

Introduction

In 1921, Catholic activists revived an old idea for the erection of a monument depicting Jesus Christ on one of the iconic peaks of Rio de Janeiro, then Brazil's capital. Though the monument was not completed until 1931, in 1921 and 1922 the ground was prepared and the key arguments for the project were won. The monument to Christ the Redeemer has come to define the skyline of the "marvelous city," but it was not clear one hundred years ago that advocates would have their way. The proposal required the permission of the republican authorities who governed the city and controlled the Corcovado *morro* where planners hoped to erect the monument, and the Catholic Church had suffered a conflicted relationship with the republic since it had replaced the imperial monarchy in 1889, its architects having adopted a neutral stance on religious matters that many Catholics read as anticlerical. Advocates acknowledged the challenge, and so alongside their argument that the monument would announce to the world that Brazilians were a people dedicated to the faith they also argued that its erection was a necessary political act.

Advocates like the historian Afonso Celso said that 1922 was the exact right time to undertake the project because it was Brazil's centenary year, the hundredth year since the Portuguese prince Pedro had declared independence on 7 September 1822. They argued that in celebrating the country's centenary it was essential to rededicate it to God, and in their

As festas eucharísticas do Centenário

O que a Igreja vai fazer

As virtudes christãs não poderiam deixar também de ser celebradas no anno do Centenario da Independencia, porque, catholica como é a Terra de Santa Cruz, a maioria de seus filhos, em todos os regimens, desde o descobrimento até hoje recebem as mesmas influencias espirituaes, que não podem impunemente ser desligadas da historia dos nossos progressos e civilisação. E a religião, seja este ou aquelle o credo, trate-se desta ou daquela seita, que orienta afinal o individuo em sua vida particular e publica, sendo portanto cousa facil de perceber-se, independentemente da ausencia de qualquer crença, os reflexos poderosos que os altares exercem sobre os grandes phenomenos nacionaes. Demais os factos todos os dias estão a demonstrar no nosso paiz a influencia da Igreja, porque, não gráo os principios constitucionaes que a separam do Estado, é uma só a fé que congrega a maioria imensa do nosso povo.

Nem precisamos, para accentuar a verdade, invocar os exemplos diarios em que o governo, directo ou indirectamente, participa das crenças cathollicas, da religião dos nossos soldados e marinheiros, ou lembrar ceremonias de affirmação especial de fé, como as que recentemente foram celebradas com a benção das espadas.

Mas, mesmo que não existissem essas razões, não poderia passar esquecida entre as festas do Centenario a do Congresso Eucharístico que se vai reunir nesta cidade de S. Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro a 28 de Setembro proximo, sob os auspícios do Cardeal Arceverde, e se deve encerrar a 1.º de Outubro deste mesmo anno festivo, que é também eucharístico, porquanto fica em seu curso exposto dia e noite, em varias igrejas, á adoração do povo, o Santissimo Sacramento.

Não é demais portanto que se esclareça ser o Congresso Eucharístico uma lembrança a um tempo religiosa e patriótica, porque é uma homenagem a Jesus Sacramento e uma solemnidade da historia nacional, banhada dos sentimentos da religião de Christo. É um Congresso esse que se estende a todo o Brasil porque o seu exito está ligado as benções de todo o clero e aos actos de adoração de todo o povo, visando

Do valor das theses que costumam ser debatidas nesses assenbléas origines de religião christã, bem se pode ter uma segura idéa quando se consultam seus preciosos annaes. Ainda em 1906, no de Turin, entre os mais attrahentes assumptos, honve a conferencia do Conego Collin, da Cathedral de Metz, que brillou no seguinte thema: A Eucharistia e os trabalhos economicos. O padre Godefróid Kurth, professor da Universidade de Liège, no Congresso de Bruxellas, em 1898, tratou como um estheta verdadeiro da Eucharistia e da Arte Christã; e Horacio Marucchi, sem duvida a maior autoridade moderna da archeologia, no Congresso Eucharístico de Roma, em 1905, fez esplender sua erudição e sua fé com a seguinte these: A Eucharistia e as Catacumbas.

Podemos ainda citar, para melhor comprehensão do alcance social das festas eucharísticas do Centenario aquella these que o Padre Delaporte, poeta corado pela Academia Franceza, defendeu em 1884 no Congresso de Reims, tratando da Eucharistia e da vida nacional da Franca.

Foi nesse mesmo congresso que Lemais, superior dos capellas de Montmartre, proferiu um bellissimo discurso de profunda analyse, fallando dos desígnios do Sagrado Coração de Jesus sobre a Franca. Não será preciso citar ainda a these de um vice-almirante francez, de Cunerville, exposta no Congresso de Reims, tratando da Eucharistia e da vocação da Franca.

E como se vê uma obra de recordação nacional e de attestado de crenças religiosas o que se faz nos Congressos Eucharísticos, como esse que vamos realizar nos dias 28, 29 e 30 de Setembro, e de cujo programma, constarão, entre outros, os seguintes actos: uma procissão solemnissima pelas principaes ruas da cidade, tendo a frente, com a imagem de Christo, um enorme ostensorio, ou melhor, custodia; a communhão geral das creanças do Rio e a communhão geral dos homens; missa ca m.p.l. com o canto da Gloria e Crédo, em canto-bédo, pelo povo e por fim, se os bispos approvarem, a

L.1. Original design for the monument of Christ the Redeemer, *A Exposição de 1922*, August 1922. Courtesy of the New York Public Library.

public comments they often reminded their fellow citizens of the country's original Western name as the land of the True Cross (Vera Cruz). Just as important, they insisted, the monument would symbolize and encourage a sense of community among all Brazilians; all were joined in the family of the faithful. It was clear, they said, that the nation was wracked by the challenges of modernity and divided against itself, and that the republican state had not, could not, provide Brazilians with the sense of national communion that would bring them together despite their differences. Only the Catholic faith could give them the means to confront these challenges and resolve their differences. The image of Christ the Redeemer on the tallest peak of the capital city would serve as a call to tradition and remind them of their common heritage at a key moment in their history.

In the event, and despite the objections of some, the plan did win the approval of many residents of the capital and the permission of national and city authorities. Advocates staged a ceremony to dedicate the monument site in early October 1922, claiming Corcovado for the faith, keynote speaker Raphael Pinto calling it one of the most important “integrative forces of Brazil.”¹ This was part of their attempt—along with a Eucharistic congress and enormous outdoor masses and processions—to make the centenary of national independence a Catholic celebration. However, as the project’s advocates acknowledged when they discussed the challenges and divisions Brazil faced in 1922, theirs was not the only view of what Brazil was and ought to be. Indeed, the project for the Redeemer monument itself displayed the volatility that seemed to define Brazilian life during the period, for its original, naturalistic design reinforced the traditionalist message its advocates asserted, but the completed and familiar version put on display the rising influence of modern artistic styles in Brazil. Nor were Catholic activists the only people who saw the centenary as a deeply meaningful occasion. They were joined by many, many others, including not only Brazilians but also immigrants and even foreigners, all of whom used the centenary of independence to assert their views about the nation, and, as with the Redeemer monument, to attempt to install their claims on Brazil in an enduring way.

Few years in Brazilian history have been as eventful as 1922. Artur Bernardes won the presidency in March, another victory for the “coffee with milk” coalition that had dominated Brazilian politics since the foundation of the republic in 1889, rooted in the economic power of São Paulo and Bernardes’s own Minas Gerais. But the costs were high. The electoral campaign revealed the fractures in the republic order, as regional oligarchs turned against one another and civilian-military relations foundered on allegations of the new president’s disrespect for the armed forces, and the political crisis deepened as the year went on. In July, soldiers stationed at the Forte de Copacabana in Rio de Janeiro rose against the government, while local power struggles in Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul turned violent, the first conflict leading to the occupation of Recife by federal forces in August and the second seeding the so-called Gaúcho Revolution of 1923. Among other measures, the national government reacted to these events by declaring a state of siege, first in Rio de Janeiro and then throughout the country. Meanwhile, outside the narrow confines of the institutional arrangements of the republic, activists launched their own campaigns against the political status quo, including the Partido Comunista do Brasil (founded in March) and the Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino (a product of the first Conferência pelo Progresso Feminino, held in August). Finally, 1922 saw

several events of great social and cultural import, including the *Semana de Arte Moderna*, the literary, musical, and plastic arts festival that took place in São Paulo in early February. The week became the year's best-known event, though in the moment contemporaries showed much greater interest in an event that took place in October, the South American football championship, won by the Brazilian *seleção*.

Every nation has its defining dates, from Britain's 1688 to China's 1949, from the United States' 1776 to Mexico's 1910. Like France's 1789—perhaps the most evocative and well known of these touchstones—such chronological metonyms help tell the stories of nations. They can be used to legitimize particular interpretations of a nation's past and to communicate the purported values of its people, establishing the parameters of belonging and exclusion.² Brazil too has had its essential moments, such as 1888 (the year of the abolition of slavery) and 1964 and 1985 (the beginning and end dates of dictatorial rule by the military), but none carries the import and resonance evoked by 1922. This has to do with the significance of the year's events in themselves, and also with the way they suggest larger, long-running developments. Thus, the controversies surrounding Bernardes's election were matters of urgent import in 1922, and they also distilled the kinds of tensions that characterized the republican order, including divisions within the country's governing classes. Similarly, while the Copacabana revolt failed, it helped launch the *tenentista* campaign of junior military officers against the national state and, along with regionalist conflicts and the formation of new leftist and women's rights groups, it demonstrated just how many Brazilians felt left out of the political system and helped bring about its collapse at the end of the decade. The victory in the *Campeonato Sul-Americano de Futebol* was only the second in what has become the *seleção's* extraordinary number of international triumphs, and it was massively important at the time, not least because, despite what we might assume, football was still controversial in 1922, enough that Congressman Carlos Garcia proposed a legal ban on international matches due to controversies that beset the tournament.³ And the *Semana de Arte Moderna* was not only a week-long festival; it also announced an enormously influential movement that would transform Brazilian arts and letters and brought the attention of contemporaries to artists who until then were not widely known, such as Victor Brecheret and Guilherme de Almeida.

It is little surprise, then, that historians have afforded these events close attention, especially in order to understand the larger developments to which they were linked—the breakdown of the republican order, the *tenentista* movement, the campaign for women's suffrage and civil rights, the career of Brazilian football, and the character of mod-

ernism.⁴ However, they have done comparatively little to scrutinize the particular circumstances of 1922 that had prompted many of the year's most important events and help explain why contemporaries saw it as a pivotal, foundational period. That is, it was in great part the marking of the centenary of independence that gave shape and significance to the events, debates, and conflicts of national life, in September and throughout the year.

Brazilians organized massive celebrations to mark the centenary, the largest and most elaborate of which was a world's fair-style exhibition, the *Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência*, which opened in Rio de Janeiro on independence day. The exhibition was an enormous undertaking, involving the renovation of the capital's downtown and including displays of products from every Brazilian state and territory and more than a dozen countries. And there were many other events in the capital and throughout the country, each one seeming as meaningful to its participants as did the ceremony to break ground for the Redeemer monument to its planners. Beginning in January of the centenary year and running well into the next (the exposition closed its gates only on 24 July 1923), Brazilians dedicated their attention, time, and resources to celebrating the centenary and arguing over what it meant—for each individual citizen and resident, for the national community as a whole, and for its place in the world. Beyond the fair, they organized parades, erected monuments, and opened new museums. Scholars and other groups gathered to share knowledge about the past and their plans for the present and future, with historians, linguists, educators, and industry and business figures joining Catholics in organizing their own conferences, releasing special publications, and offering lectures in public and private settings. Poets, writers, musicians, and painters presented new works designed to interpret Brazilian life and contribute to public conversations about the nation at the centenary. And Brazilians staged athletic performances of patriotism and nationality, including through the participation of the *seleção* in the South American football championship and in other special “centennial” sporting events.

Like the other remarkable events of 1922, the celebrations and performances of the centenary were important in their own time and they were seminal in shaping Brazilian life in the ensuing years and decades. On one hand, the scale and reach of centenary efforts—from the massive exhibition, which welcomed more than three million paying visitors, to the pioneering long-distance flights undertaken by aviators as a way to honor the occasion and link Brazil to locations as far away as Lisbon and New York—marked them as matters of great import throughout Brazil and beyond its borders, before 1922 began and into 1923. On the other

hand, like the plan to erect the Redeemer monument, the centenary moment reverberated long after the celebrations were over, for the events of the centenary distilled the weightiest matters of Brazilian life, from the proper structure of modern government and the challenges of uneven development to the essence of *brasilidade* and the claims that Brazilians, immigrants, and foreigners made on the nation.

The continuing power of 1922 also owed a great deal to the ways in which the celebrations of the centenary functioned as rites that marked the year as special. That is, they worked to make the centenary a “time out of time,” as Roy A. Rappaport has described the experience of ritual, breaking from the mundane, stoking strong emotions, and focusing minds.⁵ When Brazilians attended outdoor masses to give thanks for independence; when they marched in parades and attended ceremonies dedicating new monuments; when they toured the exhibition campus, an arresting space of eclectic architectural styles and brilliant electric light; and when they filled the stadium of the Fluminense Football Club to help the seleção win the South American championship, they celebrated the centenary, but they did more than celebrate. As a set of rituals, the celebrations of the centenary called Brazilians to step out of the quotidian and concentrate their attentions on ideas and issues that many of them rarely considered, making the centenary an experience and a performance of what it meant to be Brazilian and what Brazil had been and should be. Thus, the celebrations of the centenary were short-lived events but they were not transitory; they afforded Brazilians special opportunities to display their values and their beliefs and extraordinary venues for practicing politics and shaping the substance of citizenship.⁶

Joining with Latin Americanist and other historians, scholars of Brazil have taken an interest in the ways that civic rituals helped define the nation, and a few have examined facets of the centenary story as well.⁷ Hendrik Kraay has done essential work in this regard, showing how Brazilians in the nineteenth century used the celebration of holidays to define the character and boundaries of regional and national identities and to negotiate the parameters of political power in the imperial state and early republic.⁸ The architects of the republic were especially attuned to the utility of civic rituals in legitimizing the new regime, abolishing imperial holidays like the celebration of the emperor’s birthday and designing a new calendar of “holidays that the Republic calls us to celebrate,” as Lúcia Lippi Oliveira describes the effort.⁹ Scholars of Brazil have also demonstrated how eager the nation builders of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were to participate in international exhibitions, and the ways they sought to use these events to broadcast to domestic and foreign audiences their own distinctive ideas about Brazil.¹⁰



L.2. Brazil in 1922, designed by Katie Banks, based on original produced for the centenary celebrations by the Club de Engenharia. Note the inset image of the São Pedro and São Paulo archipelago, top right. Courtesy of the Acervo da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional—Brasil.

The centenary exhibition was Brazilians' most ambitious initiative in this regard, and scholars have paid it particular attention. Ruth Levy and James E. Wadsworth, among others, have demonstrated that its organizers aimed at making it a display of Brazilian modernity and cosmopolitanism, a proof that the nation was ready to take its place among the first rank of nations.¹¹ In her pioneering work on the centenary, Marly da Silva Motta shows how elite powerbrokers in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo attempted to use the centenary to legitimize their own claims to power, another episode in their seemingly endless struggle for hegemony in the republican era.¹² She also emphasizes that the celebrations of the centenary extended beyond the grounds of the fair and beyond the capital city, but scholars have only begun to examine how the centenary unfolded in Brazil at large.¹³

This book builds on the important work undertaken by these scholars, offering analysis of debates among Brazil's intellectual and political leaders and of the largest centenary events, including the exhibition, the football championship, and the inauguration of major new monuments and museums, such as the Monumento à Independência in São Paulo

and the Museu Histórico Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. It also offers a wider perspective on Brazilians' experience of the centenary, because all manner of Brazilians—as well as immigrants and other foreigners resident in and visiting Brazil—celebrated the occasion, argued about its meaning, and performed their own understandings of identity and citizenship. The largest and most important “official” events of the centenary took place in the national capital and in São Paulo, the seat of the country's most economically dynamic and developed region, but Brazilians all over the country celebrated the occasion, so studying the breadth of that experience is essential to our understanding of the centenary. Thus, while it is not possible to know how the centenary unfolded in every village, town, and city in the enormous country, the book looks beyond Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo and the southeastern region, examining Brazilians' celebrations in the South, in particular in Rio Grande do Sul, and in the North and Northeast, focusing especially on Pernambuco.

Furthermore, it was not only in events organized by national and state governments that the centenary was celebrated, nor was it only elite actors who organized and interpreted them. As Kraay points out, in order to understand the political and cultural significance of civic rituals it is important to examine what happens beyond officially sanctioned and organized celebrations, for such events are opportunities for state actors as well as common citizens to make assertions about and shape the practices of citizenship and the substance of identity.¹⁴ Thus, the book examines official events and those planned by major regional and national institutions, such as historical societies and chambers of commerce, as well as unofficial and “popular” ones. For example, it examines the remarkable “raids” of the centenary, in which aviators, fishermen, and athletes undertook long-distance journeys to reach the national capital as a means of celebrating the occasion, and the efforts made by immigrant groups throughout the country to participate in their own ways, from private parties to the erection of monuments.¹⁵

This more ample view demonstrates the extent to which the rituals of the centenary matched the hopes of organizers and powerful actors to broadcast the notion that Brazil was advancing rapidly toward its destiny as a modern, unified nation on the Western model, and to use the occasion to guide Brazilians toward the practices they believed would bring about this happy result. The centerpiece of this project was the centenary exposition, which brought together products and exhibitors from every state and region of the country and a handful of friendly nations in a carefully curated display of Brazil's advancements, economic potential, and global standing, the audience at once foreign and domestic. The organization of a number of other “national” and multinational events,

including sports competitions, industry meetings, and cultural festivals amplified the exhibition's messages. And civic rituals that took place throughout the country—including parades by state and national military forces, the erection of centenary monuments, and formal ceremonies in which every school child swore allegiance to the nation—drew in the many millions of Brazilians who did not visit the exposition or attend congresses or football matches, and involved them in the articulation of the centenary's meaning as it was defined by elite organizers.

However, the adoption of a broader view of the centenary also demonstrates the complexities and the limits of this centenary project. Powerful figures in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo were never as sure about the meaning of the centenary as suggested by their most confident assertions about the exhibition and other events, and they carved out space in their commemorations for inquiry and debate about the character of Brazil, its past, and its future. They were joined in their arguments by many others, including political leaders in other cities and states who used the centenary to make claims on regional and national power. Just as important, beyond the circles of the politically powerful and well connected, millions of men and women from all walks of Brazilian life met the centenary according to their own lights and drew from it their own lessons, whether by attending official events or organizing their own, and even by announcing their refusal to celebrate it. As they engaged in the rituals of the centenary, they confronted the challenges and enacted the tensions that defined Brazilian life in the early twentieth century, between modernity and tradition, over race and ethnicity, and between nation and region. The book thus shows that the centenary did as much to deepen the divisions of the national community as it did to unify it under the guidance of its purported elites.

Because the centenary involved both the marking of historical events and a celebration of the maturing nation, it called forth a consideration of the relationship between tradition and modernity. To a great extent, Brazilians celebrated the centenary in ways exemplifying the modernizing project that had led to the foundation of the republic and animated efforts to remake the country in the previous three decades through such means as ambitious public health campaigns, major infrastructure initiatives, the reorientation of the nation's diplomacy, and even a renovation of its pastimes.¹⁶ The cosmopolitan and technocratic character of that project was most clearly displayed in the centenary exhibition, which organizers based closely on the world's fair model designed to promote the worldview and interests of the dominant classes of the developed nations.¹⁷ But amid the seemingly headlong pursuit of modernity the republic also saw the persistent "force of tradition," in José Murilo

de Carvalho's words, both because of elite commitments to maintaining social hierarchies and popular resistance to their "improvement."¹⁸ The centenary experience showed as much, and also illustrated the growing interest among many Brazilians in thinking anew about the prerepublican order and the traditions that the fathers of the republic had seemed to abandon. There were indications of that interest in the years preceding 1922, such as the prominent place afforded Portugal in official celebrations of the centenary of the opening of Brazilian ports to international trade in 1908, and the 1920 reversal of the republican banishment of the members of the imperial family. The celebrations of 1922 served as a platform for Brazilians who wanted to share more generous assessments of traditions they hoped to reinvent for the modern day, so the centenary featured jarring examples of the clash between dreams of the future and nostalgia for an imagined past as well as illustrations of the possibility that the tension between modernity and tradition could be productive, as seen in the neocolonial architecture that characterized much of the exhibition campus.

In inviting consideration of Portugal's influence in the making of Brazil, growing interest in the colonial period also contributed to ongoing debates about race and national origin, and these debates too played out in centenary events. The encouragement of the migration of millions of Portuguese, Germans, Japanese, and Italians in the late empire and early republic was rooted in elites' anxiety over the supply of labor the country required for its economic development and their belief that the lessons of European science showed that Brazil must be "whitened" if it were to flourish in the modern world. However, few Brazilians had ever accepted the most severe interpretations of Eurocentric racial doctrines, and by the 1920s there was increasing willingness in some quarters to reject those doctrines altogether, along with rising confidence about how state power might be used to create a stronger Brazilian woman and man and lead them toward a bright future.¹⁹ Of course, this was no racially democratic outlook, but it did mean that at the time of the centenary many truisms about issues of race and national origin, widely held among the well-to-do and well educated, were being questioned, if not discarded. Official centenary events put that conflicted perspective on display, for example, in the exhibition's Museu da Criança and the first Congresso Brasileiro de Protecção à Infância, and many conversations and debates inspired by the centenary echoed the tension between pessimism and confidence. Thus, the centenary saw efforts to revalorize the role of Portugal in the making of Brazil *and* evidence of Lusophobia, celebrations of the contributions of European immigrant laborers *and* assertions that the mixed-race *caboclo* was the quintessential Brazilian

who would build a great nation.²⁰ In other words, the centenary was in great part a display of Brazilians' concerns about race and national origin and how they might be expected to shape the country's future.

When Brazilians pondered these issues—of race and nation and *raça*, the term they used to refer to either and both, eliding the distinction—they often thought and spoke of the country's regions. The settlement of immigrants primarily in the states of the South and Southeast made geographic differences seem racial and “national” as much as climatic or economic, and thus reinforced the long-standing regional identities that distinguished Brazilians from one another. Those identities were crucial to the function of the country in the preceding decades, not least in the structure of the nation's government. The federalist principle on which the republic was built satisfied the demands of the Paulistas and Mineiros who presided over the country's most economically dynamic regions for more thorough control over their own affairs. It also bred resentment in places like the Northeast, where the decline of traditionally important industries and persistent drought conditions left local elites demanding the assistance of the national government, and it encouraged separatist sentiments in Rio Grande do Sul.²¹ These were powerful ideas, helping Brazilians in different parts of the country articulate ever-more precise notions about their distinctive places in the nation and informing political arrangements and decisions, thus making it difficult to pursue the kinds of great national projects championed by many early twentieth-century Brazilians.²² Brazilians put all these issues on display during the centenary celebrations: in the centennial fair, which organized Brazilian products according to the states from which they came; in sporting events, which pitted state teams against one another; and in Brazilians' disagreement on which set of events should be commemorated in the celebration of independence, each region narrating its own history. The centenary thus displayed regional differences and, in displaying them, exacerbated them.

Finally, the book draws attention to the rising tensions between older and younger Brazilians. While it is difficult to discern precise and consistent lines of demarcation according to age cohorts, it is at least clear that the centenary served as a platform for younger Brazilians—especially those who had come of age and been born after the foundation of the republic—to announce their deep dissatisfaction with the character of Brazilian society, culture, and government. A few contemporaries noticed this shift, including, for example, the lawyer and future jurist Pontes de Miranda, who turned thirty in 1922 and published the first part of a series of articles on “the new generation” in Rio de Janeiro's *O Jornal* in July of that year. He wrote of its “historic mission” to remake

Brazil, which he called “gigantic but ill.” This required knowing Brazil as it really was, rather than as wealthy and powerful—and older—Brazilians preferred to imagine it, and Miranda noted that his generation was ready to undertake that work, for it “declares loudly, very loudly, what it does not know and what it wants to learn”; unlike its forebears, “it listens to Brazil.”²³

As Miranda continued the series in August, he paired biting critiques of older generations with comments about the matters that most concerned his cohort, including immigration and regionalism, and, especially, the character of the Brazilian political order. The next month, the highly influential *Revista do Brasil* republished the original piece, and one of its young directors, the historian Brenno Ferraz do Amaral, connected Miranda’s argument directly to the year’s great occasion in the magazine’s centenary editorial. Ferraz called Miranda’s words “justified, quite justified,” and labeled these young Brazilians “the Centenary generation.” Like Miranda, who called them “an army . . . which will find its generals,” Ferraz left no doubt of the disappointments or the ambitions of the new generation. These Brazilians would, he said, work a “revolution in our ideas and our customs” and would ultimately tear down and reconstruct society and the political system, “the indolent moral order that has ruled us for one hundred years.”²⁴

The festivities of 1922 provided this “Centenary generation” the platform to begin their work, and, as the book shows, other young Brazilians used the celebrations to advance arguments similar to those made by Miranda and Ferraz. They spoke not of accomplishments but of failures, not of independence but of the nation’s false sovereignty, and they promised to accept the responsibility for change, for making Brazil a true community and a great nation in its second century. For the most part, during commemorative events these generational distinctions were suggested rather than made explicit, but they do seem to have informed many Brazilians’ experience of the centenary.²⁵ They ran through the events of commemoration and celebration and civic ritual, and they joined with Brazilians’ arguments about modernity and tradition, over race and *raça*, and about regional differences to make the centenary as much an expression of fracture and doubt as it was a display of unity and confidence.

In order to demonstrate the variety of Brazilians’ experiences of the centenary and the ways those experiences exemplified and heightened the tensions of Brazilian society, the book provides a multifaceted analysis of the rituals and debates of 1922. It covers events in the national capital and a handful of other regions; it examines the experiences of “official” organizers commissioned by the national government as well

as those of private citizens, immigrants, and visitors to Brazil; and it analyzes conversations about the centenary and a number of the ritual events these people staged to mark and celebrate it. Chapter 1 explains how and why a handful of fishermen, aviators, cyclists, and pedestrians undertook long journeys aimed at the national capital as a way of participating in the centenary celebrations. It explains that these “raids” demonstrated much about what the raiders and the wider public believed it meant to think about Brazil, what it meant to be Brazilian, and who belonged to the nation and who did not in the 1910s and 1920s. It focuses on two groups, fishermen called *jangadeiros* (after their simple sailing rafts, called *jangadas*) from the Northeast and two groups of aviators, a pair of Portuguese naval officers who completed the first air crossing of the South Atlantic and a group of American and Brazilian flyers who completed the first flight from New York City to Rio de Janeiro. Each of these raids took many weeks, affording contemporaries the opportunity to read deep meaning in the journeys.

The chapter tells the stories of the raiders and explains why the raid phenomenon struck a chord throughout Brazil, drawing from a wide variety of contemporaneous sources from many places and expressing many different points of view. These include general-audience newspapers and magazines published in Rio de Janeiro, the raiders’ destination and home to publications that were distributed nationally. They also include periodicals produced in the places from which the raiders departed and called home and many of the locations through which they passed during their journeys; specialized periodicals such as the *Revista Maritima Brasileira*, which devoted special attention to the fishermen; and extraordinary publications, such as a glossy volume prepared in Lisbon to honor the Portuguese aviators’ accomplishment.²⁶ These sources demonstrate how contemporaries used the raids to think about the meaning of the centenary and about the ways that time, race, and region defined the nation as it marked the great date. They also indicate the way in which the tensions that defined the centenary were complicated by issues of class and gender, as only one raider of the centenary was a woman and there were clear social distinctions between aristocratic aviators and working-class fishermen. Surveying the raiders’ experiences as well as reactions from various places in Brazil, the chapter therefore reveals the challenges Brazilians faced as they sought to use the centenary to perform their views about nationality and citizenship, identity and belonging.

Chapter 2 focuses on the work of the national government and its partners in planning and executing “official” events, focusing especially on the centenary exhibition and sporting events organized especially for

the occasion, including Brazil's first national football championship, the first "Latin American" Olympic games, and the South American football championship. Drawing from many of the same periodical publications as chapter 1 does, as well as the enormous archive of documentation produced by the national government's specially established centenary commission (the *Comissão Executiva da Comemoração do Centenário da Independência*), the chapter demonstrates the great lengths to which government officials and their partners went in their attempts to use these events to display the image of Brazil as a modern, unified, optimistic nation, and that in some ways the historical record demonstrates their success. However, it argues that these events also amplified differences among Brazilians, making the fair and centenary sports sites of fracture and regionalist resentment rather than venues of national community.

The chapter begins with an examination of organizers' plans for these events as well as an introduction to the function of international fairs during the period and Brazil's prior experience with them. It then explains the successes and many difficulties organizers of the fair faced in executing their plans, which included enthusiastic cooperation in São Paulo, difficulties in less-well-developed places like Rio Grande do Norte, and outright resistance in Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul. The final section of the chapter focuses on centenary sporting events, which were among the most successful official events of the celebrations and yet suffered from difficulties similar to those confronted by the fair. The chapter shows that there were several reasons for these problems, including mismanagement by administrators and disagreements among political figures. The principal reason that officials were unable to make the centenary what they hoped it could be, though, was that regional differences and regionalist sentiment compromised their efforts. The official events of the centenary thus exhibited not unity but difference and even discord; they displayed Brazil as a nation of parts.

In some ways, Brazilians' centenary celebrations focused on the country's present and future, displaying its products and economic potential and providing venues to debate issues of citizenship and belonging. But the centenary also meant engagement with the past, and chapter 3 examines how Brazilians in different places and situated in distinct social and political positions used the country's history to consider what it should mean to be Brazilian as it began its second hundred years of independent life. It shows that in this period there was very little in the way of agreement among Brazilians about the history of independence or national history in a general sense. The centenary brought their disagreements out into the open, even as "official" history offered a synthetic and homogenizing narrative that aimed to bring Brazilians together.

The chapter introduces academic historiography and discusses the plethora of new works by professional scholars produced for the centenary. Its focus, however, is on the public performance of memory, as seen in discussions of history in the popular media and in public events, for example, in the carefully managed inauguration of new monuments and museums. Thus, it is informed by close attention to works produced both by scholars and academic organizations, such as the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro and its state-based siblings, and by newspapers and magazines aimed at general audiences, which afforded extraordinary attention to historical subjects and intensive coverage of public events focused on the performance of historical memory.

The chapter shows that the people of every region made claims on Brazil's past—and thereby on its present and future—by referencing their own region's history, and specifically its role in independence. It shows how actors in Rio de Janeiro attempted to rehabilitate the empire—and political order—by focusing on the role of independent Brazil's first leader, the emperor Pedro I, and how those in São Paulo focused on the state's own role in Pedro's story, as well as São Paulo's reputation as the home of colonial-era pioneers, to assert its dominance in the national community. Elsewhere, residents of Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul reminded one another and their fellow Brazilians not only of their forebears' contributions to independence but also of the ways that independence and localist identities coincided and had threatened national union in the past, the implication clear to contemporaries that regionalism could also threaten the union in the present. Finally, the chapter includes an extended examination of the role played in these debates by the institutional Catholic Church, which did much more than help organize the effort to erect a monument to Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro. The church was active in celebrations of the centenary throughout the country, and in some regions it took the lead in organizing them, always tying its claims on the nation's present and future to the church's role in the Brazilian past, a call to tradition against the secularizing claims of modernity.

Chapter 4 focuses on immigrants and foreign residents of Brazil, who were particularly important to the centenary experience, both as participants in their own right and as objects of Brazilian interest. It draws from the same broad variety of sources as the rest of the book, as well as periodicals and other materials produced by foreigners and immigrants themselves, such as the newspapers of São Paulo's Italian community and the magazines of Portuguese mutual aid and commercial groups. It shows how many foreigners resident in Brazil sought to use the centenary celebrations to claim belonging in Brazil and to shape their relationship

with one another and with Brazilians, as well as how Brazilians used the celebrations to test immigrants' commitments to the nation and seek to marginalize those whom they did not see as future citizens.

As immigrant communities came together to perform the roles expected of them, the centenary reinforced their identities as members of distinct, discrete communities. Centenary rituals also strengthened the legitimacy of traditional social hierarchies, as well-to-do immigrants used the celebrations to reinforce their claims as leaders of those communities, which was a relief to authorities faced with the social discord they often associated with working-class immigrants. The chapter emphasizes the ways that regional circumstances affected the immigrant experience of the centenary, as the Germans of Rio Grande do Sul faced very different circumstances and reactions than did the Portuguese of Rio de Janeiro or the Italians of São Paulo. The centenary became a test of loyalties, as immigrants navigated the tensions between their allegiances to their mother countries and their hopes of making claims on Brazil in venues including the centenary exhibition, the visits of prominent diplomats from home, and initiatives to erect centenary monuments. In the end, just as it was for Brazilians, for immigrants the centenary was an experience of discord as much as of community, which fueled division where statesmen and events organizers had hoped to build unity.

The Epilogue draws together the threads of the episodes recounted in the book and discusses the legacies of the centenary, focusing on the fissures it revealed—and indeed helped to widen—which traced tensions between modernity and tradition, over race and ethnicity, between nation and region, and among older and younger Brazilians. It notes how these tensions defined the rest of the 1920s, including in the emergence of the Regionalist movement in Pernambuco, in the proliferation of critiques of the First Republic, which contributed to its collapse, and in ongoing debates over immigrant ethnicity and citizenship. It also offers a consideration of how they defined the regime of Getúlio Vargas, the Rio Grande do Sul politician who seized power in 1930 and built a nationalist, authoritarian system that reshaped many aspects of Brazilian life. Among other projects, the Vargas government sought to destroy regionalism and renovate the political system through centralized authority, to “restructure” hierarchy in order to confront the ways that modernity threatened Brazil’s traditional social order, and to nationalize immigrant communities and others deemed outsiders.²⁷ That is, it sought to meet and resolve the most prevalent challenges the rituals of the centenary revealed and the particular tensions they exacerbated, underscoring how examination of the centenary can help us understand the dynamics and character of Brazil in the years since 1922.

As the book narrates the ways that the people of Brazil marked the centenary, through raids, major official events, performances of memory, and displays of immigrant identity, it thus shows how the centenary helped define Brazil as the country began its second century of independent life. It emphasizes the ways in which the centenary functioned as a set of rituals, affording contemporaries opportunities to display their values and to practice politics. Centenary events were rites of identity in which participants performed their understandings of the meaning of Brazil and of citizenship. They were also political events in which the people of Brazil negotiated the shape and character of power and the boundaries of belonging and exclusion. They defined the national community according to the preferences of the powerful, well-connected figures who organized the exhibition and other major events of the centenary's official celebrations. However, despite the hopes and work of these figures, the more prevalent effect of the centenary rituals was to promote fracture and difference, so that the centenary served as much to divide the people of Brazil from one another as to bring them together, and it exacerbated the crisis of Brazilian society that wrecked the status quo and transformed the country in the years after the last of the raiders departed for home, the bunting came down, and the gates of the exhibition closed.