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CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1972

Cambridge University Press

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521070782

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First published 1968

Reprinted 1972

Re-issued in this digitally printed version 2008

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 68-21393

ISBN 978-0-521-07078-2 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-09681-2 paperback

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Richard Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Richard Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

MAPS

Brazil: physical features and state capitals	<i>facing page</i> 1
Brazil, showing towns referred to in the text	<i>page</i> 11
Railways of south-central Brazil by 1918	55

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09681-2 - Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil 1850-1914

Richard Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>Abbreviations used in the footnotes</i>	xv
<i>A note on spelling</i>	xv
Introduction: Contrasting Societies: Britain and Brazil	i
1 The Onset of Modernization in Brazil	23
2 Coffee and Rails	51
3 The Export-Import Complex	73
4 The Urban Style	112
5 Britain and the Industrialization of Brazil	125
6 Changing Patterns of Labor: Slave Trade and Slavery	160
7 Britain and the Entrepreneurs	187
8 Freedom and Association	216
9 Progress and Spencer	232
10 Middle-Class Britain and the Brazilian Liberals	252
11 Individual Salvation	277
12 Declining Influence	298
Conclusion	319
<i>Appendix A</i> Financial Record of the Minas and Rio Railway Company, Ltd, 1881-1902	325
<i>Appendix B</i> Financial Record of the São Paulo Railway Company, Ltd, 1865-1920	326
<i>Appendix C</i> Exports from Great Britain to Brazil, 1850-1909	330
<i>List of Sources</i>	333
<i>Index</i>	367

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09681-2 - Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil 1850-1914

Richard Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PREFACE

A transformation began in Brazil during the period from 1850 to 1914, and this book examines, as one theme within that story, the relationship of the British to the onset of this revolutionary process. By 1914 Brazil had done no more than begin to modernize; but it had begun. And perhaps the effort needed to start along this way was greater than that required to continue, for I am not merely speaking of economic development, but of modifications in the social structure and alterations of individual beliefs and attitudes, that is, of changes which have facilitated further changes down to our own day.

The British were among the major actors in this drama. They contributed directly to the spread of coffee culture which disrupted the ancient economic patterns of Brazil. They also provided much of the 'infrastructure' and some of the capital for industrialization. They wrought major changes in Brazil's labor system and were among the agents of diffusion for a more 'Western', European world-view and societal structure. But Britishers also hindered Brazilian development, and it is historically important to perceive the ambiguity of their role on the Brazilian stage. Brazil's development—and lack of development—is a complex story and neither a 'devil theory' nor a panegyric will satisfy its exigencies.

Scholars of many disciplines are today concerned with the kind of change which I here describe in Brazil, and it is not my purpose to add to the extant literature on the theory of modernization. I only say what so many already know: that this process is not an easy one to foster. If, on the contrary, I seem optimistic about the achievements of the nineteenth century, it is only to point out that the roots of modern change run deep in the Brazilian past even though present results are still unsatisfactory. I do not believe, as is sometimes argued, that the transformation of Brazil began only in 1930, or in 1914, or even in 1889. True, it did not

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Richard Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

originate precisely in 1850, but I think this date is closer to the truth.

To convey some idea of the importance of subsequent changes, I begin by briefly contrasting Britain and Brazil as they stood in 1850. In Chapter 1 I survey the transformation through which Brazil passed during the period from 1850 to 1914. Chapters 2, 3 and 5 discuss the role of the British in the economic development of Brazil, while Chapter 4 introduces a respite by discussing the accompanying changes in the style of urban life. Chapter 6 is concerned with that part of the British impact which has heretofore received most attention: efforts to end the slave trade and curtail slavery. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are concerned with Brazilian innovators, mostly businessmen, and the ideas which impelled them: industrial capitalism, the gospel of work, *laissez faire*, the joint-stock company idea, the belief in progress, and a vague trust in science. The next two chapters explore the relevance to modernization of the belief in the individual as expressed in political and religious beliefs. Finally, I examine the ambiguities of the British role in view of the growing impact of other countries and the increasing momentum of change within Brazil itself.

This study was made possible by the generous support of various agencies. Research was begun in Brazil in 1959–60 under the terms of a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. This Fellowship was renewed in 1960–1 and the Council revealed its tenacity through a Faculty Research Grant in 1964–5, renewed in 1966–7. The Rockefeller Foundation, through its International Relations Program, provided the major support for a year's research in Brazil during 1964–5. The American Philosophical Society aided my research in Britain during the summer of 1962, and Cornell University, through its History Department, its Latin American Studies Program, and its Faculty Research Grants Committee also supplied funds for expenses connected with the preparation of this book.

Librarians and archivists make the work of the historian possible.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09681-2 - Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil 1850-1914

Richard Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

In addition to the staffs of the archives listed at the end of this volume and of the libraries attached to some of them, I wish to thank the personnel of the following institutions: the Library of the University of Texas and especially the Latin American Collection there; the Olin Research Library of Cornell University; the Library of Congress in Washington; the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro; the Biblioteca do Ministério da Educação e Cultura, the Biblioteca Demonstrativa Castro Alves, and the library of the Sociedade de Cultura Inglesa, all in the same city; the Biblioteca Municipal de São Paulo; the library of the Faculdade de Direito in São Paulo; the library of the British Chamber of Commerce of São Paulo and Southern Brazil; the British Museum; and the Institute of Historical Research at the University of London. Some of the back files of the *Estado de São Paulo* and the *Jornal do comércio* were made available by the managers of these respective newspapers.

Those who grant access to private papers are especially to be commended and are, therefore, acknowledged in specific footnotes. Establishing contact with the persons who have this power often depends upon the good will of others and it is in this connexion that I wish to thank Mr Charles H. Wrigley once of the British consulate in São Paulo and Mr J. C. Hunt of the Luso-Brazilian Council (Canning House) in London.

The author's task is made lighter by individuals so numerous that it is impossible to list here all those who helped. Unnamed, but especially remembered are those who eased me around those problems that arise in connexion with life and work abroad. Here I can only acknowledge the debt I owe to a few who were of extraordinary help in advancing the research and writing itself. Thus in Rio de Janeiro I owe special thanks to José Honório Rodrigues, Américo Jacobina Lacombe, Eulália Lahmayer de Lobo, Raimundo Magalhães Júnior, Hélio Vianna, Zilda Araújo, and Maria de Lourdes Claro de Oliveira. In São Paulo I am especially obliged to Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, João Cruz Costa,

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-09681-2 - Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil 1850-1914

Richard Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

Alice Cannabrava, Nícia Villela Luz, Myriam Ellis, Roque Spencer Maciel de Barros, Rubens Borba de Moraes, and Adelpha Figueiredo. Francisco Marques dos Santos made possible my work in Petrópolis. In Recife my efforts were greatly aided by José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello (Neto) and Lúcia Nele da Fonseca. In London I was helped by Robin Humphreys and Mary Coates and in Ithaca, New York, by David B. Davis, Walter LaFeber, Frederick G. Marcham, Eleanor Parker, Virginia Valiela, and William Lofstrom. I would never have initiated this study if it had not been for Lewis Hanke, who by encouragement and guidance gave another expression to his constant effort to advance Brazilian studies. And most of all do I owe thanks to my wife, Ann, whose labor, critiques, patience, and love made this book possible.

R.G.

*Dryden, N.Y.**15 March 1968.*

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Richard Graham

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

AHI	Arquivo Histórico do Ministério de Relações Exteriores, Itamarati.
AIHGB	Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.
AMIP	Arquivo do Museu Imperial de Petrópolis.
AN	Arquivo Nacional.
APEP	Arquivo Público Estadual de Pernambuco.
ARFM	Archives of Rio de Janeiro Flour Mills and Granaries, Ltd.
BT	Public Record Office: Board of Trade.
Cia.	Companhia.
FO	Public Record Office: Foreign Office.
GPL	Edward Greene Papers: Letterpress Books.
Imp.	Imprensa.
JNP	Joaquim Nabuco Papers.
NA/DS	National Archives: Department of State.
PWL	Papers of Wilson Sons & Co., Ltd: Letterpress Book.
RIHGB	<i>Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.</i>
Rio	Rio de Janeiro.
SAJ	<i>South American Journal and River Plate Mail.</i>
Tip.	Tipografia.
Typ.	Typographia.
Univ.	University.

A NOTE ON SPELLING

Changes in Brazilian orthography may cause some confusion. When using names or words in Portuguese within the text, I have here adopted modern spellings, e.g. Rui Barbosa and *Jornal do comércio*; but in the footnotes I have cited authors and titles as they appeared in the work used, as, Ruy Barbosa and *Jornal do commercio*.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Brazil: physical features and state capitals

Note. The state capital Goiás was replaced by Goiânia in the 1930s; and Ouro Preto by Belo Horizonte in 1895.