, what is time?' he asks, 'Is it the fresh and lazy breeze of previous years, or this impetuous typhoon that seems to compete with electricity? There is no doubt that the hours, after the death of López, walk much more quickly'.¹⁰ Machado speaks of how the experience of modernity was felt in Brazil and dares to establish a starting point to this experience. The death of Paraguayan president Solano López in 1870 signalled the end of the Paraguayan war led by the Empire of Brazil. Like in Machado, this is the moment usually acknowledged in the historiography when Brazil 'entered modernity'.¹¹ With that remark, Machado reveals how time, as in Fabian's progressive

⁸ Kern, p.92.

⁹ Zozimo Barrozo, 'O Progresso', *JC*, 31 May 1893, p.1.

¹⁰ Machado de Assis, 'A Semana, 25 de março de 1894', in *Machado de Assis. Obras Completas de Machado de Assis* (Rio de Janeiro: WM Jackson, 1955), pp.62-67.

¹¹ See discussion in chapter one.

time, was perceived in late nineteenth-century urban areas of Brazil: as historically produced, accelerated and technologically gauged. ‘As quickly as people responded to the new technology’, says Kern, ‘the pace of their former lives seemed like slow motion’.¹² Technological or conceptual speed, acceleration, and progress, however, were not evenly spread across the national territory. As this thesis has demonstrated, the system of exhibitions in local provinces/states, in the national capital and in international ‘centres’ had the ambivalent function of integrating but at the same time intensifying the differences between these locales. Under the ideology of chronopolitics, these locales, scrutinised and compared at exhibitions, came to be seen, more than ever before, as either developed or underdeveloped.

For Brazilian governments this view of progress prompted the desire of ‘being recognised, [...] being accepted in the list of the civilised countries’, as Hardman puts it.¹³ These ‘civilised countries’, according to cultural historian Jeffrey Needell, were those whose cultures became considered more advanced and universal by the Brazilian governing elite. Needell defines this elite as ‘a small group of Brazilians who thought in national terms and participated in the nation’s government and official culture’.¹⁴ According to him, this elite imposed their views on Brazil’s official culture causing a ‘domestic civilising mission’, or a distinct relationship between an authoritarian, elitist state and its people.¹⁵ Civilisation for this elite was tantamount to the political regimes, economic premises, cultural models, and lifestyles of nations considered central; and their civilisation should be learned abroad and imposed at home.¹⁶ Needell concludes that, during the first hundred years of nation building (1822-1922), the Brazilian state’s civilising mission imposed a very specific, Europeanised and Europeanising model of official cultural identity, many times alluded to as ‘the civilisation’ and mostly identified with a ‘Franco-English ideal’.¹⁷

¹² Kern, p.130.

¹³ Hardman, pp.86, 105-09.

¹⁴ Jeffrey Needell, ‘The Domestic Civilising Mission: The Cultural Role of the State in Brazil, 1808-1930’, *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 36 (1999), 1-18 (p.4).

¹⁵ Needell, ‘The Domestic Civilising Mission’, pp.1-18.

¹⁶ Needell, ‘The Domestic Civilising Mission’, p.4.

¹⁷ Needell, ‘The Domestic Civilising Mission’, p.11.

At the same time, I argue, a mission for the definition of *brasilidade* was occurring not only internationally but also at home. The ‘Brazilian orientalism’ of 1876, the tropical commodification of nature of 1867, and the national de-tropicalisation of 1904 are but core examples of how multiple definitions of *brasilidade* unfolded. They were, as argued by Needell, underpinned by an authoritarian view of the world, but one view that was not exclusive to Europe or United States as they were also perpetrated by some Brazilians following their particular agendas. Terms like *civilização*, *progresso*, *atraso*, *falta de tempo* and *esperança no futuro* (civilisation, progress, belatedness, lack of time and hope in future) were recurrently used by exhibition commissioners and reveal their anxiety about Brazil’s relative position on the ‘civilising’ scale. The influence exerted by international exhibitions on the Brazilian self-perception of progress and of *brasilidade* indicates that the domestic civilising mission argument has to be nuanced. Participation in exhibitions reveals the desire for creating national culture and identity that could not simply be explained by a discourse of importation, as this chapter will sustain.

Preparatory exhibition: conflicting national projects

The invitation for a Brazilian participation in the Chicago exhibition arrived in 1892 at a time when the country was in economic and political turmoil.¹⁸ Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca, elected president in early 1891, resigned months later after a failed attempt at dissolving the National Congress.¹⁹ Long-standing disagreement with the Congress, disaffections with the civilian leaders of the Partido Republicano (Republican Party) and with his vice-president, Marshal Floriano Vieira de Araújo Peixoto, heightened Deodoro’s political instability and incited regional dissent across the country.²⁰ The invitation to go to Chicago was only accepted after the vice-president assumed the presidency backed by

¹⁸ Warren Dean, ‘Economy’ in *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*, ed. by Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.217-256 (pp.222-25); Fausto, *História Concisa do Brasil*, pp.139-144.

¹⁹ Fausto, *História Concisa do Brasil*, p.143.

²⁰ Fausto, *História Concisa do Brasil*, pp.144-46.

high-ranking navy officers (Illustration 61). Peixoto's willingness to accept the invitation in the midst of political conflicts can be understood precisely because of the disorder the nation was gradually leaving behind. The opportunity to exhibit in Chicago was seized as a strategic opportunity by Peixoto's government to fight its political corner at home and reinstate national control after the troubled period of the *governo provisório* (provisional government, 1889-1891). The task of organising a nation-wide representative exhibition can be compared to that of making an inventory of, (re)organising and controlling the nation itself. In the same way that the imperial elite had presented their versions of a national project abroad at previous exhibitions, the recently installed politicians used exhibitions to impose their views of a new Brazil.

The domestic preparatory exhibition held in Rio involved an enormous organisational effort prior to the exhibition in the United States. Each of the twenty states of the Brazilian federation and their governors was required to contribute with its best regional production.²¹ Huge numbers of exhibits were amassed and selected in regionally organised pre-exhibitions. These exhibits were then sent to Rio, sometimes from the remotest parts of Brazil located thousands of kilometres away.²² The fact that in 1892 all exhibits had to pass through the federal capital for scrutiny, as had been the case during the Empire, reaffirmed the political importance of Rio much to the discontent of the increasingly powerful states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. This political reorganizing mission explains not only Peixoto's eagerness to participate in this international exhibition but also reveals domestic political conflicts. The Republican Party had successfully seized power in 1889, but it was riddled by internal differences. During the transitional phase of the provisional government, regional separatism occasionally loomed. National debate was underscored by conflicting wishes for national centralisation versus that of regional autonomy. All factions of the party, albeit disparately, sought to show that they had a vision for the nation.

²¹ *Diário de Notícias (DN)*, 7 January 1893, p. 1.

²² *DN*, 7 January 1893, p. 1.



Illustration 61: Left and centre, high-ranked military figures depicted in uniform, Marshall Peixoto and Maurity, respectively. Right, other commissioners depicted in civilian clothes on the pages of *The Graphic* magazine dedicated to the Brazilian representation at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago.

These events, thus, have to be understood in the historical context precipitated by the overthrow of the Empire.

After the proclamation of the Republic on 15 November 1889, Brazil became mired in political confusion. In fact, the Brazilian republican movement had incorporated disputing interests since its foundation in 1870, and remained united chiefly by their common opposition to Empire.²³ Some urban members of the Republican Party supported the abolition of slavery and the broadening of the social base of the state, demanding the extension of suffrage, for example. Others like the economically powerful, rural landowners turned to the republican cause demanding decentralisation via federalism, and broader financial autonomy for their own regions. These landowners, usually associated with the São Paulo and Minas Gerais states, became the coffee oligarchs considered in chapter three. In addition to this heterogeneous scenario, the Republic was eventually proclaimed by the Rio army garrison, ‘with little participation by the civilian leaders of the republican movement’, according to historian José Murilo de Carvalho.²⁴ The army had been in conflict with the imperial government for years, and the overthrow of the monarchy came as a solution to the *questão militar* (military issue).²⁵

Carvalho identifies four major political currents in the republican movement that at times would form alliances or oppose each other in attempting to seize power.²⁶ In the first years of the Republic, each of these factions also invented its ‘founding myth’ to legitimise their cause, frequently attributing mythical roles to their leaders.²⁷ These conflicting political currents fought amongst themselves to create ‘views of the new regime’ through monuments, paintings, and symbols that ascertained their particular versions and projects for a Brazilian Republic. As we will see shortly, after a brief incursion into these disagreeing views and myths, the national representation gathered for exhibition in Chicago re-

²³ Fausto, *História Concisa do Brasil*, pp.127-28.

²⁴ José Murilo de Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, *The Americas*, 48 (1991), 139-57 (p.142).

²⁵ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.141-42. For a detailed discussion of the imagery constructed during the First Republic, see also Carvalho, *A Formação das Almas*.

²⁶ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.141-42.

²⁷ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.141-42.

flected this lively and disorderly political period when the building of a national identity and its projection abroad were being contested.

Of the four factions identified by Carvalho, the first were the military men who revolted against the Empire. This faction was known as the *deodoristas* after their support to Deodoro da Fonseca, the general who proclaimed the Republic.²⁸ Deodoro was acclaimed by his supporters as the ‘father of the new regime’.²⁹ Lacking an ideology or a distinct project for the new Republic, the military claim for political significance rested on the symbolic importance of Deodoro. He was acclaimed as the hero who eliminated the old regime with its economy dominated by agriculture and slavery, and its political system controlled by lawyers.³⁰ In Chicago, their faction was clearly represented by the heroic painting by Henrique Bernardelli which depicted Deodoro during the proclamation and which will be discussed below.³¹

In contrast to the *deodoristas*’ military hero, Benjamin Constant was called ‘the founder of the Republic’ by positivists also associated with army officers.³² Constant was a military engineer who taught at the *Academia Militar* (Army Academy) and the *Escola Superior de Guerra* (Superior War College).³³ His positivist convictions influenced many young army officers and resulted in significant social and political reforms during the early Republic, such as the separation of church and state in 1890.³⁴ Having given ‘an ideology to the new Republic’, Constant was considered by his followers to be ‘the thinker [...] the theoretician, the leader who had a historical version and a project for Brazil’.³⁵ This project involved a republican dictatorship governed by great men who, inspired by the laws of development, would lead Brazil out of its theological state (identified with the Empire) and

²⁸ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.143.

²⁹ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.143.

³⁰ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.143.

³¹ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.143.

³² Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, pp.144-46.

³³ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.145.

³⁴ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, pp.144-46.

³⁵ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, pp.144-46.

eventually into a positivist stage.³⁶ For these urban dwellers with technical training, either military or civilian, science was a ‘legitimate power resource’, and art ‘should be the idealization of reality and promote the civic cult of the family, the fatherland, and humanity’.³⁷ The positivists’ inclination for a ‘manipulation of symbols’, as Carvalho emphasises, was also represented in the Brazilian Fine Arts section in Chicago, especially by paintings and sculptures depicting women as mothers (‘cult of the family’), adulteresses and prostitutes.³⁸

The third republican faction was known as the *jacobinos*, named as such after the French Jacobins, and identified as radical republicans coming from ‘the urban middle sectors and the army’s officer corps, often positivist-influenced or positivists’.³⁹ Army officers who drifted without a specific political ideology had also allied themselves to these radical party members from Rio for whom the republican ideal stemmed from the model of the French Revolution. Political centralisation and authoritarian regimes appealed to both military and positivists who fiercely opposed their liberal party members from São Paulo. The alliance between positivists and *jacobinos* peaked during the presidency of Peixoto (1891-1894), who became known as ‘the consolidator of the Republic’ and ‘the Iron Marshal’.⁴⁰ This political alliance, albeit fleeting in the Brazilian historical run, is especially significant for the study of the Brazilian representations at exhibition since it commanded the first appearance of the new Republic in the United States.

The fourth group encompassed the above-mentioned liberal party members. They formed the most organised and homogenous faction of the Republican Party. Mostly made up of landowners and coffee growers from the states of São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul and Minas Gerais states, these republicans opposed any sort of political centralisation. They demanded an increased level of self-government to their regions, supported free trade, and an export economy. These liberals aspired to the United States’ model of democracy based

³⁶ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.145

³⁷ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, pp.147-48.

³⁸ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, pp.147-48 and 152.

³⁹ Needell, ‘The Revolta Contra a Vacina’, p.241.

⁴⁰ Fausto, *História Concisa do Brasil*, p.290.

on federalism wherein the National Congress is divided in two, and state representatives have legislative and executive powers. The president of the Republican Party at the time of proclamation, journalist Quintino Antônio Ferreira de Sousa Bocaiuva, was the driving force of the oligarchs. Whilst other republican leaders were acclaimed as father, founder or consolidator, Bocaiuva 'asserted his role as the one responsible for the introduction of the new regime' as his was the founding republican manifesto of 1870.⁴¹ This liberal, oligarchic republican model eventually won the political battle described above. The Brazilian constitution promulgated in 1891 was heavily inspired by that of the United States.⁴² The oligarchies began to exert political power during the presidency of Prudente José de Moraes Barros (1894-1898), a politician from São Paulo who became the first civilian republican president.⁴³ In Chicago, this faction was also represented in the Fine Arts section by paintings that depicted myths through which these liberals construed their identities.

The Brazilian exhibition sent to Chicago in 1893 was, as should be clear from the discussion above, a rich source for the investigation of how political interests invested in symbols to sanction their power. It marked a moment of dynamic national debate before a more resolute, oligarchic republic became established and a more cohesive and conservative image of Brazil was presented in St Louis. Despite their heterogeneity and ideological conflicts, Brazilian republicans found in their common opposition to the Empire a point of convergence and reconciliation. For them, republicanism represented an escape from a perceived state of backwardness identified with the Empire, slavery, and a government dominated by lawyers. As we will see from the next part, every effort was made during the first republican preparatory exhibition in Rio to differentiate themselves from previous imperial attempts.

⁴¹ Carvalho, 'The Unfinished Republic', pp.151-52.

⁴² Carvalho, 'The Unfinished Republic', p.154.

⁴³ Carvalho, 'The Unfinished Republic', p.154.

A show of abundance and of republican patriotism in Rio, 1892-1893

In the time leading to the preparatory exhibition, commentators allied to the republican cause branded the Empire and its exhibitionary efforts as overly devoted to nature and underdeveloped in industrial terms. As exemplified by this note published in 1892 in the *Diário de Notícias* newspaper, almost thirty years of imperial representations were described merely as:

[...] groups of *caboclos* [mixed race peoples] in the midst of verdant woods where the riches of our forests and the variety of our fauna and flora were shown, where the glittering colours of our birds provided the joyful hues of the landscape... This merely spectacular apparatus that disguised under the richness of our splendidly gifted nature the poorness of the manufacturing industry, this has no longer reason to exist.⁴⁴

These commentators opposed a specific kind of exhibition and conceptualisation of nature. They did not object to the usefulness and profitability of nature associated with agricultural cultivation or mineral extraction. Rather, they objected to the representation of nature as tropical, a characterisation they mocked as ‘merely spectacular’. They also sustained the view that the Republic had been, during its first four years of existence, ‘the awakening age of the national industries’, a period of ‘extraordinary industrial development’, and a promoter of literary and artistic works.⁴⁵ Whereas the Empire was condemned for identifying Brazil with tropical abundance, the Republic was associated and praised for showing another type of abundance, that ‘of fabricated products’.⁴⁶

Critical as some may have been of imperial exhibitions, the organization of the preparatory exhibition in 1892 was not assigned to a military officer new to power. Instead, Ladislau de Souza Mello e Netto was appointed vice-president of the republican prepara-

⁴⁴ ‘A Exposição de Chicago’, *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

⁴⁵ ‘A Exposição de Chicago’, *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

⁴⁶ ‘A Exposição de Chicago’, *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

tory exhibition at home.⁴⁷ Mello e Netto was a scientist and seasoned exhibition specialist who had continuously contributed to imperial exhibitions as one of their most prominent scientist-commissioners since 1867.⁴⁸ He had been the director of the MN, the Brazilian anthropology and ethnography institution, for almost twenty years until May 1892, when the appointment came.⁴⁹ Together with José Coelho da Gama e Abreu, also known as *Barão de Marajó* (Baron of Marajó), a politician from the Empire period who had been central to the last imperial exhibition in Paris in 1889, Mello e Netto was a member of a national elite that did not vanish with the change in political system. Like Mello e Netto, Marajó had a prominent position as commissioner from the Pará state in northern Brazil, and figured prominently in Chicago in 1893. Several other exhibition posts in the national and international exhibition commissions were indeed assigned to republicans and military men new to power. Mello e Netto and Marajó, however, possessed an expertise in organising exhibitions and lobbying that could not be dismissed during the transitional phase of the early Republic. In addition, their lasting influence reflects continuities that lingered from the Empire and indicates a less than revolutionary transformation from Empire to Republic than the republicans would have liked to acknowledge.⁵⁰

Work on the preparatory exhibition commenced at the end of May and continued until December 1892.⁵¹ The exhibition was originally scheduled to open in Rio on 15 November 1892 to coincide with the fourth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic.⁵² However, it opened over a month late. Not until a few days before the scheduled date did objects start flooding into the former National Museum building to be sorted, classified,

⁴⁷ ‘Exposição preparatória no [M]useu Nacional’, *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3.

⁴⁸ Besides the scientific work published between 1866 and 1876 discussed in chapter two and, Mello e Netto was responsible for the Amazon anthropological pavilion in the Paris exhibition of 1889. See Turazzi, pp.151-53.

⁴⁹ ‘Brazil’s fair commissioners’, *Chicago Daily Tribune (CDT)*, 3 April 1893, p.5; ‘Victim of Chicago’s climate’, *New York Times (NYT)*, 18 June 1893, p.1.

⁵⁰ Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque*.

⁵¹ ‘Brazil at the Columbian Exposition’, *TG*, 28 October 1893, p.5.

⁵² ‘Exposição preparatória no [M]useu Nacional’, *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3. The national Congress voted a budget to cover exhibition expenses, but the article did not disclose the figure.

ordered, and exhibited.⁵³ Due to what one contemporary commentator called ‘the old habit of Brazilians’, or the tendency to leave things to the last minute, the opening had to be postponed twice.⁵⁴ The preparatory exhibition was only inaugurated on 17 December 1892; even then, in a patent state of incompleteness.⁵⁵

The preparatory exhibition in Rio was in fact formed by three displays arranged in different locations. The main one at the MN building was crammed with the bulk of general exhibits. These included, among others, agricultural products; a ‘perfectly and carefully arranged’ coffee exhibition organised by the *Centro da Lavoura e Commercio* (Commerce and Farming Centre); woods from Pará state; displays of pedagogic works, and various so-called ‘industrial exhibits’, such as furniture, shoes and mosaics. These exhibits fought for space in the building with displays of telegraphs and railways, minerals, and anthropological exhibits.⁵⁶ The building was so inappropriate and short of space for an exhibition that, even after the opening, unopened boxes were found in corridors and objects were inadequately exhibited in the entrance halls and patios.⁵⁷ Moreover, the objects in the preparatory exhibition were not divided and displayed into classes nor were they placed together for comparison thus overlooking a fundamental exhibitionary principle.

In contrast to the chaotic arrangement in the main exhibition building, the *Arsenal da Marinha* (Navy Arsenal) displayed with more care models of ships; naval machinery and weaponry; wood for maritime construction, and electricity appliances, among other

⁵³ Named *Campo de Sant’Anna* during the Empire, this square, as other public spaces, was reclaimed and renamed by the republicans as *Praça da República*, or Republic Square, after the proclamation. A similar phenomenon happened to exhibitions. Before 1889, domestic exhibitions were known as ‘national exhibitions’. In contrast and differentiation, this republican festival was widely identified as *exposição preparatória*, or preparatory exhibition.

⁵⁴ ‘Exposição Colombiana’, *GN*, 19 November 1892, p.1.

⁵⁵ It lasted for twenty days (17 December 1892 to 6 January 1893); *DN*, 18 December 1892, p.1; ‘Exposição Colombiana’, *GN*, 18 November 1892, p.1.

⁵⁶ By then, the Centre had accrued great experience in organizing Brazilian coffee exhibitions abroad. They were responsible for the frequent and successful participation of coffee farmers in dozens of exhibitions during the 1880s, when private initiative took over state control for the promotion of Brazilian coffee abroad.

⁵⁷ ‘Exposicao Colombiana’, *GN*, 20 November 1892, p.1; ‘O Brasil em Chicago’, *GN*, 13 January 1893, p.1; ‘Exposição Preparatoria no Museu Nacional’, *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3; ‘O Brasil em Chicago’, *JB*, 18, 23, 24 and 27 December 1892, p.1. The chronic problem regarding a proper space for national exhibitions lingered from the first exhibition in 1861 until 1904, when the Brazilian pavilion built in St Louis was re-built in Rio to become a national exhibition building. However, it was never used as an exhibition space.

navy-related technologies all featured. Undoubtedly, this exclusive display resulted from the political importance the navy had acquired after the ascension of Peixoto to power. Dedicated organisation and adequate space for the navy's own displays also contributed for the orderly exhibition of the indigenous naval technologies and appliances developed since the war against Paraguay (1865-1870).⁵⁸

The other exclusive and successful display to complement the preparatory exhibition was, like that of naval technologies, associated with contemporary notions of civilisation and progress, modernity, power and expansionism. At the *Escola Nacional de Bellas-Artes* (National School of Fine Arts, ENBA), an exhibition of paintings and sculptures occupied two galleries. This exhibition was organised by sculptor-turned-commissioner Rodolpho Bernardelli with especially selected artworks to represent Brazilian life and history in Chicago. Unlike the main display of exhibits at the museum building, the ENBA exhibition was positively acclaimed. According to contemporary reports, Brazil could assume 'a first place in the arts' (except in architecture, 'so neglected amongst us') and compete side by side with 'her American sisters' in this 'branch of national activity where we will be dignifiedly represented'.⁵⁹ As we will see from the forthcoming discussion, Rodolpho Bernardelli's selection of artworks to represent Brazil in the 1893 exhibition was anything but accidental. Distinct views of what Brazil was and what it could become under the republicans were promoted through the artworks sent to Chicago.

The incompleteness and chaos that marked the main preparatory exhibition was due to the way in which exhibits were called for display. Newspapers like the *Diário de Notícias*, for example, frequently published on their front pages a call for people from all over the country to send 'a great number of products, objects, reports [and] photographs' to the exhibition organisers in Rio.⁶⁰ The Brazilian public was encouraged to dispatch 'products, notices, and information' they thought 'useful and pleasing', and that could 'demon-

⁵⁸ 'Exposição Colombiana', *GN*, 20 November 1892, p.1; 'O Brazil em Chicago', *JB*, 8 January 1893, p.1.

⁵⁹ 'Exposição', *OP*, 17 December 1892, p.1; 'O Brazil em Chicago', *JB*, 3 January 1893, p.1; 'A Exposição', *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

⁶⁰ 'Exposição preparatória no [M]useu Nacional', *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3.

strate the degree of activity of our industries and our development in civilisation'.⁶¹ The encouragement was emphasised by the republican government's offer of free transport for exhibits by rail and navigation.⁶² State commissioners and regional politicians were also expected to collect and send to Rio a great part of the 'natural and industrial' products requested.⁶³

This system of gathering national exhibits contrasted starkly with that implemented by the Empire during the 1860s and 1870s. In that time, a rigid set of instructions issued by the central government demanded specific regional objects and resources for the national exhibition in the capital.⁶⁴ In 1892, a new method of gathering exhibits followed a typically republican discourse based on the idea of patriotism. Brazilians were expected to mobilise themselves 'in the name of their country' and contribute to the 'formation of the whole that will represent the individuality of our fatherland'.⁶⁵ Ambitious as the patriotic appeal seemed, these calls published on newspapers gave little or sometimes no information on how the public should proceed if they wished to contribute. No deadline for sending the exhibits was given, no request for object specification was made, and no preferred products were mentioned. The calls were so general and vague that one newspaper even notified that objects that escaped exhibition classification would also be welcome.⁶⁶ In fact, these newspaper appeals leave the sense of a false popular participation, probably created to instil a sense of citizenship and participation in a population that seldom had the power to decide how they would be represented abroad. In the run up to the opening of the preparatory exhibition, organisational confusion mounted. Not only could anyone send anything for free for the attention of exhibition organisers, but also major players in Brazilian economy, such as the *Inspetoria Geral das Estradas de Ferro*

⁶¹ 'Exposição preparatória no [M]useu Nacional', *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3.

⁶² 'Exposição preparatória no [M]useu Nacional', *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3.

⁶³ 'Exposição preparatória no [M]useu Nacional', *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3.

⁶⁴ See chapter two.

⁶⁵ 'Exposição preparatória no [M]useu Nacional', *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3. In Portuguese, *pátria*, or fatherland, is also the root word for *patriotismo*, or patriotism.

⁶⁶ 'Exposição preparatória no [M]useu Nacional', *DN*, 10 October 1892, p.3.

(Railway General Inspectorship) and the states of Pernambuco and Santa Catarina, for example, decided to bypass Rio and send their exhibits straight to Chicago.⁶⁷ This lack of control in what was sent, selected, or rejected had major implications for the organisation of the Brazilian exhibition abroad, as we will soon see.

At the museum building-turned-exhibition venue, unqualified and numerous quantities of exhibits kept arriving. It is not surprising, therefore, that after the exhibition opening critics saw mainly chaos and shortcomings. For the *Jornal do Brazil*, for example, the problems with the mineral section ‘this time’ were not caused by an absence of exhibitors or a scarcity of exhibits. The exhibition of Brazilian minerals suffered from ‘the lack of method and taste in the arrangement and classification of minerals and their products’.⁶⁸ According to the report, minerals were simply thrown on the shelves and nobody seemed to be responsible for their preparation. The impression caused by the preparatory exhibition was one of lack of space and taste in the arrangement of exhibits. The museum building was not appropriately designed to hold an exhibition of that magnitude, and the exhibition itself was not designed to fit the building or to be attractive.

Haste and disorganisation did not preclude the exhibition opening ceremony from being a festive and patriotic affair. Military bands played, and the museum building was entirely covered in flags from Brazil, the United States, and other sorts of ornaments.⁶⁹ ‘Representatives of all social classes were present’, and in particular, ‘a great number of ladies’ who were for the first time invited to contribute to an exhibition with objects that proved ‘the *progress* of women in Brazil’.⁷⁰ United States’ minister and diplomats, Brazilian ministers of navy, war, foreign affairs, industry and transport, Rio’s acting mayor,

⁶⁷ ‘O Brasil em Chicago’, *GN*, 16 January 1893, p.2; ‘Exposição’, *OP*, 18 December 1892, p.1.

⁶⁸ ‘O Brasil em Chicago’, *JB*, 23 December 1892, p.1.

⁶⁹ ‘O Brasil em Chicago’, *JB*, 18 December 1892, p.1; ‘Exposição Preparatória’, *JC*, 18 December 1892, p.3.

⁷⁰ ‘Exposição Preparatória’, *JC*, 18 December 1892, p.3; ‘Exposição de Chicago’, *Revista Illustrada*, October 1892, p.2, original emphasis.

highly ranked politicians and exhibition commissioners completed the entourage.⁷¹ The rhetoric of abundance, widely promoted in earlier imperial exhibitions, was again accentuated in the republican festival. In his opening speech, Mello e Netto exalted the abundance of Brazil's productive forces by praising the large number of exhibits sent from almost every state. What was displayed in the building, he bragged, was just a part of what they had gathered to send to Chicago. Twice as many exhibits were either in stock or in transit to Rio. 'Brazil', Netto proudly assured the crowd, 'will not go unnoticed in Chicago'.⁷²

'We will not be the last, but also will not be the first'.⁷³ With these words, the *Jornal do Brazil* sentenced how Brazil was to perform in Chicago after the preparatory exhibition closed in Rio. Opposing Mello e Netto's optimism, the newspaper said that not even among South America nations could Brazil expect a 'first place in this great industrial fair' ahead.⁷⁴ Lack of time and resources, almost total absence from privately organised initiatives, and problems concerning the immense national territory were to blame for this alleged failure.⁷⁵ The *Gazeta de Notícias* also demonstrated frustration with the republican attempt at totalizing the national productive forces in one show. The exhibits, they said, 'cannot give the exact idea of what Brazil is capable of', emphasising how unrepresentative that exhibition was.⁷⁶

The preparatory exhibition was described mainly as a failure in terms of organisation and representativeness, but major issues remained largely unquestioned by contemporary commentators. What were then the primary concerns of exhibition commissioners if taste, space, arrangement, information, classification, and even time to organise an exhibition seemed secondary? Why an exhibition held under the Iron Marshal's strong government and the republican slogan of 'ordem e progresso' (order and progress) did not convey

⁷¹ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *GN*, 29 January 1893, p.1. Marshal Peixoto was not present at the inauguration, but made a visit to scrutinise the 'industrial competition' before opening. See also 'Exposição Colombiana', *GN*, 20 November 1892, p.1.

⁷² 'Exposição preparatória', *JC*, 18 December 1892, p.3; 'O Brasil não se Apresentará Despercebido em Chicago'.

⁷³ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *JB*, 8 January 1893, p.1.

⁷⁴ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *JB*, 8 January 1893, p.1.

⁷⁵ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *JB*, 8 January 1893, p.1.

⁷⁶ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *GN*, 24 December 1892, p.1.

either order or control? Moreover, did this disorderly hoarding of exhibits affect the image of the nation abroad?⁷⁷

Mello e Netto's speech at the exhibition opening reveals the republicans' primary concern: to show abundance. In late nineteenth-century understanding of progress, material abundance featured high. It had long been a European obsession exemplified by the interiors of Victorian homes or international exhibitions themselves. The grandiose Chicago exhibition was a chief example of how material abundance was entangled with ideas of civilisation and progress. At the Rio preparatory exhibition, abundance was not only a way of getting closer to what Needell calls a desired Europeanised culture.⁷⁸ It was also understood, used, and displayed as a working principle of the expansionist phase of capitalism in which Brazil participated. The show of plenty, even if uncomplimentary and disordered, was a show of power, possession, success, and progress. To show abundance, and therefore power, was even more crucial and desirable during that unstable historical moment of political transition and struggle. In short, the preparatory exhibition has to be considered more as an opportunity seized by the new government to unite national objects, subjects, and productive forces in a symbolic cohesive act, than a typical exhibitionary site for the classification, comparison, and judgement of exhibits. Patriotic pride, celebration of the new regime, and a claim over national abundance explain why the preparatory exhibition went ahead against all the odds.

⁷⁷ *Ordem e progresso*, a positivist motto that became part of the national flag in 1889.

⁷⁸ Needell, 'The Domestic Civilising Mission', p.7.

The republicans set camp at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893

While Mello e Netto was leading the show of abundance in Rio, Marshal José Simeão de Oliveira, a member of the Supreme Military Court and former Secretary of War, coordinated national interests from Chicago.⁷⁹ In a historical period dominated by *jacobinos* militaries allied to positivists, the appointment of scientists, army or navy officials to order and represent the nation should not come as a surprise. Liberal professionals and scientists managed their specialist sessions in the various exhibition buildings whereas the military occupied the higher posts in the exhibition hierarchy.⁸⁰ This *status quo* reflected the political prevalence of this early republican phase dominated by Marshal Peixoto and navy officers. According to the *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section* published in English by the Brazilian government, of the approximately twenty commissioners who travelled to Chicago, seven were military men; two represented the Fine Arts; one was presented as women's representative, and the rest were engineers, medical doctors, and politicians.⁸¹ 'The [Brazilian] commission includes some of the leading scientific and professional men of the country', informed the *New York Times*.⁸² Among them were the above-mentioned Baron of Marajó, who worked as a special commissioner for the Pará state, and the sculptor responsible for the ENBA exhibition in Rio, Rodolpho Bernardelli, who worked as Fine Arts commissioner. Carlos Gomes, a greatly acclaimed Brazilian composer who lived in Italy, later joined the entourage of 'distinct Brazilians' abroad.⁸³

Marshal Oliveira, president of the international commission, arrived in the United States in June 1892, and organised the Brazilian camp in Chicago for ten months before the

⁷⁹ 'Brazil's fair commissioners', *CDT*, 3 April 1893, p.5; 'Victim of Chicago's climate', *NYT*, 18 June 1893, p.1.

⁸⁰ Brazilian Commission, *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section* (Chicago: EJ Campbell, 1893), n/p.

⁸¹ Brazilian Commission, n/p.

⁸² 'Brazilians don't like it', *NYT*, 4 April 1893, p.2.

⁸³ Ministério da Agricultura, *Relatório do Ministério da Agricultura para o ano de 1893*, p.32, <<http://brazil.crl.edu/bsd/bsd/u1979/000036.html>> [Accessed 10 July 2009]

other commissioners arrived.⁸⁴ Evidence suggests that during this period Oliveira worked alone, overseeing the construction of the pavilion, securing space for the national representation in exhibition buildings, specifying which exhibits were to be sent from Brazil to best compete with foreign ones, and liaising with Brazilian commissioners back home, especially Mello e Netto and Marajó.⁸⁵ Oliveira's inside knowledge and informed suggestions offered to commissioners in Brazil were seldom followed by them, and communication broke down on many occasions. In correspondence addressed to Mello e Netto, Oliveira mentioned difficulty in contacting the commissioner, speculated if Mello e Netto had received his letters, and requested a prompt reply to his messages from Brazil.⁸⁶ In these communications, for example, Oliveira attempted to inform Mello e Netto that the spaces secured for Brazil in almost all exhibition buildings were smaller than initially requested.⁸⁷ He alerted Mello e Netto that negotiations for a place in the Fine Arts building were still under way.⁸⁸ Oliveira also asked the commissioners at home to limit the quantity of exhibits sent to Chicago to avoid the high costs of rail transport from the ports of New York to Chicago.⁸⁹

Oliveira's suggestions were not heard, though, and the ambition of showing a nation of abundance prevailed. After the closing of the exhibition in Rio, '500 tons of exhibits, 5,300 packages, 2,220 bags of coffee, 128 cases of wine, 21 cases of minerals, 87 packages of wood, 41 cases of paintings and statues, and 58 cases of machinery' were dispatched to Chicago.⁹⁰ The state of confusion and disorganization already noted during the exhibition in Rio was, in this way, transposed to Chicago. For months, according to the *New York Times*,

⁸⁴ 'Brazil's fair commissioners', *CDT*, 3 April 1893, p.5; 'Victim of Chicago's climate', *NYT*, 18 June 1893, p.1.

⁸⁵ 'Brazil's fair commissioners', *CDT*, 3 April 1893.

⁸⁶ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *GN*, 24 December 1892, p.1.

⁸⁷ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *GN*, 13 January 1893, p.1.

⁸⁸ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *GN*, 16 January 1893, p.2.

⁸⁹ 'O Brasil em Chicago', *GN*, 29 January 1893, p.1.

⁹⁰ 'Brazil's fair commissioners', *CDT*, 3 April 1893, p.5; 'Brazil's exhibit has arrived', *CDT* 22 April 1893, p.1. Both articles mention 500 tons of exhibits, 5,300 packages, 2,220 bags of coffee, 'coffee enough [...] to give every visitor [...] a tas[t]e of the luscious beverage', 128 cases of wine, 21 cases of minerals, 87 packages of wood, 41 cases of paintings and statues, and 58 cases of machinery.

Oliveira fretted over the Brazilian exhibition.⁹¹ The chaos, said the report, contributed to the eventual death of the commissioner in June 1893.⁹² ‘Nervous strain’ and ‘overwork’ brought about by ‘the incompleteness of things’ in the Brazilian exhibition were identified as the main reasons for his death.⁹³ While the premature death of the Brazilian commissioner caused some drama abroad, at home no association between his death and the deficient Brazilian exhibition seems to have been made. Eager to transform the case into an exhibition drama plot involving heroism and purposefulness, the North-American press was quick to associate Oliveira’s tragedy to the struggle of men endeavouring to understand, classify and organise the world around them.⁹⁴ ‘He had a splendid constitution’, described the *New York Times*, ‘but the demands he made upon it were too great for even his robust nature’.⁹⁵ Oliveira was depicted as the handsome, robust, brave military man who succumbed under the herculean task of giving shape and form to an ocean of exhibits found in a ‘crude state’.⁹⁶ The subtext of these newspaper reports painted a dim picture of Brazil, disorganised and deadly inefficient, a picture that certainly challenged the progressive image those ‘distinct Brazilians’ originally wanted to convey.

Displays that changed the past and promised the future

After Oliveira’s sudden death, Admiral Joaquim Antonio Cordovil Maurity assumed the presidency of the Brazilian commission and continued its administration in Chicago.⁹⁷ Of the almost 2,400 Brazilian exhibitors whose products were displayed in the various exhibition buildings, more than half were exhibited in the Agriculture Department.⁹⁸ This ra-

⁹¹ ‘Victim of Chicago’s Climate’, *NYT*, 18 June 1893, p.1; ‘He Broke Down at Chicago’, *NYT*, 21 June 1893, p.5.

⁹² ‘Victim of Chicago’s Climate’, *NYT*, 18 June 1893, p.1; ‘He Broke Down at Chicago’, *NYT*, 21 June 1893, p.5.

⁹³ ‘Victim of Chicago’s Climate’, *NYT*, 18 June 1893, p.1; ‘He Broke Down at Chicago’, *NYT*, 21 June 1893, p.5.

⁹⁴ ‘Victim of Chicago’s Climate’, *NYT*, 18 June 1893, p.1.

⁹⁵ ‘He Broke Down at Chicago’, *NYT*, 21 June 1893, p.5.

⁹⁶ ‘Victim of Chicago’s Climate’, *NYT*, 18 June 1893, p.1.

⁹⁷ ‘Brazil at the Columbian Exposition’, *TG*, 28 October 1893, p.3.

⁹⁸ Brazilian Commission, pp.15-145. According to this publication, there were 1,211 exhibitors in the Agriculture department and 1,178 exhibitors elsewhere.

tio, usual by Brazilian exhibition standards, was downplayed by commissioner Marajó in the Unites States' press:

We will not have as good an exhibit as I had hoped, although Brazilians are greatly interested in the Fair. It will in part consist of nuts, sugar, coffee, rubber, the industrial products of Rio [de] Janeiro, navy machinery, and the Fine Arts, including fifty magnificent paintings and a number of statues.⁹⁹

Marajó's unfulfilled hope can be understood in the context of the haste and confusion in acquiring, organising, and dispatching the Brazilian exhibits to Chicago. His statement reveals, however, a wish to highlight those other national exhibits that did not figure in the Agriculture Department but belonged to the Industrial, Manufacture and Fine Arts buildings. These objects were to represent a new era of civilisation and progress in Brazil with which the new Republic wanted to be associated. On its pages, the *Jornal do Brazil* named the exhibits that acted as barometers of civilisation the *representação intelectual*, or the intellectual representation of life in Brazil.

In the rest of this chapter, these 'intellectual' objects will be analysed in detail, especially those exhibited in the Fine Arts section.¹⁰⁰ Of the human endeavours hailed as measures of civilisation and listed in the beginning of this chapter – 'sciences, arts, and letters' – the new Brazilian Republic undeniably invested in a massive display of the arts. Besides the 'fifty magnificent paintings and [...] statues' cited by Marajó, the *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section* enumerated 109 exhibitors in the Fine Arts section, comprising paintings, sculptures, drawings and engravings. Another 400 exhibitors in the Liberal Arts section presented music, books, libraries, artistic photography, and theatre.¹⁰¹ Further to the quantity of exhibits, the efforts employed by Rodolpho Bernardelli during the exhibition at the ENBA to select the 'right' Brazilian artworks disclose how significant it was for the republicans to be recognised as patrons of the arts. Moreover, as I argue in detail below, these

⁹⁹ 'Brazil's Fair Commissioners', *CDT*, 3 April 1893, p.5.

¹⁰⁰ The Brazilian 'intellectual representation' was discussed on the front pages of the *JB* from 29 December 1892 until approximately 3 January 1893.

¹⁰¹ Brazilian Commission, pp.103-33; 'O Brazil em Chicago', *JB*, 29 December 1892, p.1.

artworks were selected having in mind a particular strategy for the first display of republican Brazil in the United States. This strategy aimed to ‘rewrite’ the national past by displaying artworks that helped incorporate republican interests into the long run of Brazilian history. The republican strategy of showing itself as an inevitable political stage for Brazil in opposition to the recently overthrown Empire was also sustained by two other displays; one that demoted the Empire and another that promoted regional autonomy within the country; both displays will form the latter part of this chapter.

Fine Arts: a nation of heroic men and ‘home-abiding’ women

The long-awaited and carefully prepared exhibition of Fine Arts, which in Rio was praised as the one that would ‘represent’ Brazil ‘with dignity’, almost did not happen in Chicago.¹⁰² Upon their arrival in the United States, Brazilian commissioners learned that the space originally allocated for them in the Fine Arts building had been withdrawn.¹⁰³ Indignation followed. Some Brazilian commissioners speculated about the possibility of displaying the artworks in the national pavilion.¹⁰⁴ Others suggested that the nation should refuse to exhibit at all as protest for what they judged an unjust treatment by the exhibition organisers.¹⁰⁵ Size became a strong argument in favour of the maintenance of Brazil’s Fine Arts building space, not necessarily the size of the Brazilian arts exhibition, but the size and alleged importance of the nation itself. ‘Space has been assigned to small European countries’, complained Marajó to the *New York Times*, ‘Italy and Switzerland, and many of the smaller nations on that side of the ocean, are recognized, while Brazil, which is an American nation, and which has close and friendly relations with the United States, is shut out. We do not like this’.¹⁰⁶ The commissioners’ protests worked. Brazil was eventually granted space in the Fine Arts building, and decided to exhibit the remaining artworks that could

¹⁰² ‘O Brazil em Chicago’, *JB*, 3 January 1893, p.1; ‘A Exposição’, *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

¹⁰³ ‘Brazilians don’t like it’, *NYT*, 4 April 1893, p.2; Evidence does not disclose why, but I infer it may be related to the breakdown in communication discussed above.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Brazil Fair Commissioners Indignant’, *CD*, 4 April 1893, p.5.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Brazil Fair Commissioners Indignant’, *CD*, 4 April 1893, p.5.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Brazilians don’t like it’, *NYT*, 4 April 1893, p.2, and ‘Brazil Fair Commissioners Indignant’, *CD*, 4 April 1893, p.5.

not be accommodated there on the second floor of the national pavilion.¹⁰⁷ At least 41 works were exhibited in the Palace of Fine Arts. Brazil's most prominent sculptures – *Christ and the Adulteress* (1881) and the bust of Emperor Pedro II, both by R. Bernardelli, were arranged on the main floor. Brazilian paintings were displayed in the gallery of the Palace (Illustration 62) while major works of Brazilian history painting stayed in the national pavilion.¹⁰⁸

When analysing the contents of the artworks selected to represent Brazil in Chicago, it becomes obvious why commissioners were so indignant in the face of a possibly failed exhibition. All their intended messages were there. The manipulation of symbols and the making of a civic pantheon, undertaken by conflicting republican factions, underlined the artworks presented in Chicago. Links between Rodolpho Bernardelli, Brazil's Fine Arts commissioner, and the urban leaders of the republican movement, further reinforce the suggestion that a visual argument with positivist and military ambitions was carefully manufactured through exhibitions.

Sculptor R. Bernardelli was well known for his 'political ability' during Empire and Republic.¹⁰⁹ Having benefited from a personal friendship with the emperor, R. Bernardelli enjoyed state patronage that funded his travels to art schools in Europe in the 1860s. The advent of the Republic did not jeopardise his privileges, and another personal relationship, this time with military positivist Benjamin Constant, secured him a high post at the newly reformed ENBA in Rio, which he directed for 25 years.¹¹⁰ Bernardelli was appointed chief commissioner for the Brazilian Fine Arts exhibition around October 1892, a moment considered late by contemporary commentators who judged he would have 'very little time to develop his section'.¹¹¹ The republican construction and manipulation of national symbols, however, were well under way by 1892, as discussed above and elsewhere by José Murilo

¹⁰⁷ 'Brazil at the Columbian Exposition', *TG*, 28 October 1893, pp.20-21.

¹⁰⁸ *What to See and how to Find it* (Chicago: World's Fair & Chicago Guide Co., 1893), p.16.

¹⁰⁹ Suely de Godoy Weisz, 'Rodolpho Bernardelli, um Perfil do Homem e do Artista Segundo a Visão de Seus Contemporâneos', *19&20*, 2 (2007) <<http://www.dezenovevinte.net/19e20>> [Accessed 29 June 2009].

¹¹⁰ Weisz, 'Rodolpho Bernardelli'.

¹¹¹ 'A Exposição' and 'A Exposição de Chicago', *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

de Carvalho and Lúcia Lippi Oliveira.¹¹² In this way, Bernardelli did not have trouble finding a plethora of works that fit his republican visual argument to be exhibited in Chicago. The collection of works selected by Bernardelli and discussed below served at least three main causes dear to the republican elite who governed Brazil in 1893. The first cause can be summarised as the incorporation of republican events and myths into the longer lineage of national history so to ascertain the Republic's political validity, if not inevitability. The second cause, entwined with the first one, refers to internal political conflicts in the republican movement discussed above and the need to portray the interests of each faction and their leaders as 'heroes'. The last cause, more implicit but no less significant, relates to the ways whereby women were represented in the new Republic, a representation underpinned by the interests of superiority of the liberal, positivist, military, male elites of Brazil.

Placing the Republic in national history

The republican visual argument for a new national history commenced, tellingly, with a history painting already exhibited abroad by the Empire. The large canvas *The First Mass in Brazil* (Illustration 63), painted by Victor Meirelles in 1860, had already been exhibited in Philadelphia in 1876 as a mark of Brazilian visual romanticism. The foundational myth-making and history-telling purposes of this painting are clear. It narrates the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil and the first mass that consecrated the new land. In this typically romanticised version of 'discovery', native peoples are depicted as docile and willing to participate in this 'new land' found and founded by the Portuguese. In the context of the World's Columbian Exposition, which also celebrated the 'discovery' of the American continent, the *First Mass* painting was reutilised by the republicans to reinstate this nationalist, albeit Europeanised version of events. At the same time, the showing of this painting by the Republic placed the new regime as the most recent

¹¹² See Carvalho, *A Formação das Almas*, and Lúcia Lippi Oliveira, 'As Festas que a República Manda Guardar', *Estudos Históricos*, 2 (1989), 172-89.

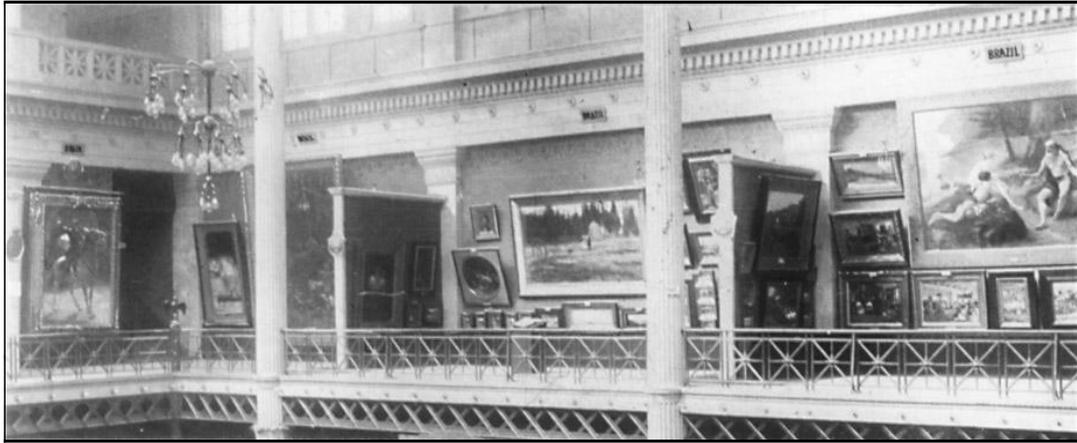


Illustration 61: Brazilian section in the Fine Arts building. The *A Proclamação da República* (The Proclamation of the Republic) is prominently exhibited on the left, at the end of the corridor (See Illustration 64).



Illustration 63: *A Primeira Missa no Brasil* (The First Mass in Brazil), painted by Victor Meirelles in 1860, was exhibited by the Empire in Philadelphia in 1876 and by the Republic in 1893.

political phenomenon in the timeline of Brazilian civilisation.¹¹³ In this wishful progression of ‘great events’ that built the Brazilian nation that began with the *First Mass*, four other paintings, considered in detail below, were also displayed: the *Proclamation of Republic* (Illustration 64), the *Os Bandeirantes* (Illustration 65), *Tiradentes’ Martyrdom* (Illustration 66), and the *Proclamation of Independence* (Illustration 67).¹¹⁴

The canvas *Os Bandeirantes* (c.1889) was painted by Henrique Bernardelli, the younger brother of the Fine Arts commissioner, and covered a theme until recently unexplored in Brazilian culture. The *bandeirantes* were explorers from the province of São Paulo who, during the colonial period, were hired to hunt runaway slaves and who became associated with the exploration of the Brazilian interior and the finding of mineral wealth there. The pictorial depiction of *bandeirantes* in 1893 represents the political ascension of São Paulo state in the national scenario; a movement that would be complete a year later with the presidency of Prudente de Moraes. For the liberal *paulista* oligarchy, the *bandeirantes* were celebrated as local, brave, rural heroes. Their image spoke of the expansion of national frontiers – not only outwards but inwards, as the São Paulo region grew in power and threatened the *status quo* identified with the urban capital, Rio.

Another painting that celebrated a national subject but with a regional slant was the *Proclamation of Independence*, painted by Pedro Américo in 1888. This oil was sent by the exhibition commission of São Paulo state and was not very well received in the preparatory exhibition in Rio, again for issues concerning domestic political tensions.¹¹⁵ The *Proclamation* depicts the alleged historical moment when the Portuguese Prince Regent, Pedro I, declared the independence of Brazil from Portugal. As this proclamation occurred at the margins of the Ipiranga River, in São Paulo’s hinterlands, this artwork was also known as *O Brado do Ypiranga (The Cry from Ypiranga)*. The title suggests a *paulista* origin for the process of independence, which explains Rio’s disapproval.

¹¹³ Rezende, ‘Do Projeto Gráfico ao Ideológico’, pp.123-24.

¹¹⁴ This word does not have an English correlate. It means ‘the men who participated in the *bandeiras*’, name given to the hunting and exploratory expeditions.

¹¹⁵ ‘O Brazil em Chicago’, *JB*, 5 Januray 1893, p.1.

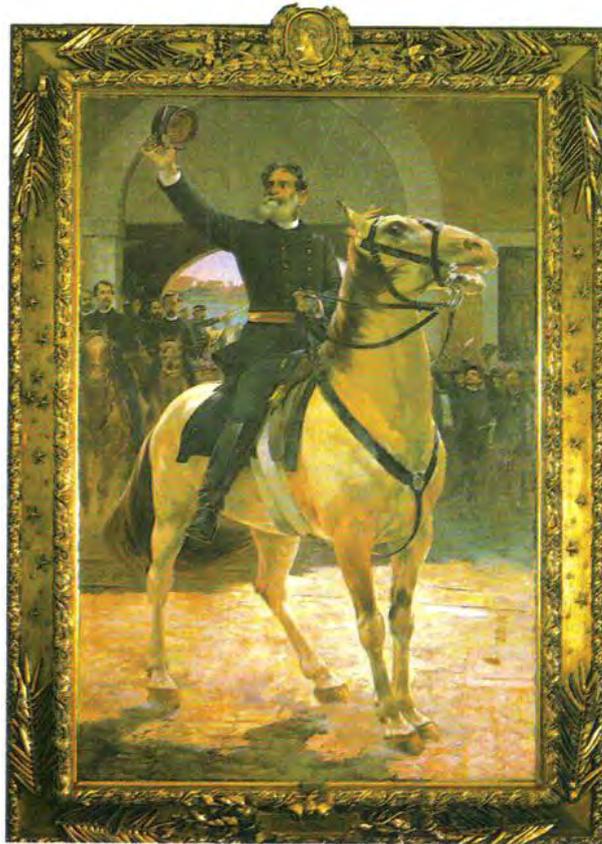


Illustration 64: *A Proclamação da República* (The Proclamation of the Republic), by Henrique Bernardelli from 1890.



Illustration 65: *Os Bandeirantes* (detail), by Henrique Bernardelli, 1889.



Illustration 66: *O Martírio de Tiradentes* (Tiradentes' Martyrdom), painted in 1893 by Aurélio de Figueiredo.



Illustration 67: *Proclamação da Independência* (Proclamation of Independence) or *O Grito do Ypiranga* (The Cry from Ypiranga), as it was known in 1893, painted by Pedro Américo around 1887-8.

Another heroic, regional figure who acquired even more national prestige and recognition from the early Republic onwards was Tiradentes, represented in Chicago by the oil painting *Tiradentes' Martyrdom* painted by Aurélio de Figueiredo in 1893. Joaquim José da Silva Xavier was an eighteenth-century second lieutenant from Minas Gerais province, whose occasional work as a dentist gave him the nickname *tiradentes* (tooth-puller). In 1789, he led a group of discontents to rebel against Portuguese mercantilist exploitation of his province during the Brazilian gold rush. After Tiradentes' intention to found a republic in Minas Gerais was unveiled, he was imprisoned in Rio and sentenced to death in 1792. He was hanged and quartered. In a typical case of spectacular display of power and terror, the Portuguese crown paraded Tiradentes' body in pieces between Rio and Vila Rica, the capital of Minas Gerais province, where his head was also displayed. For his opposition to the Empire, Tiradentes was hailed, during the first years of the new regime, as a civilian hero and a pre-imperial, non-urban myth of origin for the republican cause in Brazil.¹¹⁶

The representation of the execution of Tiradentes shown in Chicago was far less gruesome than the depiction Pedro Américo painted in the same period (Illustration 68). Both, however, bear a striking similar approach to the portrayal of Tiradentes. The long hair, long beard, and white gown seen in both depictions were not necessarily faithful representations of how prisoners were kept in eighteenth-century Brazil. These paintings, instead, depicted Tiradentes' image close enough to the renaissance image of Jesus Christ adored in nineteenth-century catholic Brazil. This visual approximation between Tiradentes and Jesus Christ was embraced by republicans eager for a myth of origin that could give cohesion to their scattered movement. Moreover, the myth conveyed the idea that republicanism had long been desired by Brazilian people.¹¹⁷ While Tiradentes' rural and regional background pleased the oligarchs from Minas Gerais and São Paulo, for the

¹¹⁶ Carvalho, 'The Unfinished Republic', p.151.

¹¹⁷ Carvalho, 'The Unfinished Republic', p.146. See also *Formação das Almas*, chapter three, for a discussion of the other 'candidates to hero' during the early Republic.

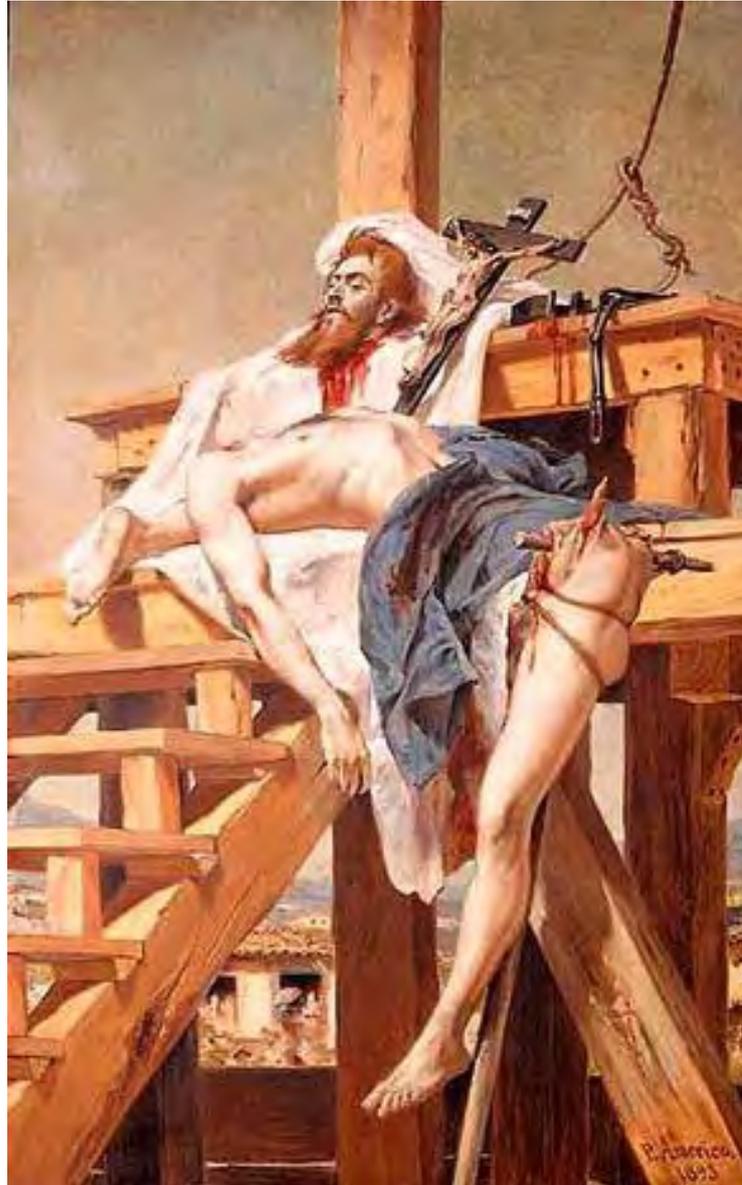


Illustration 68: *Tiradentes Esquartejado* (*Tiradentes Quartered*), by Pedro Américo, 1893. This painting was not exhibited in Chicago, but participated in the construction of the martyr, Jesus-like image of Tiradentes.

positivists he became ‘the precursor of independence’ and was ‘placed in the civic pantheon of the nation’ together with Bonifácio and Constant.¹¹⁸ In the positivist ideology, says Carvalho, ‘this civic trinity symbolized the advancement of Brazilian society toward its historical destiny’, the positivist society.¹¹⁹

As established above, for the military leaders in power in 1893 the chief candidate for the post of republican hero was Marshal Deodoro. In this way, the nation-building event that military leaders promoted in Chicago was the proclamation of the Republic by Deodoro himself, depicted in the painting *The Proclamation of the Republic* of c1900, also by Henrique Bernardelli. The composition shows the Marshal in a decidedly heroic combative pose in the foreground, and places other republican protagonists like Constant and Bo-caiuva as coadjutants in the background.¹²⁰ This painting, says Carvalho, ‘has become the standard representation of the proclamation of the Republic’.¹²¹ It meant a victory for Deodoro supporters and for the association between republicanism and militarism in Brazil.

Mothers or prostitutes

Three other Brazilian artworks exhibited in 1893 authored by the Bernardelli brothers further exemplify the superior attitude that guided national representation abroad, albeit in a different manner. If military, landowners, and positivists fought a symbolic battle for the success of their own versions of history and noble heroes, they agreed in the prescriptive ways whereby Brazilian women were to be represented.

In the preparatory exhibition in Rio, when called to participate as exhibitors, women were often described as *compatriotas* (compatriots).¹²² They were encouraged to join men to improve the national representation and secure the place that ‘with all dignity, relates to the Brazilian women in the progress of universal civilisation’.¹²³ Nevertheless,

¹¹⁸ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.146.

¹¹⁹ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.146.

¹²⁰ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.145.

¹²¹ Carvalho, ‘The Unfinished Republic’, p.145.

¹²² ‘A Exposição de Chicago’, *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

¹²³ ‘A Exposição de Chicago’, *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

despite this civic inclusion in the name of civilisation, women were not free to choose what to exhibit either in Rio or Chicago. Notes published in newspapers announced with precision what was expected from them: needlework, lace, ornaments made of fish scale and feather, children's clothing, cushion covers, among other homemade, crafted artefacts.¹²⁴ Such representational practices accorded with the perception that Martha Sesselberg, appointed chief commissioner for the Brazilian women's exhibition, propagated of Brazilian women in the United States. According to Sesselberg, a citizen of the United States but resident in Pará, 'the women of Brazil, in character and education, are [...] home loving, home-abiding'.¹²⁵

Despite the message of progress and democratic participation conveyed by the republican patriotic appeal, Brazilian women's representation in exhibitions at home and abroad was not exactly revolutionary. The women committee members who organised the preparatory section in Rio and then travelled to Chicago were all related to the male commissioners appointed by the government.¹²⁶ This aspect of relation between male and female commissioners reflects what Luce Irigaray discusses in her Marxist analysis of women as exchange commodities in a patriarchal society. According to Irigaray, women can only be 'wives, daughters and sisters [who] have value only in that they serve as the possibility of [...] relations among men'.¹²⁷ Not surprisingly, at exhibitions women featured superficially whilst significant agency or self-expression continued to be traditionally denied to them.¹²⁸ As exhibitors, women were prescribed to show works related to the domestic space, decoration of interiors, children and their own attire, as noted above. Women were given the care of home and families in a society in which 'all the modalities of productive work that are recognized, valued, and rewarded [...] are men's business'.¹²⁹ As exhibits, the

¹²⁴ 'A Exposição de Chicago', *DN*, 8 October 1892, p.1.

¹²⁵ 'Brazil at the Columbian Exposition', *TG*, 28 October 1893, p.6.

¹²⁶ 'Comite das Senhoras', *DN*, 4 October 1892, p.3.

¹²⁷ Luce Irigaray, 'Women on the Market' in *This Sex Which is Not One* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp.170-97 (p.172).

¹²⁸ Irigaray, p.171.

¹²⁹ Irigaray, p.171.

representation of women also underwent another type of prescription, in this case, of their societal roles.

In the oil painting entitled *Mater* (mother, in Latin), Henrique Bernardelli explored the theme of motherhood (Illustration 69). The peasant woman who nurses her child is nobody in particular. The semi-veiling of the eyes and face makes her even more unknown. The use of Latin in the title of the artwork suggests H. Bernardelli's attempt to paint a universal mother and to attribute some sort of Linnaean 'Systema Naturae' classification on her. The painting is inscribed in what art historian Camila Dazzi calls an 'indeterminate temporality', which could be attributed to any place, and any woman.¹³⁰ Dazzi shows that H. Bernardelli, who painted *Mater* in Italy in the mid-1880s, drew inspiration from contemporary Italian artworks that explored motherhood as the redemption of women's sins.¹³¹ The same cultural milieu inspired H. Bernardelli to paint *Messalina* a few years later, which was also exhibited in the Brazilian section in 1893 (Illustration 70). Named after the roman empress Valeria Messalina, known, condemned and executed for her unconventional sexual behaviour, this painting has striking similarities with *Mater*, in both composition and meaning. Messalina's eyes are also darkened and her face can barely be discerned. Her body is painted in an ambiguous way, halfway between satiation and lifelessness – a stark reminder of the professed connection between womanly pleasures and death. The popularity of this myth during the late nineteenth century is part, says Dazzi, of the 'moralist crusade, which through literary, medical or philosophical works, intended to reaffirm the women's role as spouse and mother', present not only in Brazil.¹³²

In the context of the Chicago exhibition, these two paintings conjoined messages. On one level, they showed that the representation and further usage of women's body belonged to the realm of men, in a fitting example of what Irigaray calls the 'exchange

¹³⁰ Camila Dazzi, 'A Mitificação da Mulher na Cultura Figurativa do Último Oitocentos: Análise da Tela "Mater" de Henrique Bernardelli', *19&20*, 1 (2006), <<http://www.dezenovevinte.net/19e20>> [Accessed 29 June 2009]

¹³¹ Dazzi, 'A Mitificação da Mulher na Cultura Figurativa do Último Oitocentos'.

¹³² Dazzi, 'A Mitificação da Mulher na Cultura Figurativa do Último Oitocentos'.



Illustration 69: *Mater*, painted in 1885 by Henrique Bernardelli.



Illustration 70: *Messalina*, c.1890, by Henrique Bernardelli.

of women' in a 'gender economy', or the circulation of women amongst men.¹³³ On another level, they ascribed a twofold role for women in this patriarchal society, as either mothers or prostitutes. According to Irigaray, 'a commodity – a woman – is divided into two irreconcilable "bodies": her "natural" body and her socially valued, exchangeable body, which is a particularly mimetic expression of masculine values'.¹³⁴ These two paintings reflect such duality:

As mother, woman remains on the side of (re)productive nature. [...] Mothers, reproductive instruments marked with the name of the father [...], must be private property, excluded from exchange. [...] Their responsibility is to maintain the social order without intervening so as to change it.¹³⁵

Whilst mothers are excluded from the exchange dynamics of the patriarchal society, prostitutes are 'explicitly condemned', but 'implicitly tolerated', as they represent the use *per se*. In Irigaray's analysis, there is still a third role, albeit transitional, ascribed onto women's exchange value, that of a virgin, or 'pure exchange value'. Tellingly, an inferred characterisation of virginity can be found in the painting *Marabá* (Illustration 71), painted by Rodolpho Amoedo in 1882, also featured in the Brazilian Fine Arts section. Although not produced in the moral frenzy of the *fin de siècle*, it does conjure the idea of virginity and that the new Brazilian race (*Marabá* is a mixed race woman) can produce exchange values/virgins, therefore, establish itself amongst Western, civilised, and patriarchal societies.¹³⁶

Whilst *Mater* exalts the body of a woman that can be fulfilled by procreation and motherhood as redeeming her sins, in *Messalina*, sexual pleasures allegedly lead to shame and death. This shameful association between womanhood and sexuality was accentuated even further by another Brazilian artwork exhibited in the Palace of Fine Arts. In his marble group from 1881, *Christ and the Adulteress* (Illustration 72), Rodolpho

¹³³ Irigaray, pp.170-91.

¹³⁴ Irigaray, pp.185-86.

¹³⁵ Irigaray, pp.185-86.

¹³⁶ Irigaray, p.185.



Illustration 71: *Marabá*, painted by Rodolpho Amoedo in 1882.



Illustration 72: *Cristo e a Adúltera* (Christ and the Adulteress), by Rodolpho Bernardelli, 1881.

Bernardelli sculpted the biblical passage in which a married woman seeks forgiveness for her sins. This artwork epitomised the precepts conveyed by the previous two: that a woman should obey the laws of men. The choice of such artworks to represent Brazil and Brazilian civilisation in this unstable moment of political and temporal transition cannot be taken as coincidental. Men in need to exert control, over the nation and over gradually emancipating females, reinforced ‘[...] the constitution of women as “objects”’ as to ‘emblemize the materialisation of relations among men’.¹³⁷ The possession and exchange of women’s representation in exhibitions was a compelling, albeit traditional, way of reiterating the power of male commissioners.

Exhibitionary architecture, Romanticism and Neoclassicism

In attempting to create an American civilisation that could ‘rival anything that Europe had to offer’, in Robert Rydell’s words, architectural styles were utilised as evidence of tradition, even if such styles were originally European. Such is the case with the architectural aspect of the Chicago exhibition as a whole and of the Brazilian pavilion in particular. Architectural neoclassicism and specifically the Beaux-Arts style were largely appropriated by exhibition organisers. Not without some controversy, the White City, as the ephemeral exhibition city in Chicago was known, became a triumphal expression of the Beaux-Arts in both building construction and space planning. Symmetry, colonnades, integration of architecture and sculpture, epic monuments, axial avenues, and theatrical nobility covered in neoclassical white finishing inscribed the World’s Columbian Exposition, the city of Chicago, and the United States in a apparent lineage that could, it seemed, be traced back to the Greek and Roman civilisations (Illustration 73).

The newly instated Brazilian Republic also turned to neoclassicism as the right style through which to build its exhibition pavilion (Illustration 74). In this way, neoclassicism acted as a shortcut to modernity as it matched the approach of North-Americans to

¹³⁷ Irigaray, pp.184-85.



Illustration 73: Allegorical drawing depicting many civilisations and the United States' founding fathers at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.



Illustration 74: Brazilian pavilion at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, designed by exhibition commissioner Colonel Souza Aguiar.

their own fair. Neoclassicism meant tradition, association with European grandeur, heritage, and civilisation. By 1893, it was already intrinsically meshed into the national fabric as a traditional architectural style, having arrived in Brazil with the Artistic French Mission of 1816. The Mission included a large group of French artists brought by the king of Portugal and Brazil to teach Fine Arts for the imperial elite. Ever since, neoclassicism had been identified as the architectural style for urban expansion, national development and the state. In his argument about the hegemonic cultural role of the state in Brazil, Needell includes both the *Missão Artística Francesa* of 1816 (Artistic French Mission) and the Haussmann-like urban reforms from the 1890s in Rio in a timeline of the state-driven Europeanised ‘civilising mission’.¹³⁸ According to Needell, ‘Brazil’s claims to being a rising power by the measures of Civilisation and Progress implicitly identified with France, Britain, and the United States’ were also evidenced in the style adopted to erect the national pavilion in Chicago.¹³⁹

In 1893, for the first time a national pavilion built for an international exhibition was designed by a Brazilian, Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco de Souza Aguiar, trained as an engineer.¹⁴⁰ An exhibition enthusiast who also designed the award-winning Brazilian pavilion in St Louis in 1904, Aguiar became mayor of Rio where he promoted a major national exhibition in 1908. Echoing the general state of disorganisation in this first republican exhibitionary attempt, the Brazilian pavilion was inaugurated late. Souza Aguiar began designing the pavilion around September 1892.¹⁴¹ Although the fair opened on 1 May 1893, the Brazilian pavilion was not inaugurated until 19 July 1893.¹⁴²

Few other demonstrations of the progress of the new Republic ‘in the field of civilisation’ were as striking as the national pavilion erected in Chicago.¹⁴³ Placed in a ‘splendid

¹³⁸ Needell, ‘The Domestic Civilising Mission’, pp.2-3.

¹³⁹ Needell, ‘The Domestic Civilising Mission’, p.6. Original word case.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Brazil at the Columbian Exposition’, *TG*, 28 October 1893, pp.7.

¹⁴¹ ‘Brazil at the Exposition: the Brazil Building’, *TG*, 28 October 1893, pp.18-20.

¹⁴² Ministério da Agricultura, *Relatório do Ministério da Agricultura para o Ano de 1893*, <<http://brazil.crl.edu/bsd/bsd/u1979/000036.html>> [accessed 6 July 2009]

¹⁴³ ‘Brazil at the Exposition: the Brazil Building’, *TG*, 28 October 1893, pp.18-20.

location', by the waterways that adorned the White City and in between the pavilions of Turkey and Illinois, the Brazilian pavilion was large in scale and rich in features and details (Illustration 75). Elevated over a Greek cross plan that measured 148 x 148 feet and being 120 feet tall, the building that appeared traditional was in fact erected over 'a rigid and substantial structure without the aid of wood bracers'.¹⁴⁴ Its dome was 'constructed of steel', a modern construction technology for its time according to the special number of *The Graphic* dedicated to Brazil. The pavilion interior was organised over two stories. On the ground floor, one could find 'a magnificent exhibition of coffee, the most complete ever made by Brazil, never having been equalled in beauty and importance anywhere in the world'.¹⁴⁵ Small reception rooms, a grand salon (Illustration 76), and a grand stairway (Illustration 77) completed the dual aspect of homely comfort with national stateliness the Brazilian pavilion conveyed. On the façade and dome there were 'Indian figures [...] allegorical, and representative of the Republic of Brazil', in the *The Graphic's* view, 'and very fittingly used in this connection'.¹⁴⁶

Indigenous figural sculptures had also been used in the previous national pavilion built for the Paris international exhibition of 1889 (Illustration 78). Figural sculptures were a common Beaux-Arts decorative trait, often featuring gods and goddesses from Greek mythology to express allegorical messages. For the 1889 and 1893 national pavilions, inspiration for a national antiquity was found in the image of the native inhabitants of Brazil. Illustration 78 reveals how the natives' facial and body features were modelled in a classical style, resembling the traditional representation of Greek gods or goddesses. Instead of grasping indigenous weaponry, these idealised examples of antiquity held paddles as they represented four large rivers that both divided and united Brazil. Nakedness and sculpted foliage in the background suggested their origins and habitat. On the other hand,

¹⁴⁴ 'Brazil at the Exposition: the Brazil Building', *TG*, 28 October 1893, pp.18.

¹⁴⁵ 'Brazil at the Exposition: the Brazil Building', *TG*, 28 October 1893, pp.18.

¹⁴⁶ 'Brazil at the Exposition: the Brazil Building', *TG*, 28 October 1893, pp.18.



Illustration 75: The Brazilian pavilion placed in a good location by the lake.

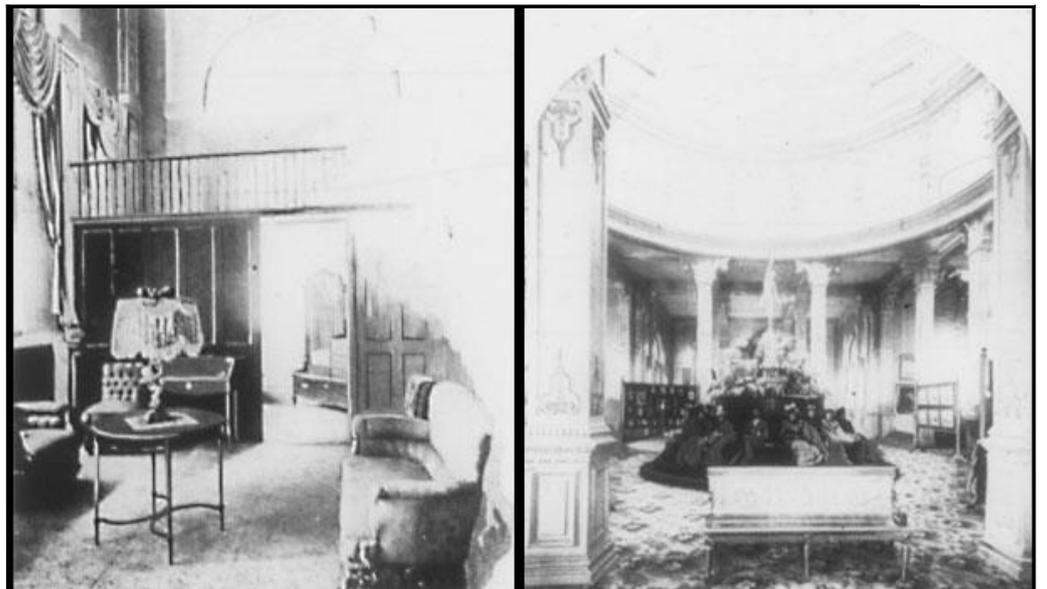


Illustration 76: The interior of the Brazilian pavilion.



Illustration 77: Grand stairway of Brazilian pavilion, conveying glamour to the national home abroad.

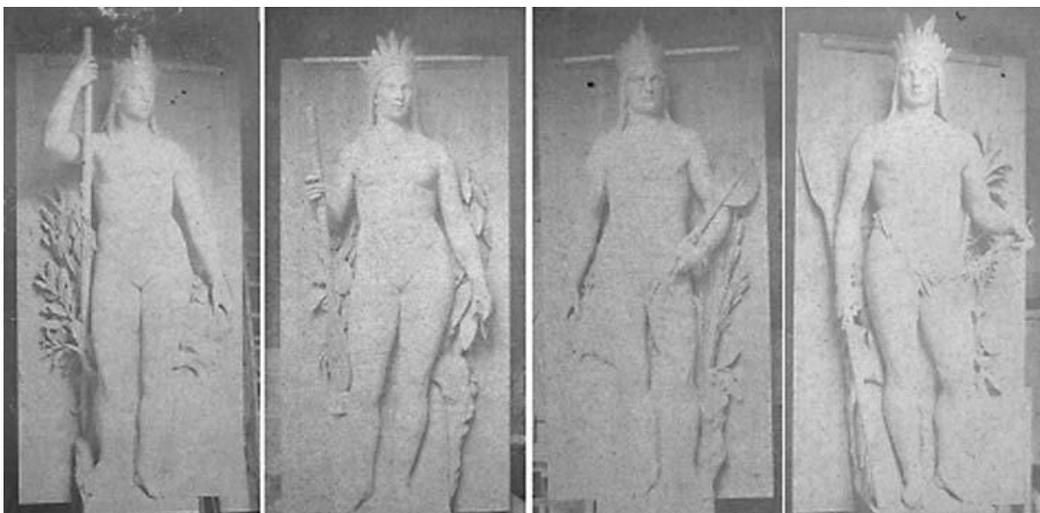


Illustration 78: Indigenous figural sculptures that adorned the Brazilian pavilion erected for the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1889.

their posture, gesture and the discretely designed headgear indicated a noble, refined status, a being in the world that was undoubtedly civilised.

In this manner, Brazilian painting and architecture at the Chicago exhibition aimed at reconciling two pasts in the makeup of the Brazilian ‘civilisation’. One past, of ancient Greek origin, was understood as the cradle of Western civilisation and, in this way, universally shared with other nations. The other past, identified with Brazilian natives, was hailed as specific to the national experience. The result of this amalgamation, of idealised figural sculptures of natives used in neoclassical architecture, lingered from a cultural movement with a strong tradition in Brazil, albeit already in revision in the 1890s. Since the late 1830s, when literary Romanticism idealised the Brazilian native, finding in him or her a ‘national specificity and historical tradition in cultural origins and expression’, the image of natives had been used to discuss and promote *brasilidade* in both high and popular art.¹⁴⁷ As shown by John Manuel Monteiro in his discussion of how indigenous peoples featured in Brazilian imperial thought, two archetypes of natives were constructed during the Empire.¹⁴⁸ One was the Tupy, a noble warrior, ancestor of the Brazilian people, allied to the Portuguese colonisers.¹⁴⁹ The other was the Tapuia, a savage, traitor, enemy of the Portuguese, who ‘hindered the process of civilisation’.¹⁵⁰ According to these foundational myths, the process of making a Brazilian civilisation involved the miscegenation of Tupys and European-descendants into a Brazilian race. After the gradual but powerful acceptance of deterministic racial theories in Brazil, which entered the country via the promotion of physical anthropology around the 1870s, another current of thought began to prevail.¹⁵¹ For ‘scientifically informed’ men, trained in places like the MN where commissioner Mello e Netto worked, the concept of

¹⁴⁷ Needell, ‘The Domestic Civilising Mission’, p.2. For popular uses of the image of the Brazilian native, see Livia Lazzaro Rezende, ‘A circulação de imagens no Brasil oitocentista: uma história com marca registrada’ in *O design brasileiro antes do design: aspectos da história gráfica, 1870-1960*, ed. by Rafael Cardoso (São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2005), 20-57.

¹⁴⁸ Monteiro, pp.16-17.

¹⁴⁹ Monteiro, pp.16-17.

¹⁵⁰ Monteiro, pp.16-17.

¹⁵¹ Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo das Raças: Cientistas, Instituições e Pensamento Racial no Brasil, 1870-1930* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004).

civilisation became exclusivist. ‘If for some, [civilisation] was a common destiny for all humanity’, including native Brazilians, says Monteiro, ‘for others it became a state only at reach for some “races” with innate and scientifically measured qualities’.¹⁵²

The indigenous figural statues placed on top of both national pavilions in 1889 and 1893 as allegorical artworks reveal the co-existence of these two paradigms of civilisation during the early Republic. With the rise to political power of Brazilian conservative liberals in 1894, allegorical references to indigenous people disappeared. They were not found in the pavilion built for the St Louis exhibition in 1904.

Imperial coach: demoting past paths

In specific exhibition buildings, the republican show of progress and of an alternative future involved displaying objects representative of the old order as to demote it. Modes of transport exhibited by Brazil inside and outside the transportation building in Chicago were emblems of this kind. On the one hand, three modern warships carrying the republican flag participated in the naval review held in New York to celebrate Chicago’s exhibition.¹⁵³ On the other hand, the display of an antique carriage used during the first reign of the Brazilian Empire materialised tradition that the Republic wished to defeat (Illustration 79).

The carriage, called ‘ancient’ by the improvised caption attached to its window and ‘relic’ by the United States’ album *The Columbian Gallery*, was inscribed in a large series of exhibits of old modes of transport as evidence of human movement across the centuries. These exhibits perpetrated an evolutionary and linear view of progress, which reinforced the argument that European expansionism diffused civilisation around the globe, particularly in the Americas.¹⁵⁴ In this narrative, a Chicago fairgoer encountered a model of a

¹⁵² Monteiro, p.18.

¹⁵³ The warships were not built in Brazil, but this was not a concern for the military commissioners. All Brazilian warships carried the national flag and staunchly republican names: Tiradentes, and Republic (the third one was Aquidabã). *Report of the Board of General Managers of the Exhibit of the State of New York at the World’s Columbian Exposition* (Albany: James B Lyon, 1894), pp.70-71.

¹⁵⁴ *The Columbian Gallery: A Portfolio of Photographs from the World’s Fair* (Chicago: Werner Co., 1893).



Illustration 79: 'Ancient' imperial carriage, displayed in the Transportation Building of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

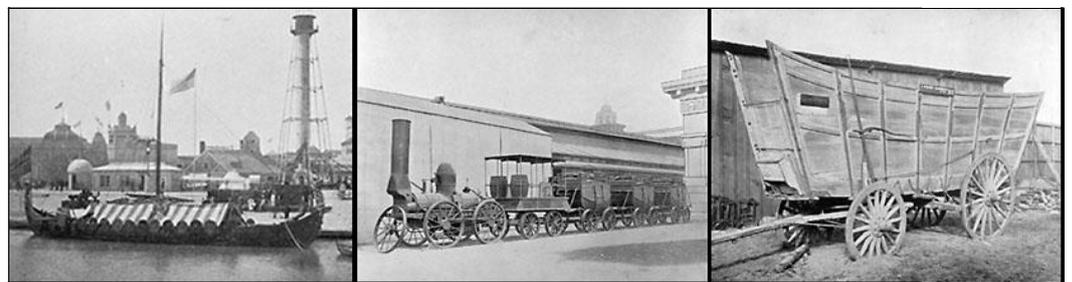


Illustration 80: Displays of geopolitical expansionism at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Left, a Viking ship. Centre, an old locomotive. Right, a prairie schooner.

Viking ship used during the barbarian invasions that helped form Europe; a ‘primitive train’ used in New York in the 1830s that illustrated ‘the evolution of the modern space-destroying locomotive’, and a 1850s’ prairie schooner used by pioneers to cross and conquer the plains of North America (Illustration 80). As highlights of this story of geopolitical emancipation and conquest, the fairgoer also saw replicas of the three ships commanded by Columbus during his discovery of America, Santa Maria, Pinta and Nina (Illustration 81).

When compared to such grand examples of universal progress, the Brazilian imperial carriage figured quite modestly, in both significance and location. While those modes of transport were displayed outdoors as vibrant examples of European expansionism to date, the imperial carriage was displayed indoors in less than imposing surroundings. As shown in Illustration 79, the carriage was placed in an unadorned and desolate space. A writer from the *Columbian Gallery* publication found it startling to see such vehicle exhibited at all. ‘The apology’ for such exhibit, said the reporter, was that this ‘Brazilian specimen belonged to an emperor that [had] flourished nearly seventy years ago, all his family having since retired from the empire business’.¹⁵⁵ Not only was the caption apologetic, but this object was also presented in a sorry state: no ornamentation, no plinth, no framing, and for what it seems, no windows either. The wheels were battered; its paint was coming off, a bar loosely left on its side. In sum, no efforts were made to restore this object to its former glory of royal opulence. As a relic – a surviving memorial of something past – the carriage had an ambivalent meaning. It granted the status of tradition and civilisation to Brazilians who had been subjects of an Empire until recently. At the same time, it certified fairgoers that the old regime was, like its carriage, demoted to a corner. The *Columbian Gallery* noted that empires like the ones that existed in nineteenth-century Mexico and Brazil had been ‘old

¹⁵⁵ *The Columbian Gallery*, n/p.

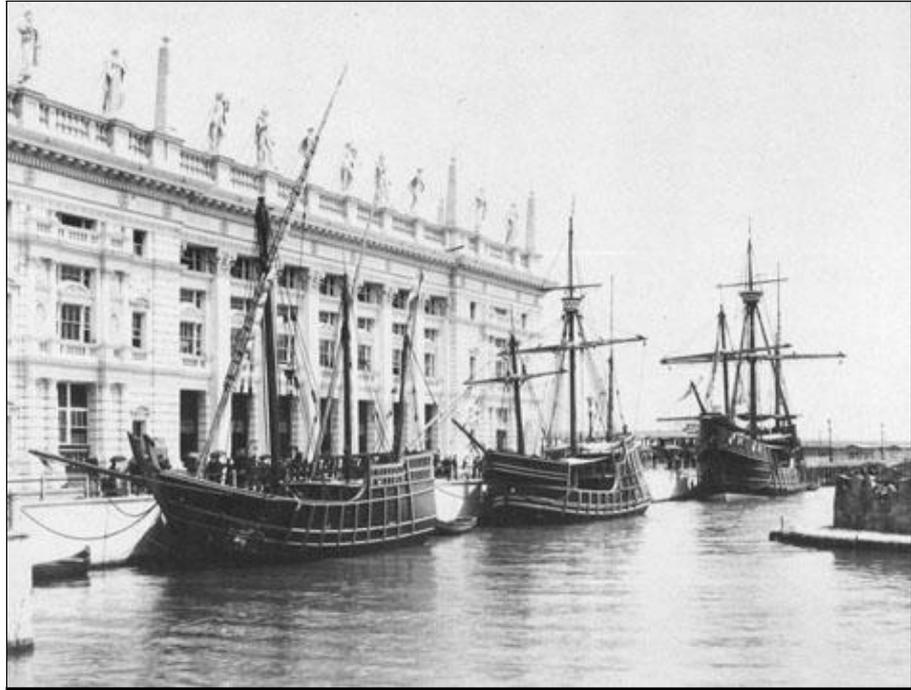


Illustration 81: Replicas of the three caravels commanded by Columbus during his 1492 journey and displayed at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

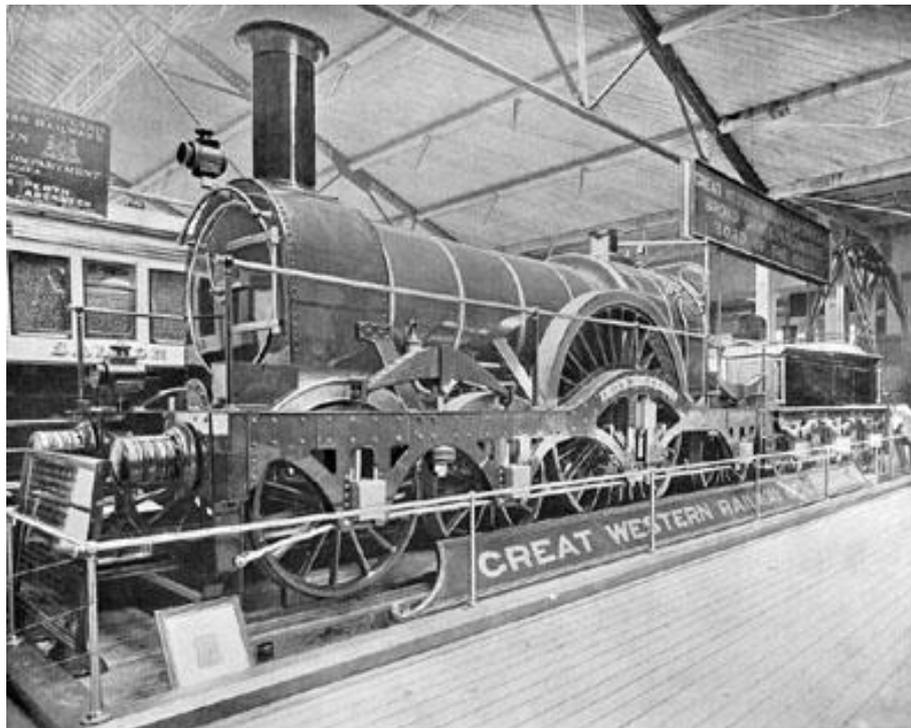


Illustration 82: A British locomotive, described as the 'greatest locomotive', displayed as a symbol of power and technological achievement on the linear and progressive scale of evolution (of objects, peoples and nations) promoted by the World's Columbian Exposition.

fashioned attempts', 'pompous emptiness', and had a 'decided un-American flavor'.¹⁵⁶

The imperial carriage also worked as a counter-example of the technological innovation and scientific advancements of the century, symbolised by the mighty display of the 'greatest locomotive in England' (Illustration 82). This intentional contrast of modes of transport revealed what Kern conceptualises as the relative slow motion of the past set by new technologies: 'the impact of [...] accelerating technologies was at least twofold: it speeded up the tempo of [people's lives] and [made] old modes of existence, transport and communication seem slow'.¹⁵⁷ Likewise, imperialism in the Americas, albeit a part of its civilising experience, was identified with the slow tempo, a bygone past.

Both the display of the imperial carriage and its North-American reception reinforce this chapter's argument that the republican exhibition in Chicago aimed at re-writing the past in order to control the future. A demoted display of imperialism helped making a compelling visual argument for a certain narrative of civilisation in the Americas. In this narrative, republicanism triumphed, settlers became citizens, and American culture reached its peak, with the White City itself being the greatest evidence of such linear evolution.

Pyramid of gold: regionalism and the triumph of oligarchies

A marked characteristic of the Brazilian representation shown in Chicago was the promotion of national regions that seemed to work independently from the central government. The Amazon, Pará and Ceará states visually displayed the level of advancement achieved so far via the publication of richly illustrated propaganda books in English.¹⁵⁸ Published by the initiative of each state's exhibition commissioners, these books explained to the general international public what particular Brazilian regions had to offer. The Amazon state, for example, hailed as the 'El Darado [sic]' of Brazil, was presented to Europeans as a

¹⁵⁶ *The Columbian Gallery*, n/p.

¹⁵⁷ Kern, pp.129-30.

¹⁵⁸ Lauro B Bitancourt, *The State of Amazon* (Chicago: [n. pub.], 1893); *The City of Manáos and the Country of the Rubber Tree* (Chicago: [n. pub.], 1893); Lauro Sodr , *The State of Par : Notes for the Exposition in Chicago* (Chicago: G P Putnam's Sons, 1893); Jos  Freire Bezerril Fontenelle, *The State of Cear : Brief Notes for the Exposition of Chicago* (Chicago: E J Campbell, 1893); *The State of S o Paulo, Brazil* (Chicago: John Anderson Publishing Co., 1893).

place ‘not only for subsistence [...], but [of] easy means of acquiring wealth’, and to North-Americans as ‘a vast market open to its commerce and manufactures’.¹⁵⁹ Since their propaganda aimed to attract an inflow of capital and of immigrants, several examples of urban development, governmental palaces, theatres, churches, rail bridges and banks, for example, were depicted on the pages of *The State of Amazon* and its sister album, *The City of Manáos and the Country of Rubber Tree*.¹⁶⁰ Brazilian regions were portrayed as developing, but still as lands for improvement, open to international investment. Each state publication showed specific images and highlighted their regional products. The texts invariably preached the ideology of progress and an elusive hope in a prosperous future that would arrive once ‘arms and capital’ flooded the country.¹⁶¹

A striking exhibitionary display of regional power, self-interest and suggestive economic progress was found in the impressive pyramid of gold (Illustration 83) devised and exhibited by Minas Gerais state in the Brazilian section of the Mines and Mining building in Chicago. In front of the pyramid in the exhibition room, another persuasive display of gold from the Morro Velho mining company completed the case for Minas Gerais outstanding mineral potential. This second display, barely seen on the right hand side of Illustration 83, comprised a column of golden cubes where were inscribed both ‘the economic value of the extremely rich gold deposit explored by the [Morro Velho] company’ and ‘the most important statistical data of this enterprise’s financial life’.¹⁶² Correspondence from the then governor of Minas Gerais, Afonso Pena, reveals that the idealiser behind this display was George Chalmers, a Briton associated with the Morro Velho mining company in

¹⁵⁹ *The State of Amazon*, p.13.

¹⁶⁰ *The City of Manáos*, n/p.

¹⁶¹ ‘Exposição’, *OP*, 17 December 1892, p.1.

¹⁶² Arquivo Nacional, AP14, Chicago 1892, Microfilme 523-2004, Doc 13.54. Letter from Afonso Pena to G. Chalmers.



Illustration 83: A pyramid of gold displayed by the state of Minas Gerais in the Mines and Mining building of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. The pyramid operated as an index of the amount of gold extracted in that state during Brazil's colonial period.

the same state.¹⁶³ Their correspondence discloses the rationale behind these two spectacular displays of gold, which were also shown in the preparatory exhibition in Rio: ‘to emphasize in the federal capital the enormous mineral wealth of Minas [Gerais] state, at the same time to convince many people, by the figures [...], that the foreign mining companies give a lot of advantage in the country’.¹⁶⁴ Friendliness between state governors and foreign companies suggested a new age in Brazilian politics and economic growth that would surpass, or ignore, claims of national sovereignty in favour of regional development. Minas Gerais demanded more political weight and participation on the national stage, and one strategy employed by the state was to impart economic importance to its own resources, at home and abroad, even if, in the case of gold, such importance pointed to accomplishments from the past.

The inscription on the pyramid’s surface boasted the weight and value of the gold exported from Minas Gerais from 1720 to 1820, a period that referred to a colonial period distant from the recent imperial past. By ignoring the imperial period, was this monument aligned with the United States’ intentions to shove imperialism aside? Was it making a point about the feeble investment in mining by the previous regime? Alternatively, did it express, perhaps a desire to revive the mercantile system of the colonial era, when the accumulation of precious metals was a state goal and Minas Gerais state thrived?

The pyramid inscription not only alluded to a distant past, it also clearly stated that the real ‘El Dorado’ of Brazil was Minas Gerais. In fact, the large inscription on the pyramid worked as an original and lasting caption embedded in the prominent display of gold. Anybody standing in the room of the Mines and Mining building could instantly grasp the origin of this huge amount of gold, the quantity exported and its high value in dollars. The inscription of the value of the object offered a cunning and significant inversion of exhibitionary conventions. Whereas other exhibits came accompanied by an indication of their

¹⁶³ Marshall C. Eakin, *British Enterprise in Brazil: the St. John d’El Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989)

¹⁶⁴ AN, AP14, 523-2004/13.54.

price, usually given in exhibition catalogues, the gold display indicated, in large capital letters, how much it was worth. Moreover, since most international currencies were valued by the gold standard in 1893, the pyramid functioned as an index commodity, or a true measurement of the wealth Minas Gerais contributed to world capital when it had thrived during the colonial period. The pyramid scale was but a faithful simulation of the real amount of gold once amassed and exported. Apart from the already noted political and economic reasons, such palpable measurement of wealth was also aligned with the positivist belief in material evidence and scientific progress. It reassured elite members and politicians from outside Minas Gerais state that a prosperous and positivist future would arrive.

The shape chosen for this display of gold also proved successful. The caption accompanying the photograph in *The Columbian Gallery* mentions how the gold display was ‘sandwiched between the mineral displays of Idaho and California’.¹⁶⁵ What could have been a disadvantage in the first place, due to location and lack of space, served the display perfectly well. Being ‘sandwiched’ was not a problem for a towering object, especially when the exhibitionary clutter around made it look even more clear, noticeable and tall; the prominent location of the pyramid enabled the spectators’ full apprehension of its height and might. The pyramid was located in a prime position in the room, under a translucent rooftop that allowed its gold leaf surface to shine.

Height and might were conveyed foremost by the shape, scale, and golden finishing of this ornamental piece. The pyramidal shape stood on an open pedestal, with its base measuring eight feet square.¹⁶⁶ The sound form of a pyramid signified steady increase and a steady source of wealth – a powerful promise in times of international financial crisis and ongoing national credit problems.¹⁶⁷ As a form, the pyramid was world widely recognised and praised, since it signified temples, monuments, large and earthly structures. It worked as an appropriate symbol for the mining industry and resembled the mountains from where

¹⁶⁵ *The Columbian Gallery*, n/p.

¹⁶⁶ *The Columbian Gallery*, n/p.

¹⁶⁷ Dean, ‘Economy’, pp.222-25; Fausto, *História Concisa do Brasil*, pp.139-144.

this gold had been extracted, reminding fairgoers of the many more mountains of gold back in Minas Gerais.

The gold pyramid exhibited in 1893 was probably one of the most effective displays to represent Brazilian interests – even if regional ones – abroad. It combined the timelessness and structural solidity of the 1867 timber display with the irrevocable tallness of an Araucaria tree erected in Vienna's exhibition park in 1873. The temporal reference inscribed onto the pyramid's surface alluded to a period of past prosperity. Its compelling presentation in Chicago promised a period of future progress and profitability. The commissioners' argument was undisputable: investment in Brazil, especially in Minas Gerais, would be as robust as a pyramid, as good as gold.

In its first representation in international exhibitions, the Brazilian Republic succeeded in seizing the hegemonic discourse already professed during the Empire and in repeating it abroad. Changes were in play, though, some to convey an image of a progressive nation, like the alleged inclusion of women as exhibitors, regional uprising, and new scientific discourses regarding the making up of a Brazilian race and civilisation. However, as noted before, what remained unchanged was the reassertion of superiority by a small part of the Brazilian population, although such parcel was more heterogeneous and quarrelsome than never before.

The investigation of the Brazilian representation in the Chicago exhibition reveals a lively period for the country, when several different national projects fought in the international arena for the predominance of their versions of events. All such events, though, aimed to rewrite the national past according to their interests and to gear the national future according to their particular understanding of progress. The implication of these self-serving 'projects' for the nation were seen, for example, in Rio's urban reforms that removed poor inhabitants and traditional imperial architecture from the city centre to open modern palaces and avenues after the 1890s. These reforms included very little in the way of public education, housing, employment, or any other aspect that could be considered so-

cially beneficial. For a nation that aimed at attracting national investment and immigrants to 'colonise' its territory, society was still a work in progress. Worth promoting abroad were its immense territory, inexhaustible natural resources, and allegedly benevolent government.

The failings in the organisation of the domestic exhibition, which showed 'fractures' in the projects and discourses of a nation under 'order and progress', did little to damage the national image the 'distinct Brazilian' wanted to convey abroad. For the occasional passerby and fairgoer, the image of Brazil that remained in 1893 was one of a modern and revitalised nation. If Brazil did not show the latest developments in science and technology, it demonstrated accord to the paradigms of a civilised world to which the republicans belonged and wanted to develop even further. Native peoples were confined to the realms of anthropology and idealised in architectural ornament; women were kept at home; (Afro-descendent were not even mentioned); natural resources were considered an abundant solid source of wealth for exploiters, and government or local elites were hailed as superior, heroic men who guided their nation to a better future.

Chapter five

The artifice of nature and the naturalisation of the state

The *Exposição* in Rio: an inter-war exhibition

In the 1920s, the United States of Brazil was a rural country, both in terms of demography and economic output.¹ However, its two most important cities (Rio de Janeiro, the national capital or Federal District, and São Paulo, the capital of the state with the same name) were expanding. Their expansion meant that wealth and skilled workers were mostly concentrated in these two cities, and that political decisions taken by a few urban dwellers guided the destiny of the rural majority.² Historian Boris Fausto speaks of this uneven symbolic importance of urban centres in a rural country: ‘From the first years of the Republic, the importance of the cities far exceeded their economic significance and electoral weight. It was here that social groups and classes who formed the narrow caucus of public opinion were concentrated’.³ The construction of an exhibitionary complex in Rio in 1922, as we will discuss in this chapter, was part of this public opinion formation, even though participation in it came from wider audiences than those identified by Fausto.

During this decade, Brazilians were mostly illiterate – around 75 per cent of the general population, according to the 1920 census. Illiterates, like women, could not vote.⁴ In fact, popular participation in elections was minimal throughout the First Republic (1889-1930).⁵ However, Fausto notes that by 1919 ‘growing political participation of the urban population was clearly visible’, despite the ongoing *café-com-leite* (coffee and milk) oligarchic politics whereby candidates from the coffee- and dairy-producing states (São Paulo

¹ Dean, p.234; Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.264.

² Dean, p.234, and Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, pp.264 and 284-85.

³ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, pp.284-85.

⁴ Dean, p.237, and Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.278.

⁵ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.278.

and Minas Gerais respectively) alternated in power.⁶ The presidential election of 1922 ‘revealed the growing regional tensions within the ruling class’ of this oligarchic system as a ‘bloc of intermediate states’ challenged the *café-com-leite* oligarchy, albeit unsuccessfully.⁷ The most remarkable challenge to the oligarchic hegemony came in July 1922 with an army uprising at a fort in Rio that ‘exposed the crisis in the oligarchic system, and offered in its place the prospect of a structure along corporatist lines’.⁸ As Fausto observes, the ‘outbreak of the first world war marked the end of the *belle époque* of the oligarchy’, a scenario in contrast to the prosperous republican period of the early 1900s outlined in chapter three.⁹ It was in the context of this declining *belle époque*, and by politicians interested in maintaining it, that the *Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência* (Independence Centennial International Exhibition) was conceived and organised.

By the 1920s, Brazil was clearly undergoing an uneven process of modernisation. While São Paulo experienced urban and economic growth driven by both industrialisation and coffee plantation revenue, in the north and north-eastern regions ‘pre-capitalistic relationships predominated’.¹⁰ According to Fausto, these poor regions ‘experienced a much lower level of growth, when not actually stagnating or even in recession’.¹¹ Along these lines, clientelism and patronage prevailed as specific traits of Brazilian sociability.¹² Moreover, social transformation and general national development did not follow the partial economic growth achieved. The root cause for this disparity, according to Warren Dean, rested in Brazil’s ‘landowning class’, ‘whose horizons did not extend far beyond short-run speculation’, and the ‘dominant class’, ‘whose developmental goals fell considerably short of the

⁶ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, pp.295-96 and 272.

⁷ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.295.

⁸ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.297.

⁹ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.295.

¹⁰ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.267.

¹¹ Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, p.267.

¹² Fausto, ‘Society and Politics’, pp.267-68. Defined by Fausto as ‘the maintenance of social relationships based on the unequal exchange of favours between men situated at opposite ends of the social scale’.

available opportunities'.¹³ Brazil's role in world trade increased. Some Brazilians became richer, but the majority of the population remained illiterate and with a poor quality of life.

The slow decline of the oligarchic system was accompanied by the decline of its chief economic pillar. During the 1880s, when official participation in exhibitions declined, privately-organised parties associated with coffee production assumed the role of representing the nation abroad, as seen in chapter two. The Brazilian 'black gold' continued to drive the nation's export agenda and economy until the mid-1920s, when coffee receipts 'began a long decline'.¹⁴ However, even during this period coffee remained the country's driving force, providing 75 per cent of Brazil's foreign earnings between 1925 and 1929.¹⁵ The war had a damaging impact on the value of Brazil's exports and imports in general. Despite stimulating resurgence in rubber and some foodstuffs, the country's economy, like that of its European trading partners, weakened.¹⁶ Imports' prices soared, importation and exportation fell, and coffee revenue in particular suffered with the war.¹⁷ Except for the United States, 'all of Brazil's trading partners' reduced 'their capacity to advance credit and import from [...] Brazil'.¹⁸ Support and investments from Britain, a long-time financier of Brazil's infrastructural, faltered.

This post-war scenario makes the underpinning question of this chapter even more pressing. Why did the Brazilian republican government deploy the costly medium of an exhibition to celebrate the nation's sovereignty during times of economic and commercial constraint? The answer lies, among other possible explanations to be considered below, in the immediate effect that exhibitionary promotion was likely to have on international investment in Brazil. During 1924 and 1929, while coffee receipts continued to decline, 'a cyclical wave of foreign investment' boomed, funding 'most of the banks, electric, tele-

¹³ Dean, pp.255-56.

¹⁴ Dean, p.251.

¹⁵ Dean, p.227.

¹⁶ Dean, p.232.

¹⁷ Dean, pp.232 and 251.

¹⁸ Dean, p.232.

phone, and gas systems, port facilities, railways, steamship lines, and [...] airlines'.¹⁹ This boom suggests that the technologies of modernity flaunted at the urban capital during the *Exposição* paid back good dividends. The making of an international exhibition in Brazil in 1922 achieved results similar to those of earlier Brazilian participations abroad, when exhibition commissioners went to European or United States' exhibitions to attract foreign capital investment back into the country.

The *Exposição* also appealed to visiting nations. Britain, for example, initially uncertain of participating because of the costs involved, accepted the Brazilian invitation for 'fear' that it 'might fall behind others'.²⁰ The ensuing representation – its pavilion, ornamentations and displays – opportunely argued for British 'maritime greatness' in the commercial and military world.²¹ The funding required to send two warships to Rio, initially vetoed by the House of Commons, was finally conceded when the parliament was informed that the United States, Japan, and France, among others, were sending squadrons.²² The 'British Empire', said *The Times*, could not afford to be compared 'unfavourably with its rivals', even in hard economic times.²³ The sending of foreign warships for the realisation of naval reviews had long been a tradition in international exhibitions. However, in an inter-war festival such as the one in Rio, military assertion of power seemed even more pressing. On land, foreign exhibitions mounted at the *Exposição* site promised to reinstate pre-war market alliances. 'There are few of the products of Brazil for which there is not a market in the United Kingdom', *The Times* noted on the eve of the exhibition opening, 'while its modern industrial development makes the country a magnificent field for British engineering firms, who are, we are glad to learn, strongly represented in the exhibition'.²⁴ Britain's ambitions exemplify the inter-war characteristic of Rio's exhibition: it combined belligerent displays of power and anxious aspirations for international economic recovery.

¹⁹ Dean, p.239.

²⁰ 'Brazil's Centenary Exhibition', *The Times*, 6 September 1922, p.11.

²¹ 'Brazil's Centenary Exhibition', *TT*, 6 September 1922, p.11.

²² 'Brazil Centenary Exhibition', *TT*, 4 July 1922, p.18.

²³ 'The Brazil Centenary', *TT*, 29 July 1922, p.9; 'Brazil Centenary Exhibition', *TT*, 4 July 1922, p.18.

²⁴ 'Brazil's Centenary Exhibition', *TT*, 6 September 1922, p.11.

The ‘constructores da nacionalidade’

The national exhibitions that had been mounted in Rio since 1861 were not the only precedents for an exhibition on national soil in 1922. The *Exposição* also stemmed from another exhibition tradition, one that materialised abstract civic sentiments. Like the 1889 republican anniversary in Paris or the 1876 consolidation of United States’ independence and national cohesion, the Rio festival celebrated the centenary of Brazilian independence and sovereignty. Moreover, as with the previous examples, the civic celebration and the exhibition medium were purposefully combined for stately nation-building aspirations and for instilling national sentiment in local inhabitants. Previous Brazilian attempts at substantiating the state view of the nation through local exhibitions included the celebrations of the fourth centennial of Brazil’s discovery in 1900. The exhibition scheduled for that year was eventually cancelled due to the political turmoil and economic recession of the 1890s.²⁵ The republican government, however, did not put its exhibitionary projects on hold for too long.

In 1908, the people of Rio experienced their first purpose-built exhibitionary complex to celebrate the centennial of the opening of Brazilian ports to friendly nations, which occurred right after the transference of the Portuguese court to Brazil in 1808.²⁶ While previous national exhibitions had been awkwardly organised in buildings borrowed for the occasion, the *Exposição Nacional de 1908* (National Exhibition of 1908) constituted a ‘city within a city’ exhibitionary complex of a kind traditionally seen in Europe and the United States (Illustration 84). Like its 1922 successor, the 1908 exhibition also celebrated urban expansion and engineered urban improvement by reclaiming a disused area of Rio back into the city’s fabric.

²⁵ Lucia Lippi Oliveira, ‘Imaginário Histórico e Poder Cultural: As Comemorações do Descobrimento’, *Estudos Históricos*, 14 (2000), 183-202.

²⁶ Ruth Levy, *Entre Palácios e Pavilhões*.



Illustration 84: The first exhibitionary complex built in Rio for the *Exposição Nacional de 1908* (National Exhibition of 1908).

As will be shown below, through engineering marvels, the 1922 exhibition reclaimed and reconfigured nothing less than Rio's famous bay and seafront landscape.

Organisers of the 1922 exhibition also looked to early twentieth-century international exhibitions for inspiration. From the Paris festival of 1900, they borrowed the classification and awarding systems, for example, and from the *Panama-Pacific International Exposition* of 1915 they hired the same electrification company.²⁷ The 1915 exhibition had been widely photographed for its artificial lighting show that illuminated and beautified the San Francisco bay at night (Illustrations 85 and 86). The Rio exhibition organisers wished to transform their own reconfigured seafront landscape into a similar spectacle. In fact, since 1876 and the visit paid by the imperial entourage to the United States' Centennial International Exhibition, the idea of undertaking a similar celebration had been professed. Commissioner Rozendo Moniz, writing in 1875 in anticipation of Philadelphia, prophesied that 'in 1922, there will be exhibited in Rio de Janeiro the best products of the civilised world to commemorate the centenary anniversary of our dear patria'.²⁸

The *Exposição* opened on 7 September 1922, a hundred years after Pedro I declared Brazil's independence from Portugal and became the first Brazilian emperor. To celebrate such a crucial date for the 'national sovereignty', said the Exhibition Official Guide, the government 'remembered [...] among other solemnities and parties, a National Exhibition'.²⁹ The exhibition that was devised initially as 'national' eventually became international when 'friendly nations' asked to participate.³⁰ The economic importance of exhibitions and the commercial possibilities they promised had been big motivators since

²⁷ República, p.23. The contract was given 'to the English electrician [sic] Mr W D'Arcy Ryan'. Walter D'Arcy Ryan was director of General Electric's Illuminating Engineering Laboratory.

²⁸ Rozendo Moniz, *Exposição Nacional. Notas e Observações* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Diario do Rio de Janeiro, 1876), p.194. 'Patria' can be translated as Fatherland.

²⁹ *Official Guide to the Exposition*, ed. by Bureau Official de Informações, Palácio Monroe (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Anuario do Brasil, 1922), p.5.

³⁰ República, p.29. The exhibition was considered officially international on 22 July 1922.



Illustration 85: Artificial night lighting at the *Panama-Pacific International Exposition* of 1915. Brazilian exhibition organisers hired the same firm to light the *Exposição* in 1922.



Illustration 86: Photograph taken from the sea, at the entrance of Rio's Guanabara Bay, where the *Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência* was located. One of its most distinctive characteristics was the artificial night lighting.

the onset. In his closing speech, João Luiz Alves, Brazilian minister and exhibition manager dedicated the exhibition to those who ‘came here to admire the prodigious economic progress of Brazil over a hundred years’.³¹ The *Official Guide* also suggested that an exhibition would give ‘a concise image of the progress realised by the country’ in this period.³² The guide went on to detail each aspect of Brazil’s and the visiting nations’ commercial, industrial, scientific, and artistic contributions displayed in Rio. However, besides the positive economic and financial results of an exhibition during times of uncertainty, the reasons for government investment in the exhibition extended beyond the commercial.

The materialisation of civic sentiment in the exhibitionary complex and monuments, and international recognition were crucial. The international status of exhibitions as harbingers of modernity was another. The republican government, I argue, made use of the exhibition medium in order to organise the economic, social, and political spheres. Above all, an exhibition permitted the visualisation through performance, spectacle, and materialisation of abstract values, codes, and structures that would be otherwise difficult to be communicated to a largely illiterate population. The mechanisms whereby this visualisation occurred will become clear in the next part of this chapter. It is paramount to establish now three specific characteristics of the Rio exhibition. First, it was a festival devised and conducted solely by the Brazilian state and its associated ministries and institutions. Second, it was devised to transform Rio’s landscape and allegedly improve its urban life following the exhibition organisers’ ideal of modernisation, despite the planned ephemerality of the exhibition. Third, it was largely aimed at a general Brazilian audience to actualise and enhance their experience of modernity.

The men responsible for devising and organising the 1922 exhibition compared themselves to the ‘constructores da nacionalidade’, or the nation builders who had made the

³¹ República, p.41.

³² Official Guide, p.5.

Republic.³³ In fact, these exhibition organisers are better described as career politicians. Unlike those commissioners considered in chapter two who were linked to the imperial national project via professional associations and institutions, exhibition organisers in 1922 were the government. Proposals for the celebrations of the centennial began to circulate between the Brazilian President, Epitácio Lindolfo da Silva Pessoa (1919-1922), and the National Congress at the end of 1920, prompted by ideas of urban reform and beautification proposed by Rio's mayor, Carlos Sampaio.³⁴ Then, a commission operating under the president became responsible for elaborating the celebration plans. These appointed commissioners had as one of their main priorities the realisation of a national exhibition and for such they could count, according to a presidential decree, with the 'cooperation [...] of all social classes'.³⁵ Throughout the organising, managing, and dismantling process of the *Exposição*, the National Congress passed several bills to authorise cabinet ministers' acts and demands for more financial resources.³⁶ In these actions, the legislative and executive powers agreed that an exhibition was the best medium to commemorate the national centennial.

The direct support from the National Congress, however, did not guarantee the smooth running of the organisation of the exhibition. By the beginning of 1921, President Epitácio Pessoa had appointed too many organising bodies and commissioners, whose tasks were usually described in vague terms. A single body, the *Comissão Executiva do Centenario da Independencia* (Independence Centennial Executive Commission, or CECI), was established to 'oversee many aspects of the exhibition'.³⁷ CECI's presidency was given to the Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs and its command fluctuated according to the vagaries of cabinet: CECI's presidency changed twice in few months, passing from the hands of Alfredo Vieira de Mello to those of Joaquim Ferreira Chaves.³⁸ Its structure was

³³ República, pp.41-42. Speech of the Minister of Justice, João Luiz Alves, during the closing ceremony of the Rio exhibition on 24 July 1923.

³⁴ República, p.10; See also Carlos Kessel, *A Vitrine e o Espelho*.

³⁵ República, p.10.

³⁶ República, pp.10-15.

³⁷ República, pp.15-20.

³⁸ República, p.24.

also modified to include only the Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs, the Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Ildefonso Simões Lopes, and Carlos Sampaio, the city mayor.³⁹ Simões Lopes was given the presidency of the *Comissão Organizadora da Exposição Nacional* (National Exhibition Organising Commission), responsible for a great part of the national exhibition of agriculture, husbandry, diverse industries, statistics, and economy.⁴⁰ Carlos Sampaio undertook the role of *Commissario Geral da Exposição* (Exhibition General Commissioner), besides being CECI's vice-president and responsible for the execution of the celebrations' programme.⁴¹ Another beneficiary of this phenomenon of post accumulation was Francisco Ferreira Ramos, ex-president of the São Paulo State Commission, who became *Delegado Geral do Governo na Exposição* (Exhibition General Government Delegate) responsible for managing, under CECI's direction, the organisation of the exhibition.⁴² Ramos also acquired the positions of Awarding Jury President and instituted the *Comissão Especial de Festas e Propaganda* (Propaganda and Festivities Special Commission).⁴³

Everything changed after Artur Bernardes (1922-1926) won the presidential election in November 1922 and appointed his own cabinet. The newly assumed Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs, João Luiz Alves, became the exhibition manager and conducted an overhaul of commissions and commissioners.⁴⁴ Ramos was discharged from the direction of the *Exposição* and was replaced by Antonio Olyntho dos Santos Pires, who had been originally in the *Comissão Organizadora da Exposição Nacional*.⁴⁵ By January 1923, the overhaul was complete and new political faces brought to power by Bernardes assumed command of the exhibition, which was already open since September 1922. The exhibition's *Relatório dos Trabalhos* (Final Report) praised Luiz Alves' decision to overhaul the

³⁹ República, p.20.

⁴⁰ República, pp.20-21.

⁴¹ República, p.29.

⁴² República, p.29.

⁴³ República, pp.34-35.

⁴⁴ República, p.36.

⁴⁵ República, pp.35-36. Santos Pires participated in the making of the 1908 exhibition. See Elkin, p.351.

executive commission by saying that the exhibition had ‘finally’ achieved a ‘unity of direction’, the absence of which had caused delays and friction since the beginning of the works.⁴⁶ Despite the evident bias of this remark (after all, the Final Report was written to address the ministerial team it praised), the confusing managerial scenario described above clearly indicates that the running of the exhibition was a highly political matter. With the exception of Sampaio’s engineering and mayoral expertise, high posts in exhibition administration were understood to be too significant to be allocated on professional merit only. They were rather distributed to confer and strengthen political agendas and alliances.

Politicians alone did not make the exhibition, though. Other participating agents included the press, visiting nations, built pavilions, exhibits on display and Brazilian fairgoers. The official press, for example, supported and celebrated the government’s views and actions. Telling examples of this collusion are the images taken from the weekly-illustrated *Revista da Semana* (*Week Review*) used in the next part of this chapter to analyse how consent for the transformation of Rio’s landscape and making of the exhibition was produced among Brazilians.⁴⁷ Besides the media support of privately published magazines like the *Revista da Semana* and the *Ilustração Brasileira* (*Brazilian Illustration*), exhibition organisers issued their own illustrated magazine that ran from July 1922 to July 1923 as the official voice of the *Exposição*.⁴⁸ Other agents that helped erect pavilions or buildings for the *Exposição* include the visiting nations, Brazilian and multinational industrialists, manufacturers and institutions linked to the state.

Brazilian fairgoers were specially included in the exhibition plan as a kind of ‘public in the making’. Apart from the custom that they would bring as visitors, the ‘people’, referred as such by the exhibition organisers, were central to the educational and leisure activities around which the exhibition was structured.⁴⁹ The public also participated as financiers of the *Exposição*. At the onset of the exhibition preparation, the republican gov-

⁴⁶ República, p.36.

⁴⁷ Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História da Imprensa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1977), pp.297, 300-01.

⁴⁸ *A Exposição: Orgão da Comissão Organizadora* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Fluminense, 1922-1923).

⁴⁹ República, p.11-14 and 74.

ernment launched the *Bonus da Independência* (Independence Bonus) scheme whereby members of the public bought coupons to help pay for the exhibition. This was the cooperation of ‘all social classes’ mentioned in the final exhibition report.⁵⁰ In exchange for their financial commitment, coupon-holders were allowed free admission into the site of the exhibition during construction. There, the public could witness how their money had been invested and how the festival was materialising (Illustration 87).⁵¹ The bonus scheme, as much as the exhibitionary complex to be considered below, demonstrates how the state wished to make the public complicit in its exhibitionary efforts. At the intersection between being a nineteenth-century industrial fair and a twentieth-century popular entertainment, the *Exposição* was an effort to produce conformity and consent whereby the public were made an intrinsic part of the festivities.⁵² Moreover, the *Exposição* naturalised the relationship between the state and people by making the public, at the same time, subject, and object of the spectacle. A view of the Brazilian nation was finally mounted in 1922 for the Brazilian nation.

Brazilian modernity on display

On his way to Brazil to open the São Paulo University in 1935, the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss was struck by his first glimpse of urban life in the American continent.⁵³ In Europe, the anthropologist observed, the ‘cycle of evolution’ of ‘old cities’ was slow, the older a city the ‘more highly regarded’ it was.⁵⁴ In America, the passage of time was ‘an element of disgrace’.⁵⁵ American cities, he said, ‘are not merely newly built; they are built for renewal, and the sooner the better’.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ República, p.10.

⁵¹ República, p.29.

⁵² Wesemael, pp.45-50.

⁵³ Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, p.36.

⁵⁴ Lévi-Strauss, pp.100-01.

⁵⁵ Lévi-Strauss, pp.100-01.

⁵⁶ Lévi-Strauss, pp.100-01.

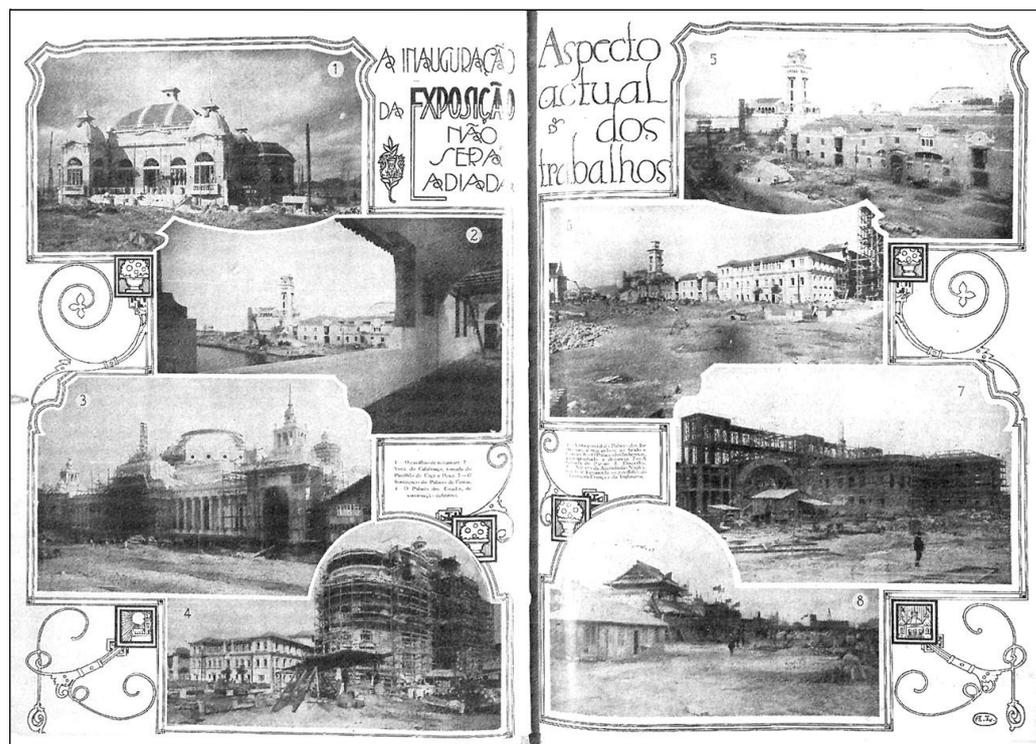


Illustration 87: 'The Exhibition will not be postponed – the present aspect of the works'. The building of the exhibition was frequently promoted on the pages of illustrated magazines like the *Revista da Semana* (Week Review).

After seeing what he considered an impatient speed for renewal, evident in peeling façades, out-of-fashion styles and ruined urban layouts, Lévi-Strauss condemned American urban space. ‘Their preoccupation with effect and their desire to catch the eye’, he concluded, ‘reminds us more of our fairgrounds and temporary international exhibitions’.⁵⁷

Lévi-Strauss’ remarks, despite being uneasily Eurocentric, describe the characteristic programme of destruction and construction that underpinned the *Exposição*. It is true that every international exhibition can be understood as a demonstration of the constructive powers of the society that shapes it. Engineering and architectural feats, from the Crystal Palace to the White City via the Eiffel Tower, notably displayed this ambition. The short life span of exhibitions can also be understood as a dialectical demonstration of the destructive powers of the same societies, despite vestiges left behind like the Eiffel Tower itself.⁵⁸ However, what happened in Rio between 1920 and 1923 was a specific demonstration of Brazilian capacity to destroy and transform nature, driven by a desire to transcend a ‘natural’ and supposedly belated condition. The *Exposição*, I argue, epitomises the anxiety for renewal that partially defines the experience of modernity in Brazil (or in America, as Lévi-Strauss suggested). In a case of inversion of what the anthropologist observed, Rio’s urban space and landscape were reconfigured by an international exhibition in 1922: a hill prominently located by the Guanabara Bay was razed to give way to the making of the exhibition site. The exhibition, in turn, accelerated the speed of the renewal that typified the 1920s Brazilian modern project.

The artifice of nature

The preparations for the *Exposição* began in November 1920 with the razing of the Castelo Hill, a mammoth feat of engineering that transformed Rio’s history and landscape. The hill had a significant place in the history of the city and Brazil’s colonial past. It was

⁵⁷ Lévi-Strauss, pp.36 and 100-01.

⁵⁸ The Eiffel Tower, in fact, sits in between these demonstrations of constructive and destructive powers. The Tower was originally built to be destroyed after the closure of the exhibition. However, being an extraordinary marvel of engineering in its time, and after much controversy, the Tower was kept as vestige of both the 1889 exhibition and of the engineering mastery of the French people.

the site of a fortress from where the region had been administrated and the Bay defended against foreign invasions since 1567.⁵⁹ Strategically located at the entrance of Rio's bay, the hill's surroundings included housing, forts, the oldest Jesuit College in Brazil, and churches. Despite its historical significance and the architectural uniqueness of its buildings, by the 1920s the Castelo Hill was redefined by Rio's mayor and moderniser Carlos Sampaio as an 'excrescence'.⁶⁰ Together with the *Exposição*, the razing is described by architectural and urban historian, Carlos Kessel, as Sampaio's 'great oeuvre'.⁶¹ Sampaio, a firm believer in the progressive force of technology, was elected Rio's mayor in 1920, when he master-minded the modernisation of the republican capital under two banners: beautification and sanitation.⁶² As mayor, Sampaio promoted the razing of the hill for alleged health reasons. The Castelo inhibited 'the respiration of our capital' he claimed, and, as such, encouraged the proliferation of vapours, miasmas, and diseases.⁶³ As exhibition general commissioner, Sampaio used the remains of the Castelo Hill to landfill the shore by the bay entrance and to create a brand new space on which to erect the exhibition. In this way, the old literally paved the way for the new.

The razing of Castelo hill can be seen as another attack against the capital's tropicity, or the assumed deleterious effect of being tropical, discussed in chapter three. Like the urban reforms from the early 1900s, the elimination of the Castelo aimed at not only removing tropical diseases and vapours. It was also designed to remove 'the remnants from the Portuguese colonial period as well as rundown and insalubrious housing' where poor dwellers tainted a space earmarked for modernisation.⁶⁴ Sampaio, certain that the reforms from the early 1900s had not achieved his desired degree of sanitation and beautification, developed an ambitious reform programme for Rio in the 1920s. It began with the elimina-

⁵⁹ *Guia da Arquitetura Colonial, Neoclássica e Romântica no Rio de Janeiro*, ed. by Jorge Czajkowski (Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2000), p.12.

⁶⁰ Kessel, p.49.

⁶¹ Kessel, p.57.

⁶² Kessel, pp.50-51.

⁶³ Kessel, pp.49-50.

⁶⁴ Bontempi Junior and Sobe, 'Rio de Janeiro, 1922-1923' in Findling and Pelle, p.228.

tion of the past and the poor, and culminated with the realisation of an exhibition, the ultimate modern space and phenomenon.⁶⁵

Paramount to the eradication of the old was the conspicuous display of ‘manpower’ in conquering nature and ushering in the new. As the widely circulated *Revista da Semana* convincingly advertised (Illustration 88), engineering wonders were capable of transforming ‘a mountain [sic] into a plain’ and could ‘elongate the city over the waters of the Guanabara Bay’.⁶⁶ At once two major features of Rio’s famous tropical landscape were conquered and modified: the Castelo Hill was gradually lowered, and the seafront was reconfigured (Illustration 89). Another magazine spread compared the architectural colonial remnants at the Castelo to spectacular ruins (Illustration 90).⁶⁷ The bottom right photograph in Illustration 90 is especially significant as it celebrates the ‘vestiges’ of the destroyed Jesuit College, the only one of its kind built in Brazil. For a nation suffering from what was perceived as a lack of tradition, the razing of the Castelo hill also served, paradoxically, to create significant ruins out of Brazil’s colonial past (Illustration 91).

The modernisation that would soon culminate in the *Exposição* was frequently anticipated by images of the exhibition’s working site on the pages of illustrated magazines. Such a display of images was also aimed to ‘show foreigners who still do not know us’, Sampaio noted, ‘what we are capable of’.⁶⁸ In a predominantly illiterate country, the future was not only to be verbally communicated but also mainly seen. The disappearance of parts of ‘old Rio’ was naturalised to the wide public in unsentimental photographs that made modernisation seem inevitable (Illustrations 90 to 93).⁶⁹ In another instance, the ‘vision of the city of future’ was carefully rendered ‘hovering over the spoils of the historical hill’ (Illustration 94).⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Kessel, pp.50-51.

⁶⁶ ‘Montanha e Planície. Cidade Prolongada sobre as Águas da Guanabara’, *Revista da Semana*, 19 August 1922, pp.18-19.

⁶⁷ ‘A Engenharia e a Montanha’, *RS*, 19 August 1922, pp.14-15.

⁶⁸ Sampaio, apud Kessel, p.52.

⁶⁹ ‘O Rio que Desaparece: os Trabalhos no Morro do Castelo’, *Ilustração Brasileira*, n.17, January 1922, pp.79-80.

⁷⁰ ‘Visão da Cidade Futura’, *RS*, 31 March 1923, p.15.



Illustration 88: 'How engineering made a plain out of a mountain: the city is elongated over the waters of the Guanabara Bay'. The bulldozing of the hill, of its past and its poor in the name of modernisation and modernity was framed by the *Revista da Semana* as a triumph of man over nature. Rio, a city known worldwide for its natural beauty, was in fact being transformed into an artifice for its first international exhibition.

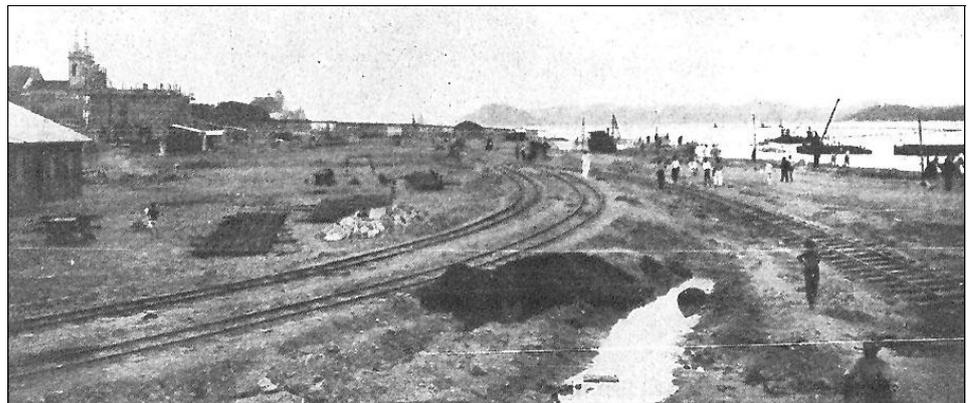


Illustration 89: Former *Santa Luzia* beach being landfilled. The remains of the razing of the Castelo Hill were used to extend the entrance of the Guanabara Bay and to pave the way for a new site for the exhibition.



Illustration 90: ‘The engineering and the mountain: how the demolition of the Castelo Hill has been done in two years.’ These spreads employ the ‘before and after’ rhetoric usually associated with improvement. On the left, older views of the area with the Castelo Hill contrast those of the right, where the area is shown flattened and the architectural remnants depicted as ruins. The razing of the Castelo Hill benefited the modernisers by creating ruins out of the Brazilian colonial past.

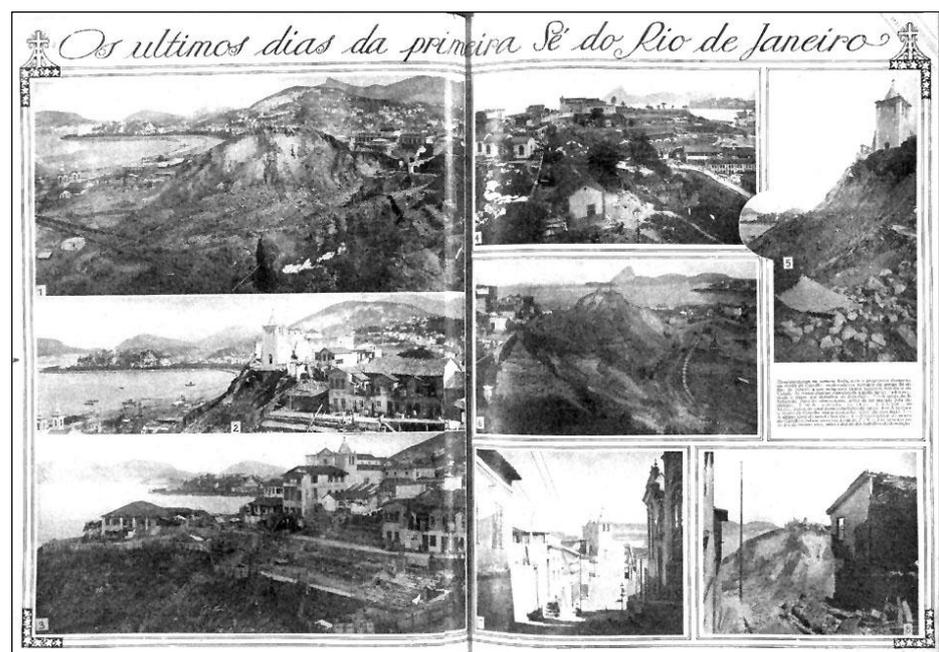


Illustration 91: ‘The last days of the first Cathedral of Rio de Janeiro’. The destruction of Rio’s colonial past was celebrated on the pages of illustrated magazine as an affirmation of modernity.

The argument visually made by these illustrations, in accordance with Sampaio's and the government's view of modernity, spoke of a future that was not just the succession of the past; it was the necessary demolition of it. Lévi-Strauss' observations about the renewal of American cities could not have been more appropriate.

The *Exposição* featured several of the elements that typically made international exhibitions (Illustration 95). It possessed national and international sections with pavilions, palaces, and monumental constructions. It offered a large amusement park, transportation, cinemas, fancy restaurants, and convenience bars to its more than three million visitors.⁷¹ It celebrated Brazil's centenary with new monuments, music bands, lavish parties, official speeches, and the display of the country's productive forces to date. It took a long time to build, consumed much work and money, and lasted for a short period, ten months in total.⁷² Its long-lasting impact in the city's landscape and Brazilian history, though, cannot be underplayed. The Brazilian exhibition was specifically successful in showing force and control over nature and in naturalising the role of a strong state in people's lives.

The naturalisation of the state

The *Exposição*'s exhibitionary complex stretched over an area of 2,500,000m² (Illustration 95) from the *Passeio Público* (Public Promenade) to the old *Ponta do Calabouço* (*Calabouço* point) and up to the Municipal Market.⁷³ Rio's 'city within a city' began at the *Portão Principal Sul* (South Main Gate, Illustration 96), a 33-metre high ornamental gate located at the end of the *Avenida Rio Branco* – the *belle époque* boulevard opened during the 1900s urban reforms.⁷⁴

⁷¹ The exhibition was visited by 3,626,402 people. See *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, ed. by John E. Findling, p.234.

⁷² República, pp.53-54, for the sums authorized by the National Congress and expenditures.

⁷³ Almeida, p.372.

⁷⁴ *Official Guide*, p.15.



Illustration 92: 'The Rio that disappears: the works on the Castelo Hill'.

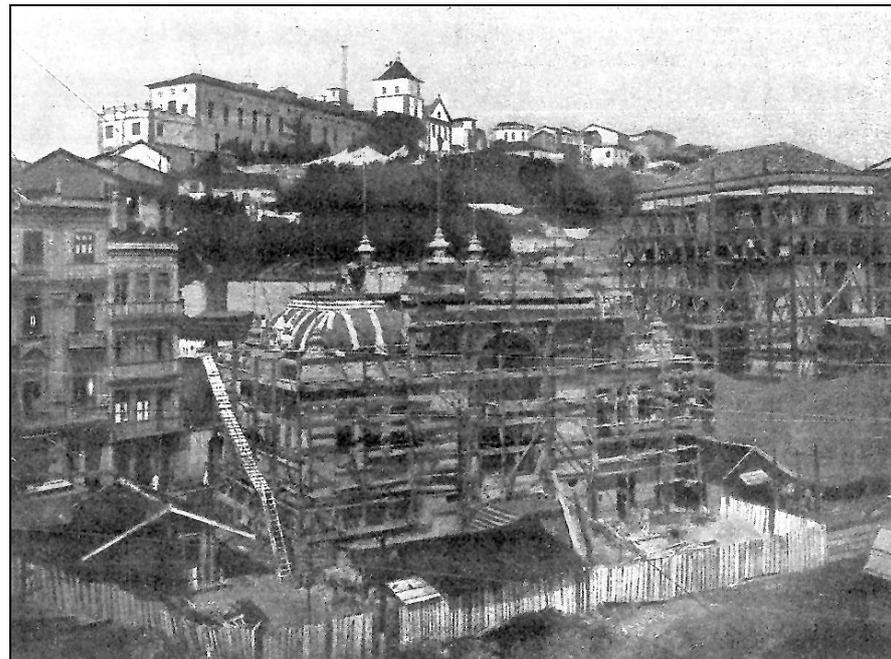


Illustration 93: An exhibition pavilion under construction in the forefront. In the background, the colonial architecture of the Jesuit College on top of the hill that was being gradually demolished.

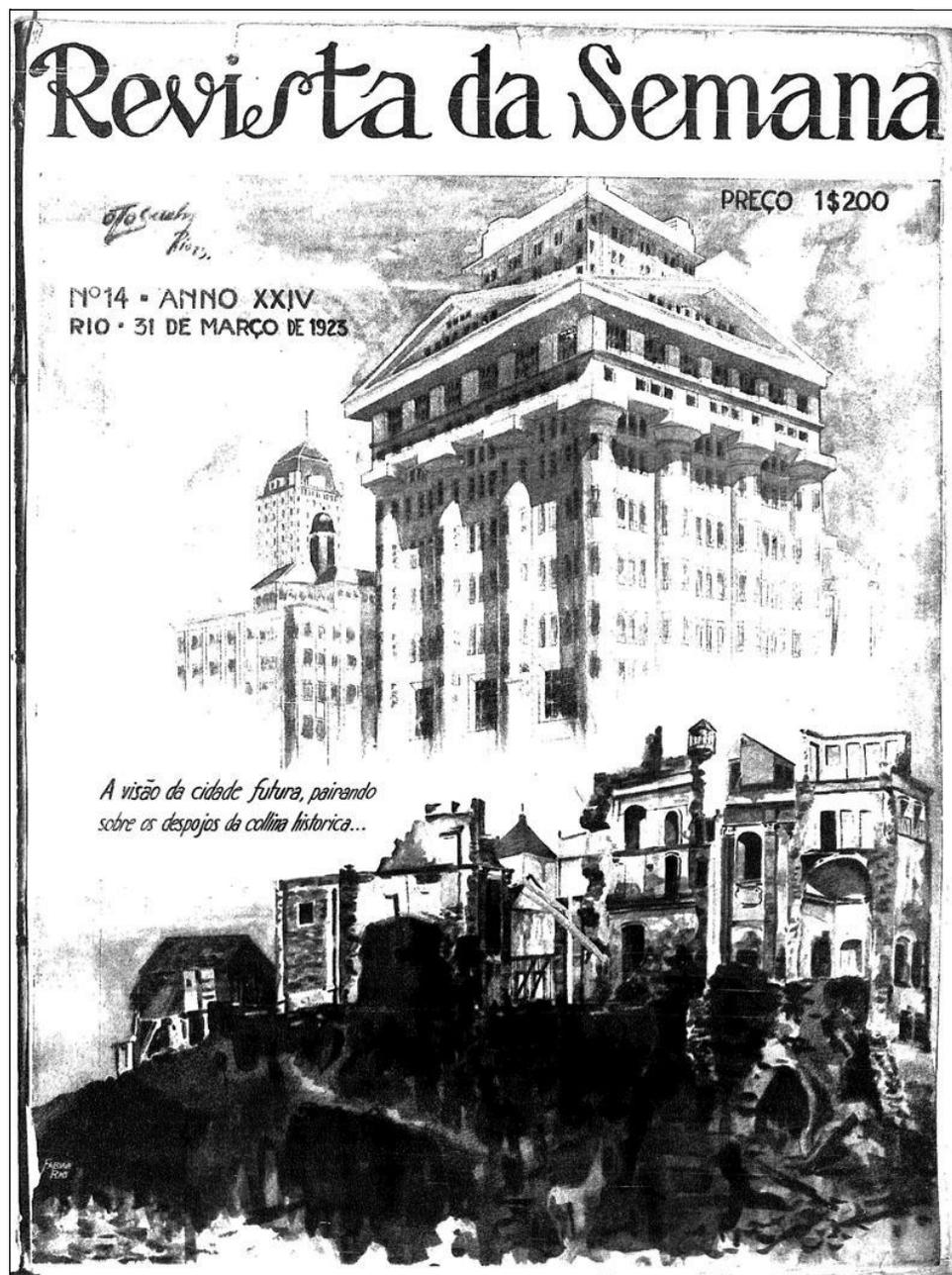


Illustration 94: Cover of the *Revista da Semana* prophesising 'the vision of the city of the future, hovering over the spoils of the historic city'.

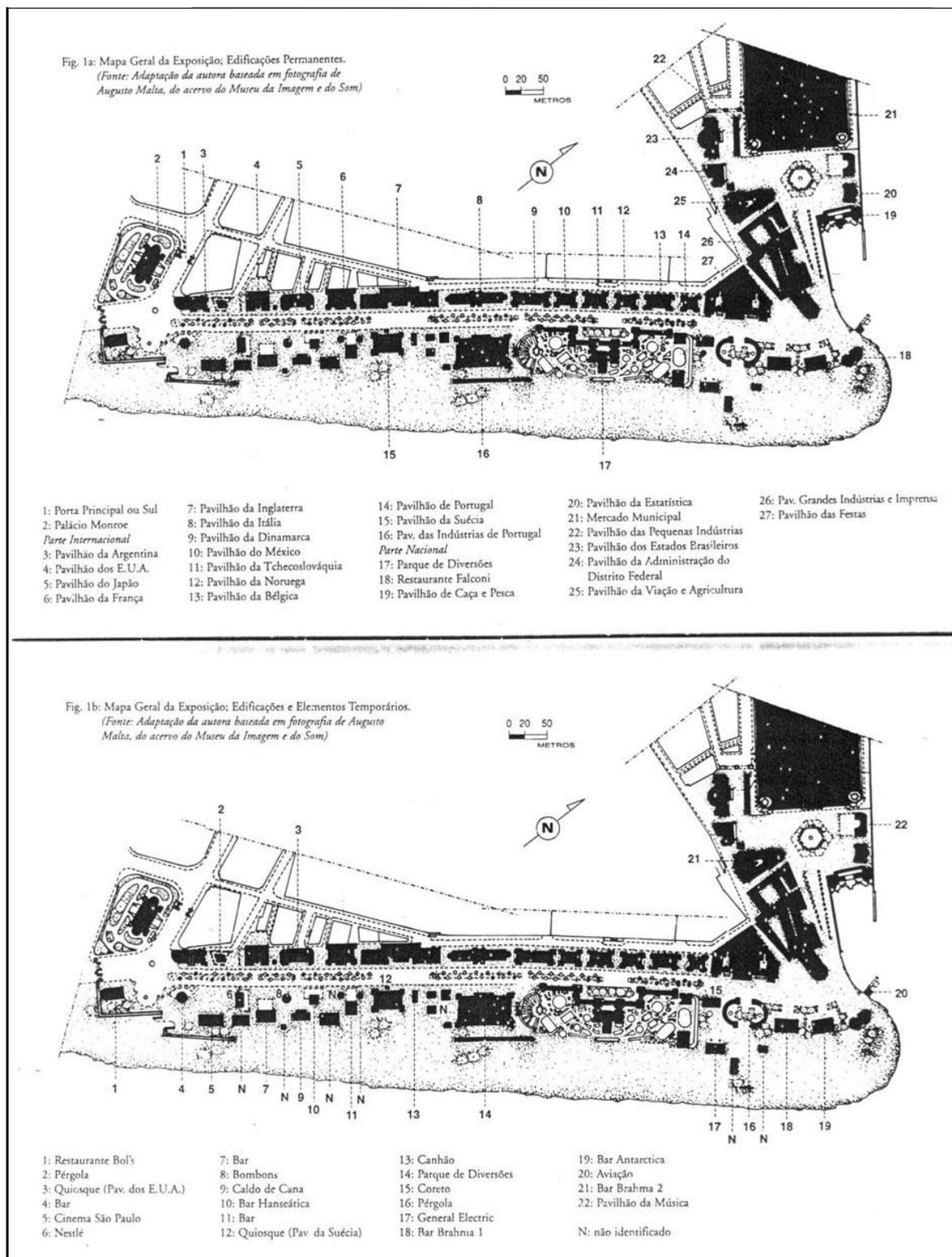


Illustration 95: Two ground plans of the exhibitionary complex of the *Exposição*. The complex stretched from the Monroe Palace on the left to the Ponta do *Calabouço* and up to the Municipal Market.

Also crowning the complex's entrance was a reconstruction of the Brazilian 'Palace of Coffee' erected in St. Louis, now renamed Monroe Palace after the United States president who established the eponymous international affairs doctrine (Illustration 97). Going northwards along the recently landfilled, sea-facing *Avenida das Nações* (Avenue of Nations), visitors passed by fourteen international pavilions, convenience shops, bars, and the *Parque de Diversões* (Amusement Park) before reaching the *Calabouço* point. There, the largely domed *Palácio das Festas* (Festivities Palace, Illustration 98) marked the beginning of the national section where nine pavilions organised and compartmentalised Brazil's political and economic forces. Two towers stood out from the horizontality of the complex (Illustration 99). The 45-metre high *Torre das Jóias* (Tower of Jewels), whose name and electrification effect were borrowed from the United States' exhibition of 1915, was located on top of the *Pavilhão dos Estados* (States Pavilion).⁷⁵ The 35-metre high *Torre do Calabouço* (*Calabouço* Tower) served as a lookout onto the exhibition, the sea, and the bay from the top of the *Palácio das Industrias* (Palace of Industries).⁷⁶ The final feature of Rio's small exhibition was the *Porta Norte* (North Gate), made of two huge stanchions and located next to the Municipal Market.⁷⁷ These stanchions closed the festival triumphantly by 'carrying on their tops two searchlights' that transformed the exhibition's daylight architectural monumentality into a nocturnal spectacle (Illustration 100).⁷⁸

Three other exhibitions complemented Brazil's exhibitionary celebrations. Away from the seaside and the glitz of modern architecture and technologies, an exhibition of husbandry showed live animals in the *São Cristovão* neighbourhood.⁷⁹ Fine arts were exhibited at the ENBA that housed two exhibitions to muster and promote artistic patriotism.

⁷⁵ *Official Guide*, p.179.

⁷⁶ *Official Guide*, p.171.

⁷⁷ *Official Guide*, p.197.

⁷⁸ *Official Guide*, p.197.

⁷⁹ *Official Guide*, p.293.



Illustration 96: The entrance to the *Exposição* was via the South Main Gate, also known as Monumental Gate.



Illustration 97: The Monroe Palace in Rio, a replica of the 'Palace of Coffee' built in St Louis in 1904, before the landfill of the shore and the construction of the exhibition, c 1910.



Illustration 98: Festivities Pavilion on the opening day of the exhibition.



Illustration 99: The *Torre do Calabouço* on the far right and the *Torre da Jóias*, to its left. This shot was taken from the top of the Antarctica brewery pavilion, built to resemble a Swiss chalet with fake snow and polar bears.

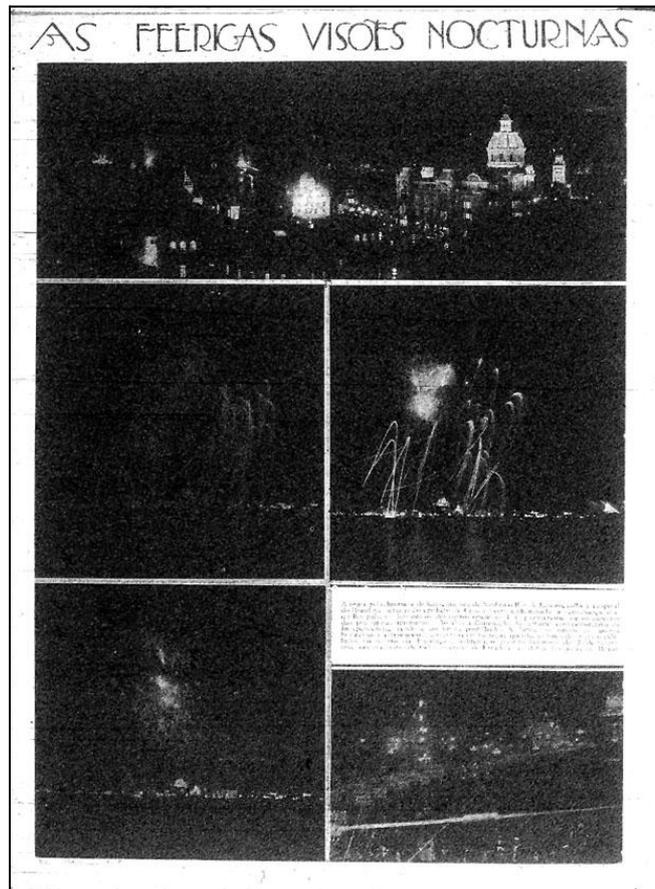


Illustration 100: 'The magical nocturnal visions'.



Illustration 101: Matarazzo industries pavilions, a marker of the ongoing industrialisation of the São Paulo state.

One, on ‘arte retrospectiva’ (art in retrospect) included ‘historical, military, religious’, decorative and applied arts from the past Brazilian centuries.⁸⁰ The other, on contemporary art, exhibited fine arts and promoted a competition among artists to create history paintings and sculptures that specifically referred ‘to our nationality’.⁸¹ Besides re-imagining the past, the competition also incited Brazilian artists to project the future by awarding prizes for ‘general plans’ that showed ‘the possible remodelling and beautification alterations’ of Rio.⁸² Science exhibits of Botany, Anthropology, and Zoology, among others, once so revered and central to the imperial exhibitions of the 1860s and 1870s, in 1922 were confined to the MN building.⁸³ More telling of the low exhibitionary status that Brazilian scientific research had reached in the 1920s was the fact that many of the exhibits were actually part of the Museum’s natural history collection. Nothing new in this field was shown. In 1922, ‘foreign’ scientific achievements were displayed on the centre stage at the seafront, applied into technologies and used as entertainment like the artificial lighting, the motor car, or the airplane.

The *Exposição* was seized by the republican government to materialise abstract civic sentiments through the visualisation of the state and an organisation of society according to a progressive view of modernity. It is through the types of national pavilions chosen to form the *Exposição*’s exhibitionary complex that this intention is best observed. Among the nine purpose-built buildings and other reclaimed edifices that formed the national section was a special group of pavilions whose exhibits offered a visualisation of the Brazilian nation-state to educate fairgoers. This group comprises what I call ‘nation-building’ pavilions. The other pavilions had typical commercial functions; their exhibits helped commodify natural resources and promote the national economy.

The richest and most prominent national industries like *Antarctica* and *Brahma* breweries, or the *Industrias Reunidas Matarazzo* (Matarazzo United Industries) (Illustration

⁸⁰ *Official Guide*, p.227.

⁸¹ *Official Guide*, pp.227-29.

⁸² *Official Guide*, p.229.

⁸³ *Official Guide*, pp.233-39.

101) built their own pavilions on the exhibition site.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the strong presence of the state could still be felt in the organisation of commercial pavilions. Except for a few ‘independent compartments’ in the refurbished Municipal Market rented out to small exhibitors a good part of exhibits in these pavilions was organised by a Ministry.⁸⁵ Tellingly, the final exhibition report suggests that the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce alone was responsible for around 75 per cent of the national exhibition.⁸⁶ In total, four pavilions – *Palácio das Industrias* (Palace of Industries); *Pavilhão da Caça e Pesca* (Fish and Game Pavilion); *Pavilhão da Viação e Agricultura* (Transportation and Agriculture Pavilion) and *Pavilhão das Pequenas Indústrias* (Small Industries Pavilion) – displayed Brazil’s most important products in sections dedicated to agriculture, mineralogy, mechanised textiles, crafts and foodstuff, among others.⁸⁷ The *Exposição* was devised as a showcase for the progress of republican Brazil and despite its commercial underpinning it was organised to reinforce tight state control over both the economy and society. Following Benedict Anderson’s proposal in which ‘communities are to be distinguished [...] by the style in which they are imagined’, I believe that the nature of the pavilions devised to represent the Brazilian section during its own exhibition can guide us through what type of community was being imagined then.⁸⁸

The type of ‘nation-building’ pavilion which best exemplifies the Brazilian community that was being proposed in the exhibition was the *Pavilhão da Estatística* (Pavilion of Statistics). Dedicated solely to showing statistical works, this pavilion was quite an unusual feature in the history of exhibitions, although statistical congresses had been common in world’s fairs in the nineteenth century. In the *Exposição*, beyond the creation of a particular pavilion to promote a scientised picture of the nation, a special class of exhibits

⁸⁴ *Official Guide*, p.8. For a complete list, see República, p.300.

⁸⁵ *Official Guide*, p.7.

⁸⁶ *Official Guide*, p.20. The report does not disclose if this was measured in terms of spatial occupation or quantity of exhibits.

⁸⁷ *Official Guide*, pp.153-59.

⁸⁸ Anderson, p.6.

dedicated to statistics was also incorporated in the general classification system.⁸⁹ In this unique type of exhibition, the nation and its inhabitants themselves were the object on display. The intention of organisers was that of ‘exhibiting numerical studies on territory, demographics, the economy’ and the ‘intellectual’ and ‘moral’ advances of the last hundred years.⁹⁰ These achievements were demonstrated, above all, through images and other techniques of visualisation. Pictures, murals, maps, graphs and diagrams formed, according to the exhibition’s official guide, ‘a complete exhibition on statistics of all works from Brazil [sic]’.⁹¹

The role of the Pavilion of Statistics in the overall exhibition was that of displaying a sense of the nation back to its inhabitants, especially in visual format for those who could not read. Moreover, while commercial pavilions were undertaking a census of objects and productive forces, the Pavilion of Statistics was offering a visualisation of the political and social state of the nation. Corroborating with Anderson’s understanding of how communities imagine themselves, this exhibit made visible the ‘abstract quantification/serialization’ of persons in Brazil; the maps it displayed established the nation’s ‘political space’.⁹² This mapping of the characteristics of the Brazilian people, not only of their territory, was an inversion of those images generated for consumption abroad in the 1860s, for example, when a place of emptiness waiting improvement was projected. The Pavilion of Statics offered, for the first time in the history of Brazilian exhibitionary efforts, a picture to persuade Brazilians of their cohesion as a nation under the aegis of the republican state. This seems to corroborate Kessel’s metaphors of the vitrine and mirror when he defines the overall impact of the *Exposição* on fairgoers:

The *Exposição* had not only the character of a double vitrine, whereby visitors from abroad got to know about the riches and potentialities of the country, and whereby Brazilians had the opportunity to make contact with foreign

⁸⁹ República, p.187.

⁹⁰ Sant’Anna, pp. 50-51.

⁹¹ *Official Guide*, p.159.

⁹² Anderson, p.xiv.

marvels. The space conquered from the sea and the Castelo was also a mirror, where the city and the nation searched for the image that they truly wanted to project, the image of progress, civilisation, hygiene and beauty.⁹³

If the entire exhibition was organised to confirm and show the ‘advancement of national life’, as the republican government wanted, the Pavilion of Statics was the decisive site where this advancement could be located, measured, and proved.⁹⁴

The *Palácio das Festas* (Festivities Palace) was another significant nation-building pavilion that contributed to a visualisation and naturalisation of the state. With the primary purpose of being the site of parties and official ceremonies that ritualised the centennial occasion, the Festivities Palace also displayed educational exhibits that exposed fairgoers to the ways of modern life.⁹⁵ Its first floor was given to the eminent Dr. Carlos Chagas, director of the Brazilian Department of Health, who had just been nominated for the Nobel Prize in medicine. Chagas was invited to organise the *Exposição*’s hygiene exhibition and to give scientific endorsement to the programme of sanitation proposed by Sampaio.⁹⁶ The educational purpose behind the hygiene exhibit had parallels with similar exhibitions on childhood and welfare seen in 1922 and discussed elsewhere by James Wadsworth and Tamera Marko.⁹⁷ These scholars argue that a special exhibition and the opening of a museum of childhood during the *Exposição* served to promote a ‘welfare state ideology’ in which children were framed as assets of the nation.⁹⁸ This exhibition, like the hygiene exhibit, promoted the rhetoric that the people’s education and health were responsibilities of the state.

Both intents – sanitation and education – were combined in a 1922 poster that explained in few words and poignant imagery what a poor, hygienic household should look like, against its undesired unhygienic counterpart (Illustration 102).⁹⁹ This poster demonstrates the sort of ‘before and after’ visual language the *Exposição* employed to instil new

⁹³ Kessel, p.61.

⁹⁴ República, p.12.

⁹⁵ *Official Guide*, p.7.

⁹⁶ *Official Guide*, p.157.

⁹⁷ Wadsworth and Marko, ‘Children of the Pátria’, pp.65-90.

⁹⁸ Wadsworth and Marko, ‘Children of the Pátria’, pp.65-90.

⁹⁹ Sant’Anna, p.110.

habits and behaviours in fairgoers. Visual communication was not the only educational method used though. The site of the *Exposição* was punctuated with loud speakers that gave information and instructions to visitors.¹⁰⁰ The two tall towers of the exhibition, the *Torre das Jóias* and *Torre do Calabouço*, were also used for communication between the organisers (the voice of the exhibition, the voice of the state) and visitors, creating an aura of surveillance over the entire exhibition experience. Promoting modern telecommunication, these towers and loudspeakers also transmitted news to nearby towns and São Paulo, expanding the exhibition's messages widely.¹⁰¹

During the exhibition, appeals to citizenship were also attempted via more soft and patriotic ways, in the hope of instilling consent and control. Hundreds of reproductions of Brazilian history painting were distributed, free of charge, to fairgoers in the name of 'civic and patriotic education'.¹⁰² A sort of 'soft' exhibition of the greatness of the nation was also attempted when maps, posters, stamps, postal cards, among others, were printed, translated into six languages, and distributed at the fair.¹⁰³ Brazilian citizens were summoned to participate in the generation of this plethora of civic, visual mementos through competitions that awarded hymns, coins, stamps, and theatre plays designed by nationals.¹⁰⁴ Together with the bonus scheme discussed above, the involvement that these gifts and awards engendered can be understood as another attempt to create consent and complicity at a moment of political and economic crisis.

¹⁰⁰ República, p.33.

¹⁰¹ República, p.33.

¹⁰² República, p.14.

¹⁰³ República, p.292.

¹⁰⁴ República, pp.11-12.



Illustration 102: On the left, 'Anti-hygienic room of a poor family' and below 'Relaxing of habits; ignorance; filthiness; lacking in air and light; a focus of disease!'. On the right, the morally right and hygienic room of a poor family: 'Education principles; attention; complete cleanliness; lots of air and lots of light; health and life!'

Modern technologies were also employed in this effort of visualisation and naturalisation. Besides the edition and distribution of national maps, films and photographs produced specially for the exhibition displayed Brazilian productive forces in full power. These films confirmed to the mainly urban population of fairgoers the natural riches, agricultural workforce, stunning landscapes, and beauty that constituted Brazil.¹⁰⁵ A gallery of portraits showing the country's most notable men was also part of the celebration of the national centenary. Among these heroes, the myth making of Pedro I, the first Brazilian emperor who had claimed independence from Portugal in 1822, had a special resonance with the exhibitions' organisers. As seen in chapter four, republicans were keen to establish their own heroes in the effort to legitimise and to create a genealogy for their political regime. By 1922, the pantheon of Brazilian heroes had been established. Besides Tiradentes, the Andrada brothers and Pedro I were hailed as key figures in the image making of the Brazilian independence.¹⁰⁶ Notably, in the historical genealogy construed by the *Exposição*, a long silence fell over the period of Brazil's Second Reign period (1840-1889) led by Pedro II, the period against which republican discourses were constructed.

Modern life, though, was made not only by a modern-looking state. During the *Exposição*, Brazilians became acquainted with the scientific achievements and technologies that symbolised modernity, usually coming from abroad. Space seemed to collapse and simultaneity of events was experienced even outside Rio when the opening speech of President Epitácio Pessoa was broadcast to cities as distant as Petrópolis, Niterói, and even São Paulo.¹⁰⁷ Modernity was also turned into experience by hydroplanes that, for a fee, took fairgoers to see the *Exposição* and its surroundings from above. Numerous naval reviews, military parades, popular parties, scientific congresses, and sport competitions gathered, organised, and exposed this new order of modernisation and modernity to the public. Above all, however, the *Exposição* was a place for entertainment and pleasure, where fairgoers

¹⁰⁵ República, pp.14, 16 and 74.

¹⁰⁶ República, p.17. The Andrada brothers were counsellors to Pedro I during his regency in Brazil and played important roles in the proclamation of independence.

¹⁰⁷ República, p.33.

could see and be seen, and become well acquainted with the economy of vision so typical of early twentieth-century modernity.

The *Parque de Diversões* (Amusement Park) and the area around it were the focal point for leisure in 1922. This pavilion was erected by the government as an integral part of the exhibitionary complex in Rio. Its purpose, however, straddled ambiguously in between that of an exhibition pavilion and entertainment concession. Besides the nation-building pavilions and the exposure to modern technologies just discussed, the offer of a regimented leisure space to fairgoers was one of the strategies of consent and complicity over which the *Exposição* was built. Leisure activities and services included amusements like merry-go-rounds or rides in electric cars, and above all, opportunities for consumption. ‘Particularly for those Brazilians who benefitted from the flourishing coffee economy’, summarises exhibition scholar Noah Elkin, ‘the Belle Époque presented new opportunities for consumption, leisure, and entertainment’.¹⁰⁸

These opportunities for consumption were mainly related to catering and drinks and were to be found in popular and numerous beer kiosks as the one erected by Antarctica in the style of a Swiss chalet with fake snow (Illustration 99).¹⁰⁹ The selling of *caldo de cana* (a Brazilian syrupy drink made of sugar cane) and *bombons* (candies) were also popular among fairgoers.¹¹⁰ Expensive restaurants like Bol’s and Falconi catered for the more moneyed ‘Belle Époque’ consumers, while international kiosks set up by the United States or Sweden, for example, attracted overall attention. Notably, no concession was made for the distribution of coffee, implying that the emphasis given in offering free coffee abroad, as discussed in chapters two and three, were indeed a strategy to change foreigners’ perception and instil an international view of Brazil as the land of coffee.

Another crucial concession to reconcile consumerism to leisure and modernity was the Cinema built by the São Paulo state. Besides the films on agriculture and natural riches

¹⁰⁸ Elkin, p.298.

¹⁰⁹ Elkin, p.318. There were at least four beer bars: Hanseática, two Brahma, Antarctic.

¹¹⁰ República, p.300.

mentioned above, in the *Campinas* cinema, ‘people of all classes’ were exposed to the industrial power of São Paulo through propaganda films.¹¹¹ Film, in fact, was central to the dissemination of the exhibition itself. To date, a film on the *Exposição* made by Silvino dos Santos survives to tell the tale of a show of modernity in Rio in the 1920s.¹¹²

The *Exposição*, however, was not just a spectacle to form *brasilidade* for Brazilians’ gaze but also for an international one. At the closing of the exhibition, the Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs, João Luiz Alves, extolled the importance of international approval by comparing the *Exposição* to a lesson. According to him, the *Exposição* ‘prompted foreign industrialists to say publicly “we have seen the Brazilian industrial display and verified that that Brazil is already an industrial country [...]”’.¹¹³ Beyond international recognition, most of the participating foreign nations left a legacy of buildings and infrastructure in Rio that sanctioned the exhibition ethos of beautification and modernisation.

Thirteen nations accepted Brazil’s invitation to send official representations and build pavilions in Rio. From the beginning of the Avenue of Nations, fairgoers journeyed past Argentina, the United States, Japan (Illustration 103), France, Britain (Illustration 104), Italy, Denmark, Mexico, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Belgium, Sweden, and Portugal. These pavilions were sometimes called ‘honour’ pavilions in contrast to others built at Rio’s docks to house larger industrial exhibits.¹¹⁴ Beyond the variety of vernacular architectural styles (Illustration 105), pavilions’ interior decoration, and national specific exhibits, Brazilian visitors experienced ‘foreignness’ through products and objects exhibited by multinationals and foreign professional associations. Saltpetre exhibitors represented Chile, for example; Luxemburg exhibited articles in the Belgian pavilion, and Swiss brand Nestle erected an

¹¹¹ Elkin, p.309.

¹¹² The film *1922: A Exposição da Independência* by Silvino dos Santos is one of the few that survived, narrated by Jair da Silva, with original recordings. It shows technological advances, hydroplane, live performance of *O Guarani*, and the amusement park. His production company was called *Batoque Cinematografia*, and a copy is held at the *Museum da Imagem e do Som* (Image and Sound Museum, MIS) in Rio de Janeiro.

¹¹³ República, p.41.

¹¹⁴ *Official Guide*, p.8 and 225; República, p.52.

individual pavilion designed to popularize its products.¹¹⁵ By the 1920s, and with the help of the exhibition, Brazilians were beginning to understand nations in metonymic terms as being represented by their products and brands.

Foreign participation was generally received by Brazilian exhibition organisers as acts of ‘cordiality’, ‘friendship’ and nobility.¹¹⁶ In return, they organised special nation’s days, like Japan Day or Mexico Day when dance, food, traditional outfit and customs from each country were promoted through specific parties and propagandised on the pages of official illustrated magazines (Illustration 106). Even old intercontinental competition, once openly expressed since the 1860s exhibitions, for example, seemed superseded. Luiz Alves praised Argentina as ‘our southern friend and neighbour’ destined to succeed in their path of progress.¹¹⁷ This celebratory exchange, all the same crucial in post-war times when economic and political alliances had to be reaffirmed, was not a novelty in the gift-giving economy of exhibitions. More significantly and lasting, though, was the infrastructural legacy that guest nations left in Rio. Belgium offered bronze works to the municipality.¹¹⁸ Several foreign pavilions were donated to the Brazilian government and occupied by many institutions and professional associations after the exhibition closed.¹¹⁹ France, in particular, was represented by a replica of Versailles’ *Petit Trianon* (Illustration 107) and was greatly commended by organisers for giving to Rio such ‘a marvellous evocation of the past’.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ República, p.28, 43; Elkin, p.319.

¹¹⁶ República, p.42, terms used by Luiz Alves.

¹¹⁷ República, p.43.

¹¹⁸ República, p.42.

¹¹⁹ República, pp.52-53. Norway, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, Britain and Argentina donated their pavilions to Brazil. Japan donated its pavilion to the prefecture of Federal District.

¹²⁰ República, p.42.



Illustration 103: Japanese pavilion on the Avenue of Nations.

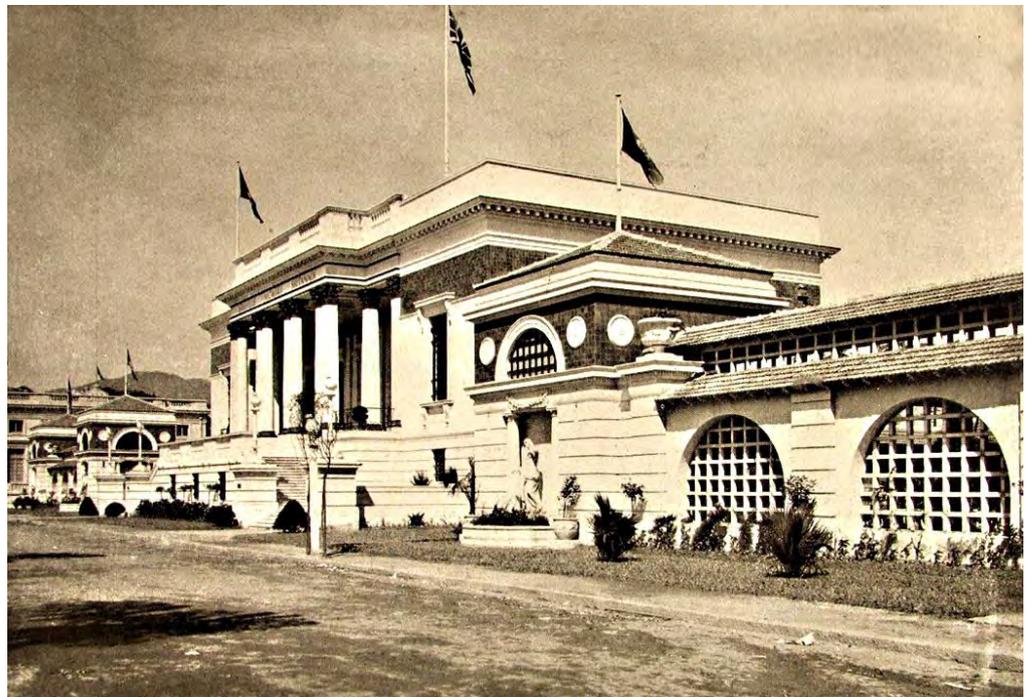


Illustration 104: British pavilion tiled in blue to represent its 'maritime superiority.'



Illustration 105: National-style architectures congregated on the Avenue of Nations. From left to right, Mexico, Czechoslovakia and Norway.

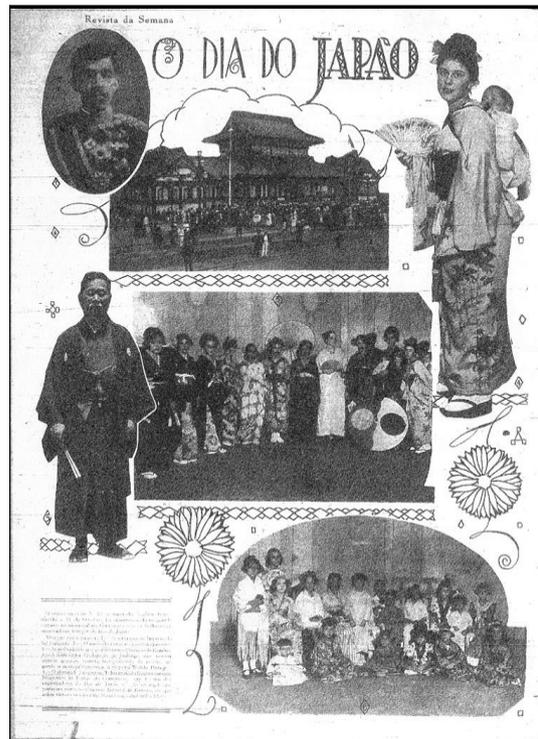


Illustration 106: Japan Day celebrated at the exhibition and on a magazine spread.



Illustration 107: A replica of the French *Petit Trianon* in Rio.

This building (one of the few that survives today) eventually housed the prestigious *Associação Brasileira de Letras* (Brazilian Literary Association) to make justice to its high cultural valence.¹²¹ While France marked its cultural superiority in Brazil with its architecture of past glories, the United States made a pragmatic gift that spoke of diplomacy and establishing a political presence in the city. After buying terrain on the Avenue of Nations, the United States delegation led by colonel David C. Collier erected a pavilion specifically designed to become their embassy.¹²² This ‘powerful friendly nation’, observed Luiz Alves, ‘wanted to leave a constant testimony of their solidarity to Brazil’.¹²³ Solidarity, however, was not the primary message conveyed by another type of foreign participation at the *Exposição*. Anchored at the seafront of the exhibition, dozens of international warships reminded fairgoers of the cruelties and enmities recently experienced during the First World War.

One of these fairgoers was Benjamin Costallat, a popular author who, according to literary historian Beatriz Resende, wrote ‘in tune with the public’s taste for “modernity”’.¹²⁴ Looking out from the easternmost part of the exhibition just before the sea, Costallat critically observed the naval parade, so vital to Britain and so proudly boasted by Brazilian ministers:

I dined last night, with myself, in the Falconi Restaurant at the exhibition. [...] The exhibition was on fire, all illuminated! The pavilions looked surreal at night! [...] Spotlights intersected each other in space, whitening the sky and clouds with their silver dust. And as if in a bacchanal of lights and colours, the palaces seemed suspended, floating, ethereal like a dream that will be dissipated. In front of it all, the sea. The immense sea in the dark, here and

¹²¹ República, p.53.

¹²² República, p.25.

¹²³ República, p.53.

¹²⁴ Beatriz Resende, ‘Brazilian Modernism: the Canonised Revolution’ in *Through the Kaleidoscope: The Experience of Modernity in Latin America*, ed. by Vivian Schelling (London: Verso, 2000), pp.199-216, (p. 209).

there, illuminated by a passing boat, by the deck of distant ships [...]. Over the dark waters, gigantic, forms could be guessed. Colossal forms slept. These were the “dreadnaughts” [sic], steel giants, modern dragons, the fabulous of the sea, blood dragons, fire dragons, who slept there peacefully, their steam-boilers cold, their cannons silent, all their iron plethora in rest... The contrast was shuddering. On land – light, joy, pleasure, at sea – darkness, silence, threats! That is when I realised the existence of two exhibitions!¹²⁵

Costallat suggests how this ‘other exhibition’, as he called it, was not lost on Brazilian fairgoers. Neither was the other side of modernity itself, its instability. In material terms, Costallat compared the flimsiness and ephemerality of exhibition with the endurance of conflict:

And then I realised all the uselessness, all the poor uselessness, of the exhibition on land, falsely colourful, falsely happy, falsely illuminated, made of plaster, made of fantasy, transitory, passing, weak, theatrical, in front of those armours made of real iron, those howitzers made of real steel, all that organisation for death and extermination, eternal like humanity and that humanity eternalises for its own disgrace...¹²⁶

Costallat’s use of the term ‘disgrace’ eerily echoes that of Lévi-Strauss.¹²⁷ For both, accelerated and impetuous expansion – be it the feverish expansion of American urban life or the gloominess of European belligerent imperialism – unfolded in disgrace. If at the *Exposição*, ‘humanity’ displayed ‘its most happy representation’, its centuries-old advances on material, moral, and artistic improvements of life, at sea, vessels hidden in darkness acted as spectres of a future war.¹²⁸ These are the perhaps the darkest fractures of the modern project spoken by Hardman and experienced by visitors of interwar exhibitions, who saw national differences recrudesced in an increasingly internationalised world.

¹²⁵ Benjamim Costallat, ‘As Duas Exposições’, *JB*, 17 September 1922, p.5.

¹²⁶ Benjamim Costallat, ‘As duas exposições’, *JB*, 17 September 1922, p.5.

¹²⁷ Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, pp.100-01: ‘In America, the passage of time was ‘an element of disgrace’.

¹²⁸ Benjamim Costallat, ‘As duas exposições’, *JB*, 17 September 1922, p.5.

Conclusion

On 1 May 2010, the most recent international exhibition opened in Shanghai, China. ‘Expo 2010 Shanghai China’, its official name, celebrated China’s international power by promoting urban modernisation as the locus of modernity. ‘Better cities, better life’ was the theme of the exhibition that all participating countries had to interpret and represent in their own ‘national’ ways. In Shanghai, Brazil was represented once again by a tropical forest, a trope this time applied to the design of its pavilion (Illustration 108).¹ Unlike its predecessor in Paris 140 years earlier, the *virgin forest* display, the Brazilian pavilion in Shanghai was designed, oddly enough, to celebrate ‘pulsating cities’.² ‘The tropical-forest-like Brazil Pavilion [sic] shows off the cultural diversity and dynamism of Brazilian cities’, says the official website.³ The incongruity is striking. Perhaps very few images could represent less urban dynamism and cultural diversity than that of a tropical forest. Nevertheless, the conflicted representation of Brazil seen in Shanghai was not new.



Illustration 108: The ‘tropical-forest-like’ Brazilian pavilion built in Shanghai, 2010.

¹ Official Website of ‘Expo 2010 Shanghai China’ at http://en.expo2010.cn/c/en_gj_tpl_29.htm [Accessed 30 April 2010].

² Official Website of Expo 2010 Shanghai.

³ Official Website of Expo 2010 Shanghai.

As my research into sixty years of exhibition participation demonstrates, tropical nature, urban modernisation, and Brazil's population have been historical national 'problems' that frequently escaped through the cracks of seemingly positive representations. The findings of this thesis, considered in the synthesis below, perhaps provide relevant theoretical and historical support to understand why Brazilian representations still reveal such fractures and contradictions.

One of the most compelling conclusions of this thesis bears the fact that Brazil's exhibitionary efforts, across Empire and Republic, was repeatedly based on exclusion. 'Brazilians' themselves were largely absent from the national representations seen abroad, especially those from working and peasant classes, black descendents, and indigenous peoples.

A few cases investigated in this thesis were telling of such absence. At the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867, Brazilian exhibition commissioners criticised other South American nations for displaying the material culture and costumes of *gauchos*. They named those displays of customs 'artifices' used to offset a supposedly 'scarcity' of exhibits.⁴ Brazil, instead, had nature and one that could muster products 'of first necessity for European commerce and industries'.⁵ The enslavement of black people, internationally recognised and condemned by then, was described in this period as a sort of 'humanitarian slavery' by one of the several propaganda publications that sought to mitigate 'preconceptions' against the country.⁶ The passage from Empire to Republic marked an increase in the rhetoric of patriotism, as testified by calls for popular participation in the preparatory exhibition of 1892-1893. However, displayed in Chicago was a nation identified with the efforts of distinguished politicians acclaimed as national heroes. Contributions from Brazil's numerous indigenous peoples were chiefly confined to the anthropological departments of exhibitions. These peoples and their material culture were dis-

⁴ Villeneuve, p.xlii.

⁵ Villeneuve, p.xlii.

⁶ *The Empire...1867*, pp.30-31.

played to exemplify 'past' human stages and were as such excluded from the present. Rural Brazil, especially during the Republic, represented an antithesis to the optimistic view of national modernisation and modernity with which the state wanted to be identified.

The absence of popular representation was notable even at Rio's *Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência* in 1922. Despite the argument that this exhibition was centred on the education of Brazilians as citizens, it is also clear that such exhibition did not focus on what Brazilian society was, but on what it should become: modern, sanitised and regulated. Following a tradition established over a sixty-year period of Brazilian exhibitionary efforts, the *Exposição* presented a homogeneous, untroubled nation, with emphasis on the transcendence of nature by technology and on the triumph of urban modernisation.

Brazilian population and society were, and are to date, distinguished for its multi-racial and multicultural make up. This, I argue, constituted a representational problem for exhibition commissioners. International exhibitions commenced by gathering, classifying and ranking the 'works of industry of all nations' but considerably extended this classification and ranking to exhibiting nations and to those exhibited as colonial possessions.

The Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in 1904 epitomised this phenomenon by placing nations, cultures, and peoples in a supposedly evolutionary, progressive scale that promoted the white race and western cultures as the pinnacle of civilisation. To succeed in this increasingly divided and racialised world, Brazilian exhibition commissioners opted for concealing the plural and diverse characteristics of the Brazilian population and their cultures.

Chiefly apparent from the period investigated was the readiness of both political regimes to use exhibitions, at home and abroad, for the maintenance of power and power relations. Two national representations organised for the United States gave compelling evidence that exhibitions were widely used as political tools, alongside their commercial causes. At the Centennial International Exhibition in 1876, and during a period of domestic instability, the Brazilian imperial state presented itself with heightened visibility for political assertion. For the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, republicans eagerly

took control of the national exhibitionary process, as if by proposing that those who dominated the national representation dominated the nation. Both evidence also point to another political opportunity offered by exhibitions, that of siding with coming or established international powers. Both the Brazilian Empire and Republic, despite their ideological differences, favoured alliances with the United States as they sought to become the second nation in the Americas. Seen through this political imperative, it is paramount to conclude that national exhibitionary efforts were opportunistic ventures that endorsed what Carvalho terms 'the force of tradition' in the Brazilian experience of modernity.⁷ An overall aim to conserve power domestically and to establish alliances abroad explains not only the nature of the Brazilian participations but also their frequency.

Domestically, Carvalho speaks of various 'campaigns' that aimed at civilising 'the populations of the interior and of the urban periphery, still trapped in what was considered superstition and backwardness'.⁸ National preparatory exhibitions fit into Carvalho's descriptions of the 'civilising campaigns' in what they also proposed ideal, modern visions of the nation that not necessarily included the lifeways of its audience. These national exhibitions, though, differed in their campaigning purposes. During the Empire, and especially during the 1861 and 1866 exhibitions in Rio, firm promotions of mechanisation and manufactures aimed at reconciling Brazilians, or at least those living in Rio, with technical modernisation. During the Republic, the hastily organised preparatory show of 1892 aimed at persuading the public in Rio that the new republic could muster abundance. This preparatory exhibition also presented republicans as benefactors of the manufacturing industries who would move the nation away from an alleged backward state associated with the Empire. Republican ideals were further reinforced in 1904 when a new model of preparatory exhibitions was adopted. Political decentralisation and the redistribution of power among regional rulers were the pillars of the state ideology of the coffee oligarchs that governed Brazil at the beginning of the twentieth century. Following

⁷ Carvalho, 'The Force of Tradition'.

⁸ Carvalho, 'The Force of Tradition', p.148.

these premises, various small exhibitions organised in different states were preferred over a centralising one occurring in Rio. If the oligarchs needed a materialisation for their non-interventionist, regionalist ideology, this model served them well. In general, national exhibitions worked towards the maintenance of national cohesion acting as ephemeral 'civilising campaigns' but ones that frequently actualised the significance of the state.

Across the period under study, the successes of the Brazilian exhibitionary efforts were not only a result of the tight control exercised by the state and commissioners closely associated to it. The frequency with which Brazilian exhibitions occurred, at home and abroad, their political imperative, and the national representations strategically designed to adapt to host nations' time and space characterise the Brazilian exhibitionary endeavour. What happened during the period when the Empire retreated from organising exhibitions abroad provide more evidence for the above conclusions. During the 1880s, professional and agricultural bodies linked to coffee production took over from the state and began to project a particular identity of the nation abroad, one closely linked to coffee production. It is necessary to enquire how the visibility obtained by these incipient representations, together with the actual political and commercial powers gained via coffee exportation, may have helped the posterior establishment of the coffee oligarchs in government. Pressing for further investigation is the fact that when the oligarchs arrived in power Brazil was already internationally recognised as the land of coffee.

Exhibitions projected an ideal image of the nation, one that would rise above existing conflicts of racial and class nature. As this thesis has shown, particular tropes of nature served this purpose well. Nature was predominately represented in its 'raw' state, a conceptualisation that survived the representational shift from Empire to Republic. Raw was clearly a construct that satisfied the commercial and political interests of those in charge of the national representations. These findings challenge interpretations in Brazilian historiography that associate the production of raw materials with a subordinate, colonial condition. As my studies of agency and representativeness coupled with that of commodification of nature suggest, Brazil's position in international exhibitions and in

the world market was strategic and lucrative to those involved. The persistent promotion of the 'rawness' of nature points also to an anxiety generated by the dichotomy of nature/culture that none of the regimes actually overcame. The *Exposição* in 1922 addressed this anxiety by offering a dramatic transformation of nature in the name of culture, the razing of the Castelo Hill in Rio de Janeiro, to pave way for a modern exhibitionary complex. Throughout all the exhibitions studied in this thesis, Brazilian nature was transformed into many artifices, from manufactured displays to enhanced, manmade landscapes.

The difference in display techniques seen between the Empire and the Republic resulted from a rupture in the ways these political regimes engaged with modernity. Imperial representations at exhibitions used the trope of nature to build an identity for Brazil a few decades after its independence in 1822. The Empire proposed ways of combining a tropical identity with that of a civilised nation, destabilising traditionally negative European constructs of tropicity. By forcing imperialist, scientised, civilised and stately representations of a tropical country, it promoted the control of nature as a source of cultural identity. Imperial exhibition commissioners, I argue, promoted a hybrid understanding of modernity, one which equated Brazilianess with tropical qualities combined with Europeanised values.

The Republicans, in turn, opposed the Empire's 'tropicalisation' of Brazil in the establishment and displays of their own national project abroad. In their manipulation of time and historical symbols, the republicans not only aimed at changing the national past. They also adopted an evolutionary and linear view of time and progress to project themselves as the future. In their views of modernity informed by the ideology of progress, Republicans internalised the imperialist discourses prompted in exhibitions. These discourses encouraged the ranking of nations and compelled their separation into centres and peripheries. The exhibitionary outcome of this view was an internal segmentation of the Brazilian territory into modern regions that drove the national economy, and into primitive regions still 'in development' but ready for exploitation. The *Exposição* in 1922

epitomised this view of modernity by proposing the modernisation of its site as a metaphor for the modernisation of the nation; modernisation was understood as a means to achieve modernity. Moreover, the Republicans accepted modernity as a determined locus, a position to be achieved.

Beyond these historical findings that demonstrate dissenting views and engagements with the concept of modernity, my research has pressed for more subtle ways of understanding ‘modernity’ than those based on dichotomies such as centre versus periphery. My overall analysis of the sixty years of Brazilian participation in exhibitions proposes that the Brazilian experience of modernity should be not recognised as half-formed, underdeveloped, or semi-modern.⁹ In this way, I second the argument of sociologist Sergio Tavolaro ‘in favour of a broadened conceptual framework’ to understand the Brazilian experience of modernity as a historically contingent phenomenon.¹⁰ In a recent paper provocatively entitled ‘Is there a Brazilian modernity?’, Tavolaro opposes views in Brazilian sociology that propose an inauthentic experience of modernity in Brazil.¹¹ He speaks of the dilemma imposed by these approaches. While ‘strongly marked by the task of explicating, understanding and interpreting modernity in Brazil’, they have ‘operate[d], thus, as self-fulfilling prophecies: when trying to explain the ‘centre’, they confirm the ‘margin’ as a deviation of the former and vice-versa, without offering space for challenge’.¹² Such was the gospel preached at exhibitions. They presupposed the evolution of peoples, culture and nations ‘constituted only and exclusively in the interior of fixed national boundaries and over a linear, coherent route’.¹³ I argue that Brazilian experience of modernity, with all its fractures and unevenness – most recently exemplified by its incongruous representation in Shanghai – has to be investigated as contingent to its time, space,

⁹ Sergio Tavolaro, ‘Existe uma Modernidade Brasileira? Reflexões em Torno de um Dilema Sociológico Brasileiro’, *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, (20) 2005, 5-22.

¹⁰ Tavolaro, p.163.

¹¹ Tavolaro, pp.5-9, 13. Tavolaro includes the works of Caio Prado Jr.; Florestan Fernandes; Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Ocatvio Ianni; Gilberto Freyre, Sergio Burque de Holanda, Raymundo Faoro and Roberto da Matta.

¹² Tavolaro, p.13.

¹³ Tavolaro, p.16.

history, and geography. As stated in chapter one, fractures in the Brazilian project of modernity should not be dismissed as the result of inauthentic copies of foreign models. Modernity is described in this thesis as the combination of multiple conditions, heightened by participation in exhibitions, and not reduced to the experience of a few ‘central’ nations. In fact, the fractures and contradictions seen in the Brazilian representations are crucial for understanding the ongoing formation of this imagined community called Brazil.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, Brazil has become big news. International commentators have hailed the country and its recent economic and political success as ‘Latin America’s big success story’.¹⁴ Has that great future so often predicted by exhibition commissioners during the period under study finally arrived for Brazil? Whatever predictions may be true, with the economic boom come new challenges and new demands for international representation. Brazil’s ascension as a coming power has been endorsed by its successful bid to host two major global tournaments, the FIFA World Cup in 2014, and the Olympic Games in 2016. In a few years’ time, international eyes will be turned even more towards Brazil, and its status as a democratic, modern, and progressing nation will be closely scrutinised. How will cultural diversity and urban dynamism be represented on national soil? What will be made visible and what will remain concealed? Most importantly, how Brazilian identification with nature will be reinterpreted in current times that demand a restructuring of traditional consumption paradigms? Undoubtedly, for the establishment and maintenance of the nation as a world power, as once exhibition commissioners had desired, a new concept of raw will have to be manufactured.

END

¹⁴ ‘Brazil Takes Off: A 14-Page Special Report on Latin America’s Big Success Story’, *The Economist*, 14-20 Nov 2009, (13 and 1-18 – special report), p.13.

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Appendix I

Brazilian participation in international exhibitions and organisation of domestic exhibitions

Empire (1822-1889)

| | | |
|------|-------------------|--|
| 1851 | London | The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations* |
| 1885 | Paris | Exposition Universelle* |
| 1861 | Rio de Janeiro | Primeira Exposição Nacional (First National Exhibition) |
| 1862 | London | International Exhibition |
| 1866 | Rio de Janeiro | Segunda Exposição Nacional (Second National Exhibition) |
| 1867 | Paris | Exposition Universelle |
| 1873 | Rio de Janeiro | Terceira Exposição Nacional (Third National Exhibition) |
| 1873 | Vienna | Weltausstellung 1873 Wien |
| 1875 | Santiago of Chile | Exposición Internacional de Chile |
| 1875 | Rio de Janeiro | Quarta Exposição Nacional (Fourth National Exhibition) |
| 1876 | Philadelphia | Centennial International Exhibition |
| 1878 | Paris | Exposition Universelle** |
| 1881 | Rio de Janeiro | Exposição de História do Brasil, BN (Exhibition of Brazilian History) |
| 1882 | Buenos Aires | Exposición Continental |
| 1882 | Rio de Janeiro | Exposição Antropológica Brasileira, MN (Brazilian Anthropological Exhibition) |
| 1883 | Amsterdam | Internationale Koloniale En Untvoerhandel Tentoonstelling** |
| 1883 | Athens | ** and *** |
| 1884 | St Petersburg | ** |
| 1884 | London | International Health Exhibition |
| 1885 | Antwerp | Exposition Universelle D'Anvers** |
| 1885 | Beauvais | ** |
| 1889 | Paris | Exposition Universelle |

* In these exhibitions, Brazil was represented unofficially by exhibits sent through private initiative, and represented officially by commissioners appointed by the Empire and the SAIN (see Introduction)

**By the private initiative of the *Clube da Lavoura de São Paulo* Farming Club of São Paulo) and/or the *Centro de Lavoura e Comércio do Rio de Janeiro* (Centre for Farming and Commerce of Rio de Janeiro)

***Evidence suggest that a similar exhibition of coffee was organised in Nizhny Novgorod, Russia in the 1880s

First Republic (1889-1930)

| | | |
|------|------------------|---|
| 1892 | Rio de Janeiro | Exposição Preparatória (Preparatory Exhibition) |
| 1893 | Chicago | World's Columbian Exposition |
| 1904 | [Various cities] | Exposição Preparatória (Preparatory Exhibition) |
| 1904 | Louisiana | Louisiana Purchase International Exposition |
| 1908 | Rio de Janeiro | Exposição Nacional de 1908 (National Exhibition of 1908) |
| 1910 | Brussels | Exposition Universelle et Internationale |
| 1911 | Turin | Esposizione Internazionale delle Industrie e del Lavoro |
| 1922 | Rio de Janeiro | Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência (Independence Centennial International Exhibition) |

Appendix II

Brazilian national exhibitions during the Empire in numbers*

| Year | Duration (days) | Visitors (numbers) | Location (in Rio) |
|------|-----------------|--------------------|---|
| 1861 | 45 | 50,739 | Escola Central (Central School) |
| 1866 | 57 | 52,824 | Casa da Moeda (National Mint) |
| 1873 | 33 | 41,996 | Escola Central (Central School) |
| 1875 | 45 | 67,568 | Secretaria da Agricultura (Office for Agriculture) |

* A Francisco Foot Hardman, *Trem Fantasma: A Ferrovia Maderia-Mamoré e a Modernidade na Selva* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005), p.83. Hardman adds that the population of Rio in 1872 consisted of 272,972 persons. No similar data was found about the republican national exhibitions, apart from those on the 1922 Rio exhibition and given in chapter five.