

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

76-19,710

DUGGAN, Vincent Paul, 1947-
SOCIAL THEMES AND POLITICAL SATIRE
IN THE SHORT STORIES OF LIMA BARRETO.

City University of New York, Ph.D., 1976
Literature, Romance

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© COPYRIGHT BY

VINCENT PAUL DUGGAN

1976

SOCIAL THEMES AND POLITICAL SATIRE IN THE SHORT STORIES
OF
LIMA BARRETO

by
VINCENT PAUL DUGGAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Comparative Literature in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1976

III

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Comparative Literature in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2/20/76
date

Judy Nabass
Chairman of Examining Committee

April 20, 1976
date

Helaine Newstead
Executive Officer

Raymond Sayers

Irwin Stern

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

PREFACE

Despite the general esteem in which Lima Barreto's fiction is now held by most modern critics, Robert D. Herron's excellent dissertation, "The Individual, Society and Nature in the Novels of Lima Barreto," is the only extensive study of the author's works in this genre. Gregory Rabassa examines the racial element in an interesting chapter of his dissertation, "The Negro in Brazilian Fiction since 1888." Francisco de Assis Barbosa, author of a superb biography of Lima Barreto, prefaced each of the seventeen volumes of the Editora Brasiliense's edition of the complete works with illuminating articles by many leading scholars. Beyond these sources, however, most references tend to be brief journalistic essays which are often both superficial and impressionistic.

Although "O homem que sabia javanês" and "A nova califórnia" are invariably anthologized as examples of the finest short fiction in Brazil, there does not exist, prior to this present study, any lengthy examination of Lima Barreto's extensive production in that genre - a genre in which Lima often excelled. This study is intended to fill that void by examination of Lima Barreto's thematic treatment of the Negro and the poor, intellectuals and women in his short stories.

Despite the variety of Lima's literary production, it is quite possible to classify almost all of his short stories into one of the above categories. After we have classified

the works, we can proceed to examine the essential structural elements to determine the extent to which the work in question successfully exemplified, or not, the political or moral message to be conveyed. As opposed to the more purely "aesthetic" art for art's sake of Coelho Neto, Lima Barreto's short stories, true to his theory of literatura militante, are almost without exception examples of a socially committed literature. They are didactic works which illustrate a pre-conceived social thesis, simplified for popular comprehension. Thus, a thematic analysis of social issues involved in a Lima Barreto short story strikes at the very heart of the author's very personal concept of literature in society. We have prefaced the study of the individual short stories with a brief introduction to the writer's somewhat Marxist views on the social functions of literature.

In this study we have deliberately avoided questions of style and of narrative technique in order to concentrate on social issues. Lima Barreto's use of narrative devices is generally unimpressive in the short story, because of their didactic simplicity. With regard to style, Antônio Houaiss and Cavalcânti Proença have magnificently dispelled many critical prejudices which forced some scholars to dismiss Lima Barreto's prose as solecistic. Lima, as we shall see in the introduction, was not ignorant of nor insensitive to style. Style was considered to be an essential component of social literature if the latter were to move the readers to commitment. Yet his short stories offer fragile grounds, indeed, for stylistic studies. Often the victim of careless

VI

typographers employed by impoverished journals and of Lima Barreto's own neuroses, many works suffer from a lack of thoughtful revision. It is often impossible to reconstruct the original text or to divine the author's ultimate intentions. Much of Lima Barreto's "ignorance of grammar" merely reflected the typographer's unprofessionalism.

Stylistic distortions aside, the thematic focus remained largely unaffected by hasty revision and so it is to theme that we must turn our attention. In the case of the short stories, social themes are the focal point about which the narratives revolve and, indeed, from which they evolved.

I wish to extend my deepest thanks to the people who made this study possible: first and foremost, to Professor Gregory Rabassa for his expert advice and warm encouragement all during the writing of this dissertation, to Professors Raymond Sayers and Irwin Stern for reading the first draft and for their many valuable suggestions for its improvement and to my wife, Lucy Campos Duggan, for her understanding and patience during the writing of this study.

VII

To Rev. Bro. Patrick Duggan, F.S.C.

Ei maximus gratias ago.

Preface

Chapter One

- A. The Brazilian Short Story before Lima Barreto
- B. The Life of Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto
- C. Lima Barreto's Position as a Short Story Writer
- D. Society in the Essays and Fiction of Lima Barreto

Chapter Two

- A. The Negro and the Poor in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto
- B. The Negro Protagonist
- C. The Poor Protagonist
- D. Conclusion

Chapter Three

- A. The Intellectualized Protagonist and the Pseudo-Intellectual in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto
- B. The Intellectualized Protagonist
- C. The Pseudo-Intellectual
- D. The Bureaucrat
- E. The Patron of the Arts
- F. Conclusion

Chapter Four

- A. The Politicians of the Old Republic in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto
- B. History of the Old Republic
- C. Contos argelinos
- D. Politicians of the Old Republic
- E. Glimpses of Republican Society

F. Conclusion

Chapter Five

A. Women in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto

B. The Prostitute

C. Married Life

D. Conclusion

Conclusion

CHAPTER I

A. The Brazilian Short Story Before Lima Barreto

Within the general panorama of the Brazilian short story from the romantic to the pre-modernist periods, the short stories of Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto stand out as perhaps the first examples of a truly socially committed literature. Though there is little to indicate that Lima Barreto was particularly well read in the Brazilian short fiction of previous periods, Lima Barreto's short stories are not totally without precedents.

Edgar Cavalheiro in his Evolução do conto brasileiro, in accordance with tradition, identified Joaquim Noberto de Sousa e Silva's Romances e novelas (1852) as the first volume of Brazilian short stories. More recent research, however, denies Sousa e Silva's almost unreadable "As duas orfãs" (1841) such an historical role.¹ Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, in his Os precursores do conto no Brasil, which he published in 1960 after exhaustive historical research into the periodicals contained in Rio de Janeiro's Biblioteca Nacional, uncovered in the journals of 1830 to 1840 a wealth of attempts at a short story form. Of greater historical interest as documents of an era, they possessed almost no literary value. In form they more closely resembled the chronicle and the oral folk tale. Among those journalists producing such literature were Justiniano José da Rocha, João Manuel Pereira da Silva, Francisco de Paula

Brito, Vicente Pereira de Carvalho Guimarães, Miguel do Sacramento, Lopes Gama, Luís Carlos Martins Pena, Carlos Emílio Adet and João José de Sousa e Silva Rio. The first to pen the new genre was Justiniano José da Rocha with his "A caixa e o tinteiro," originally published in O Cronista of November 26, 1836. The beginning was modest indeed since da Rocha's work possessed no value beyond its early historical significance. Structurally, it bore little resemblance to the short story as we now conceive of it.²

The aesthetic value of da Rocha's work was typical of this early phase. The total production of these authors may be regarded as purely preparatory, in no case are they of any literary value in themselves.

Hermann Lima places the beginnings of the Brazilian short story of some aesthetic value in the second phase of romanticism in Brazil.³ The romantic interest in folklore and in oral literature inspired many to attempt writing short stories. Some of the writers of this period were Álvares de Azevedo, Bernardo Guimarães, Fagundes Varela, Casimiro de Abreu, Teodomiro Alves Pereira, Ferreira de Meneses and Antônio Manuel dos Reis.⁴ Once again the short story of this phase is more a hybrid genre, part folklore and part journalistic chronicle. For the most part, while it represents an evolution in technique, it is of scant literary value.

Two names, however, are worthy of special mention for their combined historical and literary value. Álvares

de Azevedo's Noite na taverna (1855), a wild series of twisted tales in the romantic style of Hoffmann and Musset, still easily holds the modern reader's critical attention.

Another figure of some stature is Bernardo Guimarães whose O seminarista and A escrava Isaura by themselves would assure this novelist a place in Brazilian letters. His work in the short story, Lendas e romances (1871), with its "A dansa dos ossos" and "A garganta do esqueleto," is perhaps the precursor of the Brazilian regionalist short story.⁵

The total production of the romantics has been immense. Aníbal Luís Falcão speculated that nearly every educated Brazilian who thought himself artistically inclined, penned at the very least one short story.⁶ In reaction to the enormous amount of mediocre material, some, like Hermann Lima in his Variações sobre o conto, prefer to regard Machado de Assis as the veritable father of the aesthetic short story, whose beginnings would be in the early 1880's.⁷

After having freed himself from a conventional form of romanticism in Contos fluminenses (1870) and in Histórias da meia-noite (1873), Machado de Assis published more true masterpieces of the genre than any other Brazilian writer, thereby setting the formal model for the short story in Brazil. He wrote in both the traditional mode of the so-called "classical" short story of Guy de Maupassant and in the "modern" manner of Anton Chekhov. Indeed, although the Russian master is today most highly regarded critically as the father of the twentieth-century psychological short

story, Machado preceded the Russian master. "A missa do galo" is perhaps the finest example of Machado's "plotless" short stories.

Machado de Assis, unfortunately, represented an extraordinary case in Brazilian literature. During the realist-Naturalist phase of the Brazilian short story, beginning in the early 1870's and ending with Modernism in 1922, the Brazilian short story religiously followed French models, while gradually establishing itself as a separate literary genre, independent from the journalistic anecdote and worthy of public attention. Yet, despite its vigorous attempts to gain aesthetic perfection, for the most part, it remained greatly inferior to French models. Verbose and superficial, it lacked the French master's linguistic control and psychological insight.

With the already noted exception of some of Machado de Assis' experiments with psychological realism in the short story, Brazilian writers failed to grasp the significance of Machado's work in this difficult genre too often considered both easy and superficial by its very nature. Uniformly their works possessed a clear beginning (exposition), middle (climax) and end (dénouement). They ignored the stylistic lesson of Machado de Assis' verbal sobriety while they exuberantly catalogued detail in the vain attempt to offer a literary photograph of both milieu and character. They limited themselves to one theme, carefully developed in accordance with the three pointed structural pattern which

ordered the external events. Thus they were able to demonstrate simplistically the effects of environment on the protagonist.

The critics of the pre-modernist era ignored the profound significance of Machado de Assis' explorations in their theoretical analyses of the genre. For José Oiticica the short story was a tale of a significant incident in the life of the protagonist: "O conto não representa a vida (como o romance), senão um 'acidente' excepcionalmente sublime, mas acidente."⁸ The great sociological critic, Sílvio Romero, likewise saw the short story as a passus or a synthesis of an important, but passing situation.

O conto digno dêsse nome é apenas a narração de uma situação passageira na vida de uma personagem, em seu meio normal, só ou em relação com alguém. Seu alvo é dar, em síntese, a descritiva ou o drama de uma situação, de um 'passus' na vida de uma personagem.⁹

Araripe Júnior, another disciple of Taine and Tobias Barreto's "Escola do Recife," preferred to define the short story in terms that would describe Machado de Assis' excellent, but conventional "A cartomante," while ignoring his "Missa do galo" with its affinity with Chekov's works.

O conto é sintético e monocrônico; o romance, analítico e sincrônico. O conto desenvolve-se no espírito como um fato pretérito, consumado; o romance, como a atualidade dramática e representativa. No primeiro, os fatos filiam-se e percorrem uma direção linear, no segundo, apresentam-se no tempo e no espaço, reagem uns sobre os outros, constituindo trama mais ou menos complicada. A forma do conto¹⁰ é a narrativa; a do romance, figurativa.

Since no other writer of this period rose to the

heights of Machado de Assis in the short story, a complete listing of the writers would be needlessly tedious. Some of the more interesting works are Aluísio de Azevedo's Pegadas e demônios (1893), Medeiros e Albuquerque's Mãe Tapuia (1900), Coelho Neto's Sertão (1896), Artur Azevedo's Contos possíveis (1889), Virgílio Várzea's Mares e campos (1884) and Viriato Correia's Contos do sertão (1911). Júlia Lopes de Almeida, Domício da Gama, Pedro Rebelo, Óscar Lopes, Gonzaga Duque and Carmen Dolores also represent just a small portion of Brazil's writers of this period. Yet even in the case of Coelho Neto, a writer often acclaimed by the critics of the period, important social themes frequently became lost in a veritable explosion of erudite vocabulary. Machado's lesson, it would seem, had been largely forgotten by many short story writers.

The Brazilian naturalists, while faithful to the European literary schools' aesthetics, generally did not adhere to any uniform philosophical or political creed, nor did they hope, as in the case of Émile Zola, to transform the Brazilian political structure which generated the social injustices portrayed in Azevedo's O mulato (1881), or in Inglês de Sousa's O missionário (1888). Despite the vast social and economic transformations which took place during the second half of the reign of D. Pedro II, a reign which saw the power pass from the landed sugar aristocracy in the Northeast to the new coffee aristocracy in the South along with the emergence of capitalism through the efforts of the Visconde

do Mauá, a reign whose costly war with Paraguay established a strong urban middle-class military elite, the naturalists limited themselves to isolated chronicles of injustice while remaining blind to the larger changing social reality.

Hermann Lima, in his Variações sobre o conto, divided Brazil's production into two major categories: the regionalist short story and the universal short story. Naturalism was to produce, as a by-product of previous romantic interest in folklore, a series of regionalist short stories written at the turn of the century.¹¹

Despite the mineiro Afonso Arinos' traditional claim to the title of father of the Brazilian regionalist short story, based on his Pelo sertão of 1898, it was, in reality, the paulista Valdomiro Silveira who, in the Correio Popular of São Paulo in 1891, first published a truly regionalist tale in the naturalist tradition. Despite his "Rachicho", national recognition was delayed until the publication of his first volume of short stories, Os caboclos, in 1920.

In Nas serras e nas furnas (1931), Mixuangos (1937) and in Leréias (1945) Valdomiro Silveira catalogued the many picturesque vernaculisms of the caboclo of the state's vast hinterlands. An urban man of culture employed in the interior, Silveira, in his later works, at times was able to capture both the unique psychology of Brazil's impoverished rural man and the drama of his battle against the harsh environment. More often, though, the bewildered city reader feels buried under a steady flow of purely regionalist speech, often artistically untransformed and incomprehensible

without the frequent use of a dictionary of regionalisms.

Perhaps Afonso Arinos is Brazil's most popular regionalist of the pre-modernist period. His "Pedro Barqueiro" and his "Joaquim Mironga" are masterpieces which insure his inclusion in virtually every major anthology of the Brazilian short story. Yet in these and in several other works, the caboclo appears heroically falsified by urban perspectives. Arino's production was small and in most cases, his view of the national rural reality was romantically superficial and sentimental.

Another historically notable regionalist of the same period was Alberto Rangel whose Inferno Verde (1908), inspired by da Cunha's Os Sertões (1902), attempted to capture the mysterious world of the Amazon region. The gaúchos Hugo de Carvalho Ramos, Alcides Maia and Simões Lopes Neto also dedicated themselves to regionalist literature. Alcides Maia's Tapera (1911) is unreadable today. Carvalho Ramos' Tropas e Boiadas (1917) translated the then popular verbose style into southern terms. The greatest southern regionalist, Simões Lopes Neto, captured some of the epic history of Rio Grande do Sul long before Érico Veríssimo, but once again the untransformed regional speech often hid a superficial vision of the interior. In no instance, however, did these writers adopt a less colorful approach to Brazil's interior. Whether he was a vaqueano or a caboclo, Brazil's rural man most often appeared romantically falsified, optimistically colored and put on display for bored urban readers avid for literary tourism.

This facile costumbrista trend in literature was finally broken dramatically in 1919 by the paulista Monteiro Lobato's Urupês. As Lima Barreto did for the urban short story, Monteiro Lobato shocked the national lethargy by portraying, for the first time, the Brazilian interior without palliatives. Even Rui Barbosa, who at that time enjoyed almost a servile hero worship from the general public, was forced to note Urupês. With its honest call for a national re-evaluation, Urupês, perhaps even more than the Pau-Brasil Manifesto, prepared the way for the literary revolt of 1922.

The three most representative names of the urban short story before 1922 are Paulo Barreto, Adelino de Magalhães and Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto.

Under the pseudonym of João do Rio, Paulo Barreto, a disciple of Oscar Wilde and Jean Lorrain, chronicled in Dentro da noite (1910) the elegant perversions of Rio's bohemians of the chic Rua do Ouvidor in an affected Frenchified language.¹³ A journalist and a dandy, he suffered excessively from the decadent mundanism of Rio de Janeiro's little belle époque.

Adelino de Magalhães' Casos e impressões (1916) is remembered today for its innovative impressionistic style and for its almost scandalous eroticism.

In neither author was contact made with the daily reality of the great mass of the carioca population. The growth of the workers' movements, the urban reformation of Rio de Janeiro and the suffrage movement often penetrated their

writings only marginally.

The literary scene in the Brazil of the early Old Republic was bleak. The realist-naturalist tradition in prose was unable to express adequately the rapidly changing national reality. No figure even remotely equivalent to Machado de Assis, who died in 1908, had appeared to continue the master's work. After Machado, Brazilian literature prior to 1922 often appears trite.

...o conto passa a ser, com as exceções de praxe, vítima predileta de literatura sem assunto. Aliás, o mal não atinge somente o conto. O naturalismo no romance e o parnasianismo na poesia, já tinham dado quanto se podia esperar, eram movimentos de transição, num período de perigoso conformismo. O livro nacional continuava impresso em Portugal ou na França, em edições ridículas. O escritor mais lido era o Sr. Coelho Neto ou o Sr. Afrânio Peixoto. Faziam uma falsa literatura, não só quanto à linguagem, mas também e principalmente, com referência aos assuntos, personagens e meio. Sol para eles era astro-rei. Mulher não era mulher. Era flor, anjo da guarda, fada. Entre as falsas sertanejas de Afrânio, ou os falsos caboclos de Coelho Neto, o leitor nacional não hesitava: entregava-se inteiramente à literatura francesa, com o mais absoluto desprezo pela produção indígena. Nem mesmo Lima Barreto conseguiu sacudir 14 tal indiferença.

B. The Life of Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto

The major critics of Lima Barreto have been almost unanimous in viewing our author's works as possessing a characteristically autobiographical nature. The one critic who challenges this overwhelming unanimity of opinion is Wilson Martins. Martins believed that no knowledge of autobiographical detail is required for the study of the 16 fiction of Lima Barreto.

As valuable as Martin's view is, it is in striking

contrast with the majority of the important critics of Lima Barreto. They take an opposite view, namely, that his works clearly and undeniably possess an autobiographical nature. If we are to support this thesis, we must consider the comments or claims of the principal critics who take this view.

Among the foremost is Alfredo Bosi. Bosi, interestingly enough, in his O pré-modernismo, is, perhaps, the most radical of his fellow critics. He regards autobiographical elements as central to the fiction of Lima Barreto. For Bosi the author's very personal concept of literature and society spring from his early experiences.

A biografia de Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto explica o humus ideológico de sua obra: a origem humilde, a côr, a vida penosa de jornalista pobre e de pobre amanuense, aliadas à viva consciência da própria situação social, motivaram aquêle seu socialismo maximalista, tão emotivo em suas raízes quanto penetrante em suas análises. 17

Another supporter of this autobiographical theme, and, perhaps, a more important one, is Francisco de Assis Barbosa, the author's biographer. To Barbosa a knowledge of the author's difficult life is vital to any understanding of Lima Barreto's writings, and Barbosa sees just such a wealth of autobiographical data in our author's works.

Através da ficção Lima Barreto como que procurava explicar o próprio caso, remontando às origens obscuras da sua família... Das reminiscências familiares, no entanto, foram as recordações da casa dos Pereiras de Carvalho, as que calaram mais no fundo da memória do escritor. Em Clara dos Anjos, como em Marco Aurélio e seus irmãos, Lima Barreto descreve o ambiente patriarcal do velho sobrado carioca, onde Amália Augusta nasceu e formou o seu caráter. 18

An important critic to be added to our list is

Massaud Moisés. To him a major theme in Lima Barreto is racial prejudice which often causes the black male protagonist to fail in his intellectual aspirations, as in the case of Isaias Caminha. The black female protagonist invariably falls prey to well-to-do seducers who care little for her fate, as in the case of Clara. The source of this preoccupation with racism Massaud Moisés locates in our author's own personal and unhappy experiences with racial discrimination. These experiences date as far back as the author's childhood on the Ilha do Governador and continue during all of his adult life.

Analista profundo da alma humana, Lima Barreto transporta para as suas obras a sua violenta e confessa revolta contra o preconceito de cor, de que foi vítima por ser mulato, daí o caráter autobiográfico de suas 19 análises.

Alceu Amoroso Lima, in his preface to the author's Vida e morte de M.J. Gonzaga de Sá, sees the autobiographical impulse as central to his creative process. This impulse became the means by which the author attempted to liberate himself from an environment he regarded as hostile to ambitious black intellectuals.

Não escreveu para desabafar a sua ira contra os vencedores da vida, nem para promover a revolução social, como um Plínio Salgado ou um Jorge Amado, nem uma revolução espiritual, como um Jackson de Figueiredo, nem uma revolução estética, como um Mário de Andrade, nem para fazer romances realistas. Escreveu para se libertar, não para se vingar. Escreveu por amor...Tôda a sua obra literária é como 20 uma grande autobiografia, como a de Dostoievski.

Some critics still persist in chastizing Lima Barreto for passing off thinly disguised autobiography as fiction.

These critics, such as Manuel Bandeira,²¹ have preferred to avoid a serious consideration of his often painful critiques of society by rejecting his work as a hastily written confession. The earliest of these was the noted José Veríssimo. He was one of the few to take note of Recordações do escrivão Isaías Caminha one year after its publication in 1909. Despite his early recognition of Lima Barreto's literary abilities, he strongly criticized Lima for having taken an autobiographical approach to fiction.

Há nêle, um defeito grave, julgo-o ao menos, e para a qual chamo a sua atenção; é o seu excessivo personalismo. É pessoalíssimo, e, o que é pior, sente-se demais que o é. Perdoe-me o pedantismo, mas a arte, a arte que o senhor tem a capacidade de fazer, é preparação, 22 é síntese, e, mesmo realista, é idealização.

A more recent critic is Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. In his preface to Clara dos Anjos he admits the general inadvisability of a biographical approach to the study of literature when there are so many more interesting aesthetic questions to be considered. And, thus, he criticizes Lima Barreto, perhaps even more severely than Veríssimo, for having sacrificed aesthetic perfection for autobiographical confession.

A obra d'êste escritor é, em parte, uma confissão mal escondida, confissão de amarguras íntimas, de resentimentos, de malogros pessoais, que nos seus melhores momentos êle soube transformar em arte...em outras palavras, os problemas íntimos que o autor viveu intensamente e procurou muitas vezes resolver através da criação literária não foram integralmente absorvidos e nela ainda perduram em carne e osso como 23 corpo estranho.

In a similar vein, Olívio Montenegro regarded the author himself, unchanged by art, as a constant character in all of his own fiction: "Assim, falando-se da obra de Lima

Barreto, o que com mais evidência se impõe ao crítico é o relevo que nela tem o personagem que nem sempre aparece com o verdadeiro nome, e se chama Lima Barreto.²⁴"

We feel, however, that Bosi's view of the author's life as the key to his works is too much a simplification. Such a view does not do justice to the creative process by which the author transformed his personal conflicts into such characters as Policarpo Quaresma and Gonzaga de Sá. We would suggest that Wilson Martins also misses, as did Veríssimo, the author's own aesthetic, which saw sincerity, based on personal experience, as the artist's starting point.

(Veríssimo) falou da nossa literatura sem sinceridade, cerebral e artificial, sempre achei a condição para obra superior a mais cega e mais absoluta sinceridade, o jacto interior que a determina é irresistível e o poder de comunicação que transmite à palavra morta é 25 de vivificar.

As we learn from the above passage, the author freely recognized and admitted his use of autobiographical material. He himself saw his literature as having its origin in the personal injustices society, and the world of letters in particular, imposed on him.

O que escrevo, é o que vejo e sinto diretamente por mim, e os meus humildes escritos não são senão isso e mais as minhas dores e desabafo de injustiças com que êsses "souteneurs" das letras me tem amargurado 26 a existência.

However, this autobiographical material has been transformed artistically and at times quite considerably into a carefully constructed instrument of littérature engagée. Lima Barreto recognized the need for aesthetic distance: "Por mais que não queiram, eu também sou literato e o que

toca a coisas de letras não me é indiferente."²⁷ On one occasion he strongly criticized Saturnino de Brito for his lack of control of personal elements in his fiction.

O ardor do seu gênio não lhe permite que as suas produções tenham a serenidade de expôr fatos, de condená-los artisticamente de modo que digam ao leitor mais do que dizem. O autor se apaixona, declama e abandona-se à eloquência... Tanto nas suas obras de ficção como nas de propaganda, a sua paixão não procura diques; ao contrário, como que se compraz em extravassar por todos os lados. 28 Inunda tudo.

In view of the author's own opinion, we take a middle position between Wilson Martins and Alfredo Bosi. We consider biographical information to be helpful in the understanding of our author's fiction, which is often autobiographical in tone.

The biographical information which follows makes no attempt at originality. Such would be difficult after Francisco de Assis Barbosa's flawless A vida de Lima Barreto. Rather this study attempts to offer a concise panorama of his life. The basic sources of our information are the Barbosa biography, Moisés Gicovate's A vida atormentada de Lima Barreto, and the author's own Diário íntimo.

Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto was born to poor mulatto parents in Rio de Janeiro in the year 1881. His infancy could not have been very happy. His mother died of tuberculosis in 1887, and, in 1889, with the advent of the Old Republic, his father lost his position as typographer for the monarchist A Tribuna Liberal. Later, the author's father, through his influential benefactor, Afonso Celso, the

Visconde de Ouro Preto, obtained the position of warden in a sanitarium for the mentally ill. This asylum was located on the then tranquil Ilha do Governador.²⁹

João Henriques had always dreamt of becoming a doctor of medicine in order to rise above the limitations of his humble birth and the prejudices against his race. While his wife was alive, she encouraged him with his academic ambitions, but her untimely death and the responsibilities of providing for a large family prevented him from realizing his dream.

João Henriques transferred to his children, especially to his oldest son, Afonso Henriques, his frustrated aspirations. João Henriques' optimistic hopes seemed to be well-founded since Afonso gave every indication of possessing a precocious intelligence. One teacher, D. Teresa Pimentel do Amaral, took special note of Afonso by presenting him with an expensive edition of Luís Figuier's As grandes invenções as a reward for his outstanding academic achievement. This reward was inscribed with the following dedication: "Afonso, guarda êsse livro com uma lembrança de quem se orgulha de ter desenvolvido um pouco tua grande inteligência, da qual muito espera nossa cara Pátria."³⁰

Lima Barreto himself believed his intelligence to be superior and this reward may have confirmed that strong belief. Yet twice in his childhood, once after having been unjustly accused of theft, an incident with racial overtones, he contemplated suicide. Only his faith in his intelligence served as a deterrent to such a frightful act the second time

when he was strongly reprimanded by his father for having run away from school.

Desde menino, eu tenho a mania do suicídio. Aos sete anos, logo depois da morte da minha mãe, quando eu fui acusado injustamente de furto, tive vontade de me matar. Foi desde essa época que eu senti a injustiça da vida...outra vez que essa vontade me veio foi aos onze ou doze anos, quando fugi do colégio. Armei um laço numa árvore lá do sítio da ilha, mas não me sobrou coragem para me atirar no vazio com êle ao pescoço. Nesse tempo, eu me acreditava inteligente, e era talvez isso que me fazia ter medo de dar fim a mim mesmo. 31

Problems other than suicide soon appeared during the author's early academic career. Our author had always given evidence of rebellion against academic authority. However, by the time he attended the Liceu Popular Niteroiense and the Colégio Paula Freitas this rebellion had become disturbingly evident.

Jamais se conformaria com a disciplina das aulas e dos estudos, com os gritos e os palmatórios dos professores, os horários certos para tudo, controlados pelo apito dos bedéis e pelo olhar policial dos de- 32
curiões.

It was while studying at Paula Freitas that our author became acquainted with the Igreja Positivista of Miguel Lemos and Teixeira Mendes, located on the Rua Benjamin Constant. Although Lima Barreto was skeptical of positivism's specious scientificism, then very much in vogue among certain Brazilian intellectuals and among the military, whom he mistrusted, the Igreja Positivista was where Lima first encountered Descartes' Discours de la méthode.³³ The Cartesian method of systematic doubt would later become the author's characteristic mode of thinking. It would form the very basis for his

satirical attacks on the complacent bourgeoisie of Botafogo and Petrópolis and the dictatorial positivist military.

A nossa ciência não é nem mesmo uma aproximação, é uma representação do universo peculiar a nós e que, talvez, não sirva para as formigas e gafanhotos. Ela não é uma deusa que possa gerar inquietudes de escalpelo e microscópio, pois devemos sempre julgá-la com a cartesiana dúvida permanente. 34
Não podemos oprimir em seu nome.

In 1897 Lima began his studies toward a degree in engineering at the Escola Politécnica. While at the school, rather than study engineering or attend class, Lima Barreto dedicated himself to an intensive study of philosophy. No doubt he was overly confident once again in his intelligence and in his ability to pass with a minimum of study. Yet, despite such a lack of interest in engineering, Lima Barreto continued as a candidate for the degree in order to please his dearly beloved father.

Fui perdendo o estímulo, mas a autoridade moral de meu pai, que me queria ver formado, me obrigava a ir tentando...conjugados...momentos...teoria do pêndulo...teorema das áreas...que sei eu mais? 35
Nada!

Unfortunately, a professor of rational mechanics became the instrument of our author's downfall. Professor Licínio Cardoso was so severe that one student actually committed suicide, while another once attempted to assassinate him. Even the student's tragic death failed to move the stern professor, who wrote the following entry in his personal diary for that day: "Não me dói a consciência porque ³⁶esse rapaz nada sabia."

Lima Barreto was caught totally unprepared for such as

Professor Cardoso. Apparently, however, he was determined to please his father by obtaining the degree. This determination must have been very strong since he did not desist until he had failed rational mechanics repeatedly.³⁷ Great as was his pride in his intelligence, his failure must have been an equally grave blow to his self-esteem. Certainly he must have regarded his failure to graduate as yet another example of society's bias against intelligent blacks. Thus, he may have been able to consider himself free from the responsibility of failure. Society, in his mind, was guilty of denying a poor mulatto an engineering degree.³⁸

It was at this time that Lima Barreto bitterly accused his fellow students of using their degrees for economic gain, rather than for intellectual enlightenment. Bradford Burns found such a situation to be common in the early days of the Old Republic when the nascent urban bourgeoisie fought hotly for the positions of power relinquished by the defeated monarchists.

Titles of nobility were abolished and the holders of them were eclipsed at least momentarily. "Doctor" and "colonel" were the appellations most prized as the university and service-academy graduates assumed greater political and social importance. The first Republican cabinet evinced that trend unmistakably.³⁹

Lima Barreto implies that the faculty did not possess the moral courage to fail a rich man's son since the salaries of the professors were grossly inadequate. He felt that, as a poor mulatto, he had little chance to pass.

Na Escola Politécnica, é de praxe, de regra até, que todo o filho, sobrinho ou parente de capitalistas, ou de "brasseurs d'affaires", mais ou menos

iniciados na cabala crematística do Club de Engenharia, seja aprovado. É bem de ver porquê. Os lentes das nossas escolas, com raras exceções, não se contentam com os seus vencimentos oficiais. Todos êles são mundanos, querem fazer parada de luxo, teatros, bailes, com suas mulheres e filhos.

A situação oficial que tem, dá-lhes prestígio, fazem-nos "figuras" de proa, e os seus nomes são procurados para apadrinhar as companhias, as emprêsas, mais ou menos honestas, que os especuladores de tôdas as nacionalidades organizam por aí. 40

While it is true that certain mulattoes had risen to positions of prominence in Brazil, as in the case of Machado de Assis, it is impossible to determine to what extent they allowed, in silence, their African heritage to be compromised. Certainly Lima Barreto refused vocally even the most minimal denial of his Negro ancestry. This is evident when he speaks through Machado, the mulatto narrator of Vida e morte de M.J. Gonzaga de Sá: "Foi com orgulho que verifiquei nada ter perdido das aquisições de meus avós, desde que se desprenderam de Portugal e da África." 41

The standard Brazilian historical tradition has been to minimize racial prejudice. Many critics, particularly Wilson Martins, have tended to follow this tradition in their harsh evaluation of Lima Barreto's failure. Yet it would be well to keep in mind that this point of view is largely the product of white Brazilian historians, who do not necessarily represent the feeling of Brazilian Negroes on the issue of racism. We can only wonder if Martins is serious when he affirms that nothing prevented Lima Barreto from attaining fame and fortune if only our author would have been less timid.

Nada...teria impedido Lima Barreto de fazer o seu caminho...se essas condições não tivessem sido aceitas, como efetivamente foram, com demasiada resignação, com uma espécie de satisfação íntima, por lhe pouparem os duros esforços da luta e da conquista. Ele não era, na sociedade brasileira, o primeiro mestiço de condição humilde a tentar uma carreira intelectual. 42

The evidence is clear, however, that the author was indeed a victim of racial insults on more than one occasion. Once, in the Escola Politécnica, someone remarked casually: "Vejam só: Um mulato ter a audácia de usar o nome do rei de Portugal!" 43

Later, while working at the Ministry of War, the author noted many similar unfortunate incidents.

Hoje, comigo, deu-se um caso, que, por repetido, mereceu-me reparo. Ia eu pelo corredor afora, daqui do Ministério, e um soldado dirigiu-se a mim, inquirindo-me se era contínuo. Ora, sendo a terceira vez, a cousa feriu-me um tanto a vaidade, e foi preciso tomar-me de muito sangue frio para que não desmentisse com azedume...eu, mulato ou negro, como queiram, estou condenado a ser sempre tomado por contínuo. 44

On yet another occasion, while he was working at the Ministry, the American Navy visited Rio de Janeiro. All his fellow white co-workers were allowed to board the visiting ships without documentation. Lima Barreto was requested to show the appropriate papers. 45 This incident could have served only to embitter an already embittered man further.

We know that there were anthropologically racist doctrines prevalent in Brazil at the turn of the century. These doctrines found some measure of acceptance on the part of many Brazilian intellectuals.

In truth, the Brazilian intellectuals, like their

counterparts throughout Latin America, by the end of the nineteenth century, had fallen victim to specious racial doctrines imported from Europe. The richness of biological thought in the nineteenth century, the popularity of Darwinism and the complex ethnic composition of Latin America aroused a lively interest in race and racial themes. Much talk circulated about superior and inferior races and Spain's humiliating defeat in 1898 by the United States seemed to some to prove the superiority of the northern European. Brazil's cultural mentor, France, provided an impressive array of pseudo-scientific books attesting to that superiority. Joseph Arthur de Gobineau forcefully put forth that argument in his sociological treatise Essai sur l'inegalité des races humaines; widely read at the end of the century was the French social psychologist Gustave le Bon, who methodically classified all mankind into superior and inferior races with the Europeans indisputably at the top. Of particular interest to the Brazilians was le Bon's assertion that miscegenation produced an offspring inferior to either parent. Another champion of the Aryan, the French anthropologist Georges Vacher de Lapouge, minced no words in his chief work, L'aryen, son rôle social, published in 1899 to support the theory of racial significance in cultural development. He characterized Brazil as an "enormous Negro state on its way back to barbarism. 46

Even in the field of literature, as late as 1902 works such as Canãa by Graça Aranha and Os Sertões by Da Cunha continued to express, to a greater or lesser extent, pessimistic racial determinism.

His own failure at the Escola Politécnica must have caused Lima Barreto, apparently so proud of his intelligence, painful doubts about his true intellectual ability. By extension, doubts must have come to his mind as to the intellectual capacities of other members of his race. 47 However, he never failed to challenge racist doctrine based on nationalistic German social science.

Eu não sei se alguém já observou que o alemão vai tomando, nesta nossa lúcida idade, o prestígio do

latim na Idade Média.

O que se diz em alemão é verdade transcendente. Por exemplo, se eu dissesse em alemão - o quadrado tem quatro lados - seria uma coisa de um alcance extraordinário, embora no nosso rasteiro português seja 48 uma banalidade e uma quase verdade.

Yet it is true that an element of personal responsibility can also be seen in the author's failures. His extreme individualism, his distrust of conformity and his refusal to compromise highly personal values in the interests of academic success only compounded his chances of failure. In moments of introspection the author openly admitted some responsibility: "...e se eu não me formei, foi porque não quis."⁴⁹

Fortunately, while at the Escola Politécnica Bastos Tigre, a friend, helped to initiate Lima Barreto's journalistic career with an invitation to contribute to the student journal A Lanterna. This opportunity provided Lima an excellent exercise in the use of satire. It was, also, while at the Escola Politécnica, that the author attempted to write his first novel. Brief fragments of this work, written in 1900, were preserved in Lima Barreto's Diário íntimo.

Ironically, in 1902, João Henriques, believing himself to be under police observation, lost his sanity while worrying over a small irregularity in the asylum's accounts, an irregularity for which he was not even responsible.⁵⁰ With his father unable to support this large family and without the financial support of his padrinho or protector, Afonso Celso, the author was financially unable to continue his

studies. In 1903 Lima Barreto began his employment as a mere clerk in the Ministry of War. This position assured Lima a steady source of income, but the dull bureaucratic environment could hardly be considered as pleasant for a writer of Lima Barreto's literary promise. Yet the later fictional Xisto Beldroegas was modeled, perhaps, after Pelino Guedes, the clerk who agonizingly delayed João Henriques' pension and to whom Vida e morte de M. J. Gonzaga de Sá was ironically dedicated. Thus, Xisto Beldroegas became the archetype of the Brazilian bureaucrat, blind to the great philosophical issues of the day.

...vivia obsecado com os avisos, portarias, leis, decretos, e acórdãos. Certa vez, foi atacado de uma pequena crise de nervos, porque, por mais papéis que consultasse no arquivo, não havia meio de encontrar uma disposição que fixasse o número 51 de setas que atravessam a imagem de São Sebastião.

At this point in his life, Lima Barreto was caught between the domestic torture brought about by his mentally disturbed father's anguish and the monotonous grind of the office. It is understandable, but unfortunate that he, a man of talent, increasingly took to drink.

Desirous of awakening public opinion by way of a shocking attack, in 1909 Lima Barreto launched his first bitter satire of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, specifically the world of journalism. This attack took place with the publication of the author's first novel, Recordações do escrivo Isaiás Caminha. Unable to find a publisher in Rio de Janeiro, the author had to have it published in Portugal.

Essentially it was a superbly humorous roman à clef, which dealt thematically with the obstacles society placed before the young intellectualized protagonist Isaías in his struggle as a mulatto to gain recognition in the setting of a large carioca daily called O Globo (O Correio da Manhã). The initial critical reception on the part of the offended press was understandably cold.

In 1911 the Jornal do Comércio began publication of Lima Barreto's perhaps most widely read work, Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma. Once again, the main theme is the role of the intellectual in society. The protagonist is a quixotic elderly "scholar" of extremely nationalistic literary tastes. His library is composed exclusively of either Brazilian authors or foreign commentaries on Brazil. By the end of the narration he has progressed from chauvinism to a more rational type of patriotic enlightenment. In spite of the work's later popularity, only Alcindo Guanabara, the⁵² journalist, took critical note of its publication.

The arduous period of service in the Ministry of War (1903-1918) was, paradoxically, Lima Barreto's most productive period; in it he published his major novels: Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma, as mentioned above, Recordações do escrivo Isaías Caminha, Numa e a ninfa and Vida e morte de M.J. Gonzaga de Sá. Clara dos Anjos and O cemitério dos vivos were published posthumously. Also, during this period, the author wrote some of the best short stories in the Portuguese language, such as "A nova Califórnia" and "O homem que sabia javanês." Indeed,

it would be difficult to find a present-day anthology of the Brazilian short story that does not include at least one short story by the author.

By 1910-1911, Lima Barreto, tormented no doubt by his family environment and the general spirit of the times, began to drown himself increasingly in alcohol in the many cafés frequented, more often than not, by pseudo-artists.

In part Rio de Janeiro presented, by the turn of the century, a faithful image of Parisian fin de siècle decadence, replete with expensive French prostitutes and its own little Bohemian life style for the mediocre writers who congregated in the cafés of the Rua do Ouvidor area: Café do Rio, Cascata, Papagaio, Jeremias, Americana, Java and O Criterium. Since this city of some 730,000 knew many would-be Bohemian writers, it was quite easy for some critics to include the alcoholic Lima Barreto in the list of Bohemians. Yet Wilson Martins has shown the serious, socially concerned Lima Barreto, author of seventeen volumes, to be the very antithesis of the Bohemian.

Mas Lima Barreto não foi nada disso. O vício da embriaguez, que o levara a mais de uma internação forçada no hospício, nas crises mais agudas de delírio alcoólico, nada tem a ver com a figura do boêmio que alguns cronistas seus contemporâneos nos tentaram impingir. Um escritor, que morre aos quarenta e um anos, deixando uma obra de dezessete volumes, entre romances, contos, crônicas, ensaios de crítica literária, artigos políticos, sem faltar um só momento a uma diretriz firmemente traçada, desde a adolescência, não pode ser considerado, de modo algum, boêmio. 53

An early 1905 entry in Lima Barreto's diary reveals the anguish and torment he must have experienced at home

while he watched his father, whom he greatly loved and admired, suffer the anxieties and the depressions of the incurably insane.

Se essas notas forem algum dia lidas, o que eu não espero, há de ser difícil explicar êsse sentimento doloroso que eu tenho de minha casa, do desacôrdo profundo entre mim e ela, é de tal forma nuançosa a razão de ser disso que para bem ser compreendido exigiria uma autobiografia, que não farei. Há cousa que sentida em nós, não podemos dizer. A minha melancolia, a mobilidade do meu espírito, o cepticismo que me corrói- cepticismo que, atingindo as cousas e pessoas estranhas a mim, alcançam também a minha própria entidade- nasceu da minha adolescência feita nesse sentimento da minha vergonha doméstica, que também deu nascimento a minha 54
única grande falta.

As frustrated as he was by society's refusal to accept his artistic talent and by the bureaucratic pressure of the Ministry, he was, nonetheless, tormented most deeply by the spectacle of his father's insanity. Racial incidents had probably caused the author to doubt his own intelligence, the source of his greatest pride. So also his father's insanity caused him to fear for his own mental health. Early in the course of the disease, his father's psychiatrist, Dr. Braule Pinto, had given the author a translation of Maudsley's O crime e a loucura. The reading of this work caused the author to fear a similar fate, hence Lima Barreto's unkept resolution, in his early Diário íntimo, not to drink at all, a resolution his sad circumstances made difficult to keep.

By 1914 it was not uncommon for the author to spend twenty-four hours a day drinking.⁵⁵ After one such spree, a week long, the author's hallucinations forced his brother, Carlindo, to send him away for a rest in a more tranquil area

known as Guaratiba. When it became evident that Lima Barreto's mental equilibrium had not returned, the author was ignobly transported over long distances from Guaratiba to the Mental Hospital, which was then located on the Praia Vermelha. This humiliating experience was the basis for the short story "Como 'o homem' chegou" in which an innocent, mild-mannered and scholarly astronomer is transported by tank from the Amazon to Rio de Janeiro.

In 1915 Lima Barreto published Numa e a ninfa in the journal A Noite. This was, with the exception of Clara dos Anjos, the only novel whose main theme was not specifically the plight of the Brazilian intellectual. In the same year Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma was published as a volume, along with selected short stories: "Um especialista," "O filho da Gabriela," "A nova Califórnia," "O homem que sabia javanês," "Um e outro," "Miss Edith e seu tio" and "Como 'o homem' chegou."

In 1919 he published Vida e morte de M.J. Gonzaga de Sá, a quieter work dealing satirically with the problems of the frustrated Brazilian intellectual. Gonzaga de Sá represented an intellectualized man in the culturally deprived world of the imaginary bureaucracy called, ironically, the Secretaria dos Cultos. Here senior officials were unable to distinguish between Tupi-Guarani and classical Greek.

By the same year, 1919, the author was, at least, able to retire from the Ministry of War. While he worked as an employee of the Federal Government, he always felt that

he did not possess the freedom to espouse as openly as he wished his essentially socialist political philosophy.

Esperava desde muito êstes dias de completa liberdade, de independência quase total, para poder dizer da minha pobreza a franca verdade aos poderosos e ricos, que, assim, se fizeram por tôda a sorte de maneiras. Hei de dizer-lhe aos poucos...

Durante os quinze para os dezesseis anos em que guardei as conveniências da minha situação burocrática, comprimi muito a custo a minha indignação e houve mesmo momentos em que ela, desta ou daquela forma, arrebentou...

Muitas atitudes minhas, incompreensíveis aos olhos dêsses fariseus por aí, vinham do angustioso recalque, dos ímpetos da minha alma, e da obrigação em que estava de dizer pela metade, aquilo que eu podia dizer totalmente. 56

Lima Barreto became a subscriber to such anarchist journals as A Vida and Na Barricada. He admired Lenin's Communist Revolution in his moments of greatest despair, and published, in 1918, an article entitled "No ajuste de contas" which was his own political manifesto. Here he called for agrarian reform and the abolition of private property.

A propriedade é social e o indivíduo só pode e deve conservar para êle, de terras e outros bens tão somente aquilo que precisar para manter a sua vida e a sua família, devendo todos trabalhar da forma que lhes fôr mais agradável e o menos possível, em benefício comum. 57

However, Astrogildo Pereira points out that the author's philosophic eclecticism prevented him from subscribing totally to any creed, especially orthodox Marxism. 58
Leninism, rather, was regarded as a means to an end, namely the economic reformation of a morally sick society.

Não posso negar a grande simpatia que me merece um

tal movimento (o movimento marxista), não posso esconder o desejo que tenho de ver um semelhante aqui, de modo a acabar com essa chusma de tiranos burgueses, acorados covardemente por detrás da lei, para nos matarem de fome... 59

Above all, violence in Lima Barreto's mind was to be avoided, whenever possible.

Nada de violências, nem barbaridades. Troça e simplesmente troça, para que tudo caia pelo ridículo. O ridículo mata e mata sem sangue. 60

The period from 1919 to his untimely death in 1922 was one of tremendous journalistic activity dedicated mainly to political and social issues. The author now wrote intensively: chronicles, political articles, essays and short stories for Careta, A.B.C., Hoje, Rio-Jornal, A Notícia, O País and the Gazeta de Notícias. 61

In 1920 Lima Barreto published Histórias e sonhos, his only volume dedicated exclusively to the short story, a genre used by the author frequently during this last journalistic and highly political period of his life. Lima believed that literature should be a weapon of social change and it is his short stories, written principally after having left the Ministry of War, that reflect most clearly his political views. At times in the novel the psychological element 62 eventually dominates the preconceived social thesis, but this does not appear to be the case in Lima Barreto's short stories of this politically active period.

In 1921 Lima Barreto applied unsuccessfully for the third time for election to the Brazilian Academy of Letters, founded by another mulatto, Machado de Assis. Lima's

rejection was probably based as much on the author's anti-social conduct as on his proletarian philosophy. A description of his personal state, taken from Lima's own diary, in 1917, the year of his first petition, gives a good indication of his suffering.

De há muito sabia que não podia beber cachaça. Ela me abala, combale, abate todo o organismo, desde os intestinos até a enervação. Já tenho sofrido muito com a teimosia de bebê-la. Preciso deixar inteiramente.

No dia 30 de agosto de 1917, eu ia para a cidade quando me senti mal. Tinha levado todo o mês a beber, sobretudo parati. Bebedeira sobre bebedeira, declarada ou não. Comendo pouco e dormindo Deus sabe como. Andei porco, imundo. Ia para a cidade, quando me senti mal. Voltei para a casa, muito a contra gosto, pois o estado de meu pai, os seus incômodos, junto aos meus desregramentos, tornaram-me a estda em casa impossível. Voltei, porque não tinha outro remédio.

Deitei-me, vomitei, e andava com fluxo de sangue, que me levava à vitrina frequentemente. Numa das vezes em 63 que fui, caí e fiquei como morto.

The family was awaiting the father's death when Lima Barreto died quite unexpectedly in 1922. This also happened to be the year of the literary revolt in São Paulo. Thus, coincidentally, Lima's death pointed out his position as a transitional figure in Brazilian letters.⁶⁴ He was buried, at his own request, in the middle class cemetery of São João Batista, in the worldly suburb of Botafogo, an area which he so often satirized.⁶⁵

C. Lima Barreto's Position as a Short Story Writer

The complete works of Lima Barreto, expertly edited by his biographer Francisco de Assis Barbosa for the Editora Brasiliense consist of seventeen volumes.⁶⁶ The works include

five novels (Recordações do escrivo Isaias Caminha, Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma, Numa e a nina, O cemitério dos vivos, Clara dos Anjos)⁶⁷, an incomplete first draft of Clara dos Anjos, numerous collections of satirical essays and crônicas (Os Bruzundangas, Outras histórias dos Bruzundangas, Aventuras do doutor Bogóloff, Marginália, Coisas do reino do Jambom, Bagatelas, Feiras e mafuás, Vida urbana, Hortas e capinzais, Mágoas e sonhos do povo), two plays (Casa dos poetas, Os Negros), one volume of short stories (Histórias e sonhos), two autobiographical documents (Diário íntimo, Diário do hospício), a volume of literary criticism (Impressões de leitura) and two volumes of collected correspondence (Correspondência ativa e passiva).

The Editora Brasiliense's complete works of Lima Barreto lists almost seventy short works of fiction classified as contos. Some of these appeared originally in 1911⁶⁸ attached to the novel Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma while some appeared in the only published volume of short stories⁶⁹, Histórias e sonhos. This last work, published in 1922 by the Livraria Editora de Gianlorenzo Schettino was later re-edited in 1952 by the Gráfica Editora Brasileira to include additional short works grouped under the general titles of Outras histórias and Contos argelinos.⁷⁰ In the Editora Brasiliense edition of Vida e morte de M. J. Gonzaga de Sá the editor added short stories with date and place of publication.⁷¹ He also attached short stories to Clara dos Anjos, but in this case the date and place of publication are

missing. The same is true for the short stories added to Marginália. Most short stories were published separately in such ephemeral literary and political journals such as Careta, Brás Cubas, A.B.C., Era Nova, Revista Sousa Cruz, América Brasileira, A Primavera and O Malho. Since not all short stories appear with date or place of publication, it is conceivable that some appear for the first time in the Brasiliense edition.

The first short story, "Um especialista," dates from 1904; the last is a posthumous work, "O pecado" and dates from 1924.⁷² Almost eighty per cent of the short fiction was published after 1914, the year which marks the beginning of the First World War, a war Lima Barreto detested deeply. Most date from 1919 on, one year after Lima Barreto retired from the Civil Service. Only from 1918 on did Lima Barreto feel free to criticize the Republic without restraint.⁷³

A larger number of sketches or crônicas appears in Barreto's aforementioned volumes of essays and satire. Because of the numerous short works involved, we have limited the scope of this present study to those works classified as contos in the complete works. Certainly, no man is more familiar with the literary legacy of Lima Barreto than his distinguished biographer, Francisco de Assis Barbosa, who, most assuredly, faithfully followed wherever possible Lima's original classification. To assist the reader we shall introduce our study of the short stories with a brief panoramic view of Lima Barreto's production in that genre.

Within the general panorama of the Brazilian short story, Lima Barreto's short fiction links the popular note of the literatura de cordel, absent since Manuel Antônio de Almeida's Memórias dum sargento de milícias, to the social realism of the Northeastern writers of the 1930's. In his novels, Lima Barreto oscillates between a psychological concern with the inner conflicts of a protagonist and a psychological interest in the environmental factors which predispose⁷⁴ a protagonist to that inner conflict.

Because of Lima Barreto's careful allegiance to more traditional narrative techniques in the short story and because of the spacial limitations of the genre, Lima Barreto maintains a closer angle of mimesis, a closer correlation between fictional and historical realities in his short fiction than in his novels. In the novels psychological penetration often overtakes the author's original socially didactic intention; the short stories remain less introspective, more political. Nonetheless their concern with an inner psychological realism within the context of detailed social analysis, paradoxically places Lima Barreto, despite protests⁷⁵ to the contrary, in the position of heir to Machado de Assis.

The short stories were without exception written in the service of a still inchoate and at times confused social creed, yet in the case of Lima Barreto the popular romantic tone of many of the short stories frees them from the specious determinism of his naturalist models. Although Lima Barreto's social thought was still in embryonic form at the time of his premature death in 1922 - e.g., he praised both Dom

Pedro II and Lenin -, the broad outline of his writings reveals a singular dedication to the promotion of radical social change through satire - a faith nurtured by his readings of such anarchists as Kropotkin.

Too much a moralist, too much a humanist and, indeed, too much a Christian at heart despite his Cartesian doubt to be a true socialist or anarchist, Lima lived the Sermon on the Mount in his passionate writings in defense of the underdog, the lower middle class of the carioca suburbs. The role of the Negro, the poor, intellectuals and unfortunate women trapped in a patriarchal society he harshly judged to be corrupt, was the central thematic focus of most of his works of short fiction. At the other end of the spectrum, for the rich and the successful, Lima Barreto showed a contempt not inferior in intensity to the level of love he extended to the suffering and the poor. His many fine short stories directed against the chic bourgeoisie of Botafogo are some of the finest examples of satire in the Portuguese language.

Within this broad framework, although more limited than that of his novels, it is possible to classify almost all of the seventy odd short stories. The only exceptions are "Mágoa que rala," a detective story, "Dentes negros e cabelos azuis," a fantasy story and "Uma conversa," a parable on aesthetics.

D. Society in the Essays and Fiction of Lima Barreto

The theme of racism is present in most of Lima

Barreto's writings.⁷⁶ Unlike the aristocratic Botafogo of Machado, Lima Barreto's fictional world revolves invariably around the racially mixed working class subúrbio.

The evidence in general would seem to indicate that the author did not discriminate between racial and class prejudices. The poor are always treated sympathetically, with great concern for their suffering. This suffering, like the general strike in Jorge Amado's Jubiabá, unites in brotherhood all Brazilian poor, be they white descendants of the original Portuguese, European immigrants, blacks or mulattoes. Similar to Jorge Amado in racial and class loyalties, Lima Barreto's first sympathy unites him to the

poor of all races.⁷⁷ Yet one must wonder how certain the author himself was of his somewhat Marxist position regarding the nature of racism in Brazil, since at times he was prone to regard racism as an issue separate from economics. Generally he must have felt it to be difficult to separate racial from economic problems.⁷⁸

The author's portrait of the poor and the blacks was based largely on personal experiences.⁷⁹ At one point in Vida urbana, a collection of essays, the author seems to summarize his infancy on these three essential notes: "Nasci sem dinheiro, mulato e livre."⁸⁰ The author's early experiences among the lower classes had accustomed Lima, if we are to believe him, to view patriotically the issue of racism as a problem foreign to Brazil. At first he felt sure to succeed in society on the basis of his intelligence.

Somewhat incredibly, for an author later preoccupied with racism, Lima Barreto states that he did not truly experience racial prejudice until he had finished his secondary education. In an autobiographical section of Recordações do escrivo Isaiás Caminha the young mulatto protagonist confesses his shock at hearing a racial slur.

Eu saíra do colégio, vivera sempre num ambiente artificial de consideração, de respeito, de atenções comigo, a minha sensibilidade, portanto, estava cultivada e tinha uma delicadeza extrema que se juntava ao meu orgulho de inteligente e estudioso, para me dar não sei que exaltada representação de mim mesmo, espécie de homem diferente do que era na realidade, ente superior e digno a quem um epíteto daqueles feria como 81 uma bofetada.

In 1908, upon the occasion of the visit of the American Navy to Rio de Janeiro, a racial incident caused the overly sensitive author deep personal anguish. For Lima it was sad to be a Negro. The author never forgave the United States for this incident or for its treatment of American Negroes. This evidence of American racism led the author in part to oppose later Brazil's aiding the United States during the First World War: Nós só vemos dos Estados Unidos o verso, não vemos o reverso, ou o avêso, e êste é repugnante, 82 vil e horroroso."

In contrast to his criticism of American racism as a vicious trait deeply embedded in the American character, Lima Barreto proudly considered the Brazilian poor, the largest economic class of his acquaintance, to be free of this vice.

Lima Barreto believed this racial sophistication to be based in the long historical process of miscegenation among the poor. In this process the Portuguese became African and the African, Portuguese. Bahia, the African state par excellence represented the very essence of Brazil: "Das províncias do Brasil, é talvez a Bahia a que mais o resume. Nas raças, no clima, na produção, nos aspectos do seu território, é a Bahia o epítome do nosso país."⁸³ Lima's insight into the cultural role of miscegenation, with its dual process of racial conflict and cultural interpenetration, more closely linked the author to modern Brazilian sociology than most authors writing prior to the 1936 regionalist conference in Recife. For Gilberto Freyre, Lima Barreto, and not Aluísio de Azevedo or Graça Aranha, uniquely understood Brazil's complex racial democracy.

Foi êle quem mais se aproximou de tais possibilidades de revelação e interpretação de vida, de realidade, de natureza humana, tal como essa natureza ou essa realidade foi condicionada no Brasil pelas relações entre senhores e escravos, ainda mais do que entre brancos e gentes de côr ou entre europeus e africanos. Excedeu neste particular a Aluísio de Azevedo ou a Graça Aranha.⁸⁴

Lima Barreto, conscious of Brazil's racial history, bitterly criticized a fellow Negro, the abolitionist journalist José do Patrocínio for having profited personally from the popular campaign for manumission. Lima believed that the latter's personal crusade against slavery was not necessary. The nature of the Brazilian people did not warrant it: "De- mais, há e sempre houve entre nós um grande sentimento liberal, com certas restrições, em favor dos negros."⁸⁵ According to Lima Barreto popular sentiment of and by itself would

have been sufficient to terminate the institution of slavery.

A Lei de 13 de maio vinha de longe, era convicção da nação a injustiça da escravidão, não precisava jornalistas nem evangelizadores para mostrar-lhe a injustiça. Quem notar - basta fazê-lo de 1822, as referências que os nossos governantes fazem à coisa, sente que eles o fazem com vergonha, com desago, sentiam-no a ilegalidade, a injustiça, e êsse sentimento, que se foi espalhando pelo país, aumentou 86 extraordinariamente depois da guerra do Paraguay.

The lower classes were in Lima Barreto's mind fairly free from significant racism and his portrayal of the poor reflects his consideration and respect for the worker. However, he was, as an intellectual, separate from the people. He aspired, naturally, to belong to the small circle of the carioca intelligentsia. This aspiration, along with its implicit suggestion of superiority, temporarily alienated Lima from the poor and the blacks, as revealed in a 1905 entry.

Eu tenho muita simpatia pela gente pobre do Brasil, especialmente pelos de côr, mas não me é possível transformar essa simpatia literária, artística, por assim dizer, em vida comum com êles, pelo menos com os que 87 vivo, que, sem reconhecerem a minha superioridade.

This alienation was evident in many ways. Even the Carnival, with its simple lyrics so beloved by the people, disturbed the aesthete in Lima Barreto.

Uma tal pobreza de pensamento no nosso povo causa a quem medita, piedade, tristeza, e aborrecimento. Por isso fugi ao Carnaval e êle agora me é indiferente. Conheço a poesia dos alienados, tenho até em meu poder exemplares dela, mas se compararmos as suas produções com as que são cantadas nos nossos três dias de Momo, tôda a vantagem de concatenação de idéias, de sentido e mesmo de prôpriamente poesia, 88 vai para a banda da dos dementados.

Soccer, which was to become so popular among the

poor of the subúrbio, was condemned as animalistic by Lima Barreto. He went so far as to establish a "Liga contra o futebol."

No generalizado amor exaltado, exagerado a êsses espetáculos violentas, brutais, simuladores de combates guerreiros, procurando mesmo alguns a exibição de sangue, tormentos físicos, de dores em outras vidas, homens ou animais, encontrava o grande pensador (Spencer) um dos sintomas da nossa regressão à barbaria, pois todos os prazeres, obtidos a custa de cenas tão cruéis, determinavam e denunciavam nos expectadores um dessacamento da simpatia.

Tinha tôda a razão o filósofo, pois não se pode acreditar que quem vai a tais diversões por gosto, tenha em mente melhorar no seu coração os sentimentos de bondade, de caridade, de afeição e piedade ou procurar uma emoção de arte e de beleza.

Lima Barreto's alienation had a twofold aspect. It was both partial and temporary. The author would later come to represent, in the mind of one critic, the collective unconscious of the poor and the blacks.⁹⁰

Lima Barreto's intensive focusing on the racial issue was only stimulated by the frustrations experienced in his frequent and painfully unsuccessful attempts to gain entrance into the academic world. Isaías Caminha at one point refers to his race as his original sin which had to be cleansed by a university degree. Once again there is the confusion between the racial and the economic question.

Ah! Seria doutor! Resgataria o pecado original do meu nascimento humilde, amaciaria o suplício premente, 91 cruciante e onímodo de minha côr...

Lima Barreto perceived a fear on the part of the affluent and the intelligentsia that a well-educated Negro represented a threat to their hegemony. They rationalized

that no Negro could possess any real, solid intelligence that would go beyond superficial brilliance. In his article on his protégé, Enéias Ferraz and his História de João Crispim, Lima Barreto deals with the tribulations of a young mulatto intellectual. In Lima Barreto's mind such men have intellectual boundaries placed before them which society's mandarins forbid them to cross.

Há nessas almas, nesses homens assim alanceados, muito orgulho e muito sofrimento. Orgulho que lhes vem da consciência da sua superioridade intrínseca, comparada com os demais semelhantes que os cercam, e sofrimento por perceber que essa superioridade não pode manifestar plenamente, completamente, pois há, para eles, nas nossas sociedades democraticamente niveladas, limites tácitamente impostos e intransponíveis para 92 a sua expansão em qualquer sentido.

In Brazil, at the turn of the century, the Brazilian intelligentsia were greatly influenced by the pseudo-scientific doctrines of European racial superiority. These theories were then used to justify racial inequalities. After the fall of the agriculturally-oriented Empire, the new Brazilian bourgeoisie, which deeply admired North American and German industrial progress, came under the influence of specious racist anthropology. Even the modernist Graça Aranha was not adverse to including long philosophic debates on race and civilization in his Canãa. In the following selection Milkau argues against Lentz's nationalistically Germanic notions of civilization.

As raças civilizam-se pela fusão, e no encontro das raças adiantadas com as raças virgens, selvagens, que está o repouso conservador, o milagre do rejuvenescimento da civilização. O papel dos povos superiores é 93 o instintivo impulso do desdobramento da cultura...

As a Negro intellectual, Lima Barreto sensed the dangers of such a social science for racially mixed Brazil.

Vai-se estendendo, pelo mundo, a noção de que há umas certas raças superiores e umas outras inferiores e que essa inferioridade, longe de ser transitória, é intrínseca à própria estrutura da raça.

Diz-se ainda mais: que as misturas entre essas raças são um vício social, uma praga e não sei que coisa feia mais.

Tudo isto se diz em nome da ciência e a coberto da 94
autoridade de sábios alemães.

In an age still strongly influenced by social Darwinism, Lima Barreto, a careful student of Spencer, identified the errors of a biology which saw intelligence as a racially determined genetic trait. Race was, he concluded, a mere abstraction. This abstraction had value only when it facilitated the enormous task of classifying the immense number of diverse species. Outside of this utilitarian purpose, the mention of a man's race was meaningless. Lima Barreto insisted that a man be judged by society on the basis of his personal merits. He would not allow himself to be prejudged on the basis of a vague concept called race.

Quanto à raça, os repetidores das estúpidas teorias alemãs são completamente destituídas dos mais elementares noções da ciência, senão saberiam perfeitamente que a raça é uma abstração, uma criação lógica, cujo fim é fazer o inventário da natureza viva, dos homens, dos animais, das plantas e que, saindo do 95
campo da história natural, não tem mais razão de ser...

In reaction to the prejudice he encountered, Lima Barreto did not entertain notions of Negro superiority. Indeed, in his writings he often presented Negroes unsympathetically. These Negroes were wont to be social climbers anxious to

emulate the white bourgeoisie. For Lima Barreto the individual himself and not his race, was of primary importance.

...Lamarck, que entendia muito bem dessas coisas...diz, na sua Filosofia zoológica, que a natureza não formou realmente nem classes, nem ordens, nem espécies constantes, mas unicamente indivíduos, que se sucedem uns aos outros e, que se assemelham 'aquêles que os têm produzido. 96

There is yet another aspect of Lima Barreto's position on the racial issue which must be clarified. This aspect deals with the sexual exploitation of mulatto women. Ever since Gregório de Matos and later Domingos Caldas Barbosa had sung her sensuality in verse, she has consistently appeared in Brazilian letters as the very incarnation of eroticism. Whereas the Romantic Movement idealized the Indian maiden, as in the case of Alencar's *Iracema*, the mulatto woman has remained almost indecently sensual. Vidinha (Memórias de um sargento de milícias) and Rita Baiana (O cortiço) are well known types to be found in the literature before Lima Barreto.

Lima Barreto, who largely accepted middle class mores, was particularly sensitive to the issue of Negro sexuality. His earliest attempt at the novel, which has survived only as an incomplete first draft, dealt with this problem. Later on Lima Barreto returned to the problem in his Clara dos Anjos, which appeared posthumously in 1923 in the Revista Sousa Cruz. In this work an idealized naive young mulatto girl is seduced by a Cassi Jones de Azevedo, a common Don Juan type. Since Cassi is white - his mother claims proudly to be descended from an English consul to Brazil.- he

naturally refuses to marry her when she becomes pregnant. To some extent Clara symbolized a fate Lima Barreto feared his sister Evangelina might confront.

Minha irmã, esquecida que, como mulata que se quer salvar, deve ter certo recato, uma certa timidez, se atira, ou se quer atirar a tãda a espèce de namoros, mais ou menos mal intencionados, que lhe aparecem. Até bem pouco era na casa do tal Carvalho, onde se reuniam tãda a espèce de libertinos vagabundos, cortei essas relações...se a minha irmã não fõsse de 97 cõr, eu não me importaria.

Lima Barreto lost his devoted mother at an early age. All erotic references to Negro women seemed to be, for the author, an insult directed at the memory of his mother. His best friend, Antônio Noronha Santos remembered Lima as slightly puritanical, for whom even a Carnival chant seemed offensive and lewd.

"Vem-cá, mulata. Não vou lá, não!" Aquilo penetrou-me nos ouvidos como um insulto. Lembrei-me de minha 98 mãe. O convite canalha parecia dirigido a ela.

Interestingly enough, the only seductive character of Lima Barreto appeared in his short story "Cló," whose 99 protagonist, Clódia, is as seductive as Machado's Capitã. Although the daughter of Italian immigrants, Cló is fascinated by the sensuous African Carnival music. In Clara dos Anjos Lima Barreto presented the reader with a sexually innocent mulatto girl, in "Cló" he portrayed a white European girl whose seductiveness is reminiscent of the stereotyped Negress.

Despite the importance of the theme of the Negro in the short stories of Lima Barreto, the number of short stories dedicated to racial problems is small. The great

number of short stories dedicated by Lima Barreto to the role of the educated man in a largely illiterate society, plus the many angles from which he approaches this recurring theme urges us to conclude that intellectualism is the major theme in his short stories. Likewise, a similar study of his novels, with the possible omission of Clara dos Anjos and Numa e a ninfa, presents us with added evidence of what Robert D. Herron has termed "intellectualized" protagonists. This series begins with Isaías Caminha, the mulatto journalist of sorts, is continued with Gonzaga, the Machadean contemplative, and Policarpo Quaresma, the quixotic nationalist, while Vicente Mascarenhas, the mystic, ends the series. ¹⁰⁰

The life of the intellectual made an early appeal to Lima Barreto, and he always preferred to consider himself in such a category, that of the essayist-historian. In his thinking and hopes intellectual endeavors would assuredly win for him social recognition in spite of his race. His view of the diploma in engineering as a means of cleansing his "original sin," namely his Negro birth, has been discussed previously. However, the heavy pressures of racial theories of white superiority, prevalent in the Brazil of his day, discouraged him from his ambition.

Mas de tudo isso, o que mais me amola é sentir que não sou inteligente, mulato, desorganizado, incompreensível e incompreendido, era a única coisa que me encheria de satisfação, ser inteligente e muito! A humanidade vive da inteligência, pela inteligência, e para a inteligência, e eu, inteligente, entraria por força na humanidade, isto é, na grande humanidade de que quero 101 fazer parte.

This intellectual self-doubt continued even towards the end of his life. Deep anguish can be seen clearly in his Diário do hospício, written while a patient at the asylum of the Praia Vermelha. This asylum was then under the direction of the noted black psychiatrist, Dr. Juliano Moreira.

Desalentado e desanimado, sentindo que eu não podia dar nenhuma satisfação àquêles que me instruíram tão generosamente, nem mesmo formando-me, não tenho nenhuma ambição política, administrativa, via escapar-se por falta de habilidade, de macieza, a única coisa que alentava na vida- o amor das letras, da glória, do nome, por êle 102 só.

Lima Barreto transferred this preoccupation with racial prejudice to his educated protagonists, who are invariably unhappy. He must have considered this to be a normal state for the thinking man since he does not present us with a single truly well-adjusted intelligent hero. This would be impossible. Even putting racial considerations aside, Lima viewed anguish to be a natural product of the creative process. A diary entry, written while he worked on Recordações do escrívão Isaías Caminha, gives convincing proof.

Tenho um livro (trezentas páginas manuscritas), de que falta escrever dous ou três capítulos. Não tenho ânimo em acabá-lo. Sinto-o bêsta, imbecil, fraco, hesito em publicá-lo. É por isso que me dá gana de matar-me, mas 103 me parece que é isso que me tem faltado sempre.

There was yet another more fundamental dilemma involved in his view of the educated man. Lima Barreto was, with certain reservations, a materialist. His favorite philosophic readings were the works of Comte, Taine, Renan and Spencer. From Taine he derived his social determinism. Comte's philo-

sophy introduced him to Descartes' systematic rational disbelief. His extensive readings in Voltaire confirmed his skeptical agnosticism, although Lima was also prone to crises of mysticism. Herbert Spencer, his favorite philosopher, fortified Lima's at times wavering faith in the natural sciences. Yet this admirer of Lenin recommended to Jaime Adour da Câmara the works of Dostoievsky.¹⁰⁴ Apparently his economic and political views were less subtle than his aesthetic ideas.

Although Lima Barreto was not a practicing Catholic, as was his monarchist father, he was devoted to Nossa Senhora da Glória.¹⁰⁵ Increasingly, towards the end of his life, Lima Barreto became less materialist as he tended towards mysticism.

Eu sou dado ao maravilhoso, ao fantástico, ao hipersensível, nunca, por mais que quisesse, pude ter uma concepção mecânica e rígida do Universo e de nós mesmos. No último, no fim do homem e do mundo, há mistério e eu creio nêle. Tôdas as prosápias sabichonas, tôdas as sentenças formais dos materialistas, e mesmo dos que não são, sôbre as certezas da ciência, me fazem sorrir e creio que êste meu sorriso não é falso, nem precipitado, êle me vem de longas meditações e de alanceantes dúvidas.¹⁰⁶

The mystic in Lima Barreto entered into conflict with the materialist. This bitter intellectual division in his quest for a viable philosophy of life tormented the unfortunate intellectual too anxious to schematize knowledge with the facility of his much admired Spencer.¹⁰⁷ Thoughts of suicide and fears of madness were not uncommon. As his alcoholism became more acute, his phobias intensified in an existential crise de foi which reminds one of Kierkegaard

torn between the illogical demands of his soul and the logic of the mind.

O abismo abriu-me a meus pés e peço a Deus que êle não me trague, nem mesmo o veja diante aos meus olhos como o 108
vi várias vezes.

The doubt Lima Barreto possessed about his own intelligence and his role in society as a writer, joined to his uncertainty concerning the validity of his materialist orientation, only increased his unhappiness. Hence, his intellectual protagonists, like those of Machado de Assis, are often 109
anguished in their search for self-realization.

If doubt at times inhibits his protagonists, this is not to say that Lima Barreto conceived of the educated man, be he contemplative or active, as apart from society's battles, isolated in some ivory tower. Lima insisted vigorously on regarding literature as a weapon with which a socially committed author could implement change. Not once did Lima Barreto write just to amuse, or to beautify harsh realities in order to appease national sensibilities, as did many of his contemporaries. These writers often painted so pleasant a picture of the interior that when Rui Barbosa took note of Urupês Monteiro Lobato's Jeca Tatu caused a national sensation. Lima Barreto demanded literary honesty from his fellow writers.

A nossa emotividade literária só se interessa pelos populares do sertão unicamente porque são pitorescos e talvez não se possa verificar a verdade de suas criações. No mais, é uma continuação do exame de português, uma retórica mais difícil a se desenvolver, por êste tema sempre o mesmo: Dona Dulce, môça de Potafogo em Petrópolis, que se casa com o doutor Frederico. O comendador seu pai não quer, porque o tal dr. Frederico, apesar de doutor, não tem emprêgo.

Dulce vai à superiora do colégio das irmãs. Esta escreve à mulher do ministro, antiga aluna do colégio, que arranja um emprêgo para o rapaz. Está acabada a história. É preciso não esquecer que Frederico é m^oço pobre, isto é, o pai tem dinheiro, fazenda ou engenho, mas não quer dar uma mesada grande. Está aí o grande drama do amor em 110 nossas letras, é o tema de seu ciclo literário.

Lima Barreto insisted that writers should place themselves above such frivolity. He demanded a painful search into issues society preferred forgotten in an era when few writers were willing to dedicate themselves to such honesty in literature. Since Lima viewed the writer's role as lofty and noble, intellectual dishonesty was the worst of crimes.

Se a lei pune diversas desonestidades, deve punir também aquela que macula, viola, desmoraliza a mais nobre das 111 faculdades - o pensamento.

In spite of Lima's concern for the true course of action for the educated man, he dedicated more of his short stories to the pseudo-intellectual, on whom he could easily vent his satirical wit, than to the educated man. His condemnations extended especially to graduates in law, medicine and engineering, literary scholars and writers.

The university graduate of his imaginary Bruzundangas, which is a caricature of Brazil, was viewed as a member of a nobility not unlike that of pre-revolutionary France. Such would-be intellectuals were marked by an extraordinary ruthlessness in their attempts to attain the coveted degree, and by an equally extraordinary mental indolence and intellectual 112 mediocrity.

For the sons of the well-to-do nepotism guaranteed admission to the university, graduation and a well-placed government position. In Lima Barreto's Brazil fame in financial, governmental or intellectual affairs was

reserved only for the unscrupulous: "O Brasil é uma vasta comilança." In his mind only this very fundamental national immorality of the educated could explain the success of so many mediocre men, who, like the crafty protagonist of his classic "O homem que sabia javanês," obtain intellectual fame and financial reward with a bare minimum of knowledge.

In Lima Barreto's view these intellectual charlatans obtained, in part, this power over the nation through abuse of the common man's credulity. Thus, his short stories often show the people as easy prey for the sly bacharel. The masses even regard a Negro as white if he posses a diploma.

Para a massa total dos brasileiros, o doutor é mais inteligente do que outro qualquer, e só êle é inteligente, é mais sábio, embora esteja disposto a reconhecer que êle é, às vêzes, analfabeto, e mais honesto, apesar de tudo, é mais bonito, conquanto seja um Quasímodo, 114 é branco, sendo mesmo da côr da noite.

Cavalcânti Proença informs us that after the publication of Dr. Francisco de Castro's Propedeutica, cited in M. Maciel's grammar as a model of classical prose, medical doctors believed that they should be considered accomplished grammarians and masters of literary style. After Euclides da Cunha's Os sertões, this pompous, archaic style, called by the same critic "o estilo catedralesco," likewise rendered Brazilian geology impossible for anyone without a massive dictionary.¹¹⁵ In both his short stories and in his essays although not in his novels, Lima Barreto dedicated considerable attention to the caricatured physician more interested in João de Barros than in Louis Pasteur.

Os médicos aqui dão em gramáticos - e que gramáticos!

- ferozes, interessantes, falando e escrevendo uma língua arcaica que só pode ser compreendida por quem dispuser de quinhentos ou mais mil-reis para comprar um alentado Domingos Vieira.

Microbios, báculos, toxinas, e outras coisas ultra-modernas da ciência dêles, os nossos esculápios as expõem na linguagem de Rui de Pina e Azurara, seguindo a gramática de João de Barros, que é de 1540, quando 116 ninguém sonhava com tais novidades.

Three rejections for membership in the Brazilian Academy of Letters caused Lima Barreto to satirize the Academy in his short stories. The Academy's nefarious influence was viewed as twofold. By its imitation of the Academie Française's forty member rule, Lima accused the institution of setting a pretentious tone for an already obscure and ostentatious literature. By its preferential treatment of members of the medical profession, the Academy only compounded the trend to linguistic obscurity in literature.

Literary scholars, critics and professional writers were also frequently caricaturized. In an era marked by the social agitation of a world war, a communist revolution and anarchist strikes in Rio and São Paulo, Lima ridiculed the scholars' grammatical pedantry and their seemingly erudite aesthetics. Such aesthetics denied the validity of works which did not fit classical Greek canons of beauty. More often than not he was led to question the very depth of their classical scholarship.

E por aí, seguindo a minha humilde opinião, que devemos orientar a nossa atividade literária e não nos ideais arcaicos e mortos, como este variável e inexacto que a nossa poesia, tanto velha, como nova, tem por hábito atribuir à Grécia. Insisto neste ponto porque êle me apaixona, tanto assim que aqui e ali, sempre que

posso tenho combatido êsse ideal grego que anda por aí.

Em geral, nós, os brasileiros, pouco sabemos da arqueologia antiga, estamos na infância, e nem lhe acompanhamos os estudos feitos nessa atividade. 117

Intellectual indolence prevented scholars and critics, despite their pretensions to universal knowledge, from understanding the classics. He believed them to be ignorant of modern literature also. He himself was deeply influenced by Russian literature; the critics' incomprehension of this literature and other moderns must have fortified his confidence in his own rejected writings.

É incrível a ignorância dos nossos literatos, a pretensão que êles possuem não é secundada por um grande esforço de estudos e releção. Presumidos de saber tôdas as literaturas, de conhecê-las a fundo, tem repetido ultimamente as maiores sandices sobre o Gorki, que anda encarcerado na Rússia, por motivos dos levantes populares lá havidos.

Há dias, conversando com o (Bastos) Tigre, êle me disse que êsse Gorki nada valia - escrevera uns contos, coisas de fancaria socialística. É incrível, mas é verdade.

Quando eu lhe disse que o Máximo tivera o Prêmio Nobel, êle se admirou - não sabia. Entretanto, Tigre é uma 118 das esperanças da geração moderna.

The Brazilian scholar invariably is pictured as a dull plagiarist. Like all other successful characters in Lima's short fiction, the scholar's success in intellectual affairs is never the result of honesty.

Sábio é aquêles que escreve livros com as opiniões dos outros.

Houve um que, quando morreu, não se pode vender-lhe a biblioteca, pois todos os livros estavam multilados. Ele cortava-lhes as páginas para pregar ao papel em que escrevia os trechos que citava e evitava a tarefa 119 maçante de os copiar.

Lima Barreto dedicated considerable space in his Os Bruzundangas to a satire of Brazil's professional writers. In "Os samoiedas" he describes the aesthetics of the nation's leading poet or "samoieda", Kotelnije, a figure based, perhaps, on Coelho Neto. The poet preached a national literature characterized by: (1) either a total absence of theme, or a literature dominated by the most banal themes possible expressed pompously, (2) a monotonous development of this empty theme so as to transport the reader to the Platonic world of ideals through sleep, (3) an aesthetic beauty found not in the work itself, but outside the work, in the favorable commentaries on the work written by the influential author and his powerful friends, and (4) a harmony resulting from a servile imitation of other more famous literatures. In the tropical Republic of the Bruzundangas, it is even believed to be efficacious to a writer to dress in winter attire, as do the authors of France. 120

A Bruzundanga, como sabem, fica nas zonas tropical e subtropical, mas a estética da escola pedia que eles se vestissem com peles de urso, de renas, de martas e raposas árticas. É um vestuário barato para os samoiedas autênticos, mas caríssimo para os seus parentes literários dos trópicos.

Estes, porém, crentes na eficácia da vestimenta para a criação artística, morrem de fome, mas vestem-se à moda da Sibéria. 121

In Feiras e mafuás Lima described the simple technique which he called "o método confuso," a device useful for writing in accordance with the style of the times. As in the samoieda school of the Bruzundangas clarity was to be avoided and obscurity cultivated by (1) employing vocabulary from as

many different centuries as possible in the same sentence, and (2) by taking care to see that this historical mélange of vocabulary and syntax prevents the average reader from comprehending.¹²²

As in the case of the educated, Lima Barreto regarded the politicians as an undeservingly privileged class. He postponed, however, the majority of his most cutting criticisms of the Brazilian political system until 1918, the year of his retirement from the Civil Service. This delay was not motivated by any fear of the violence he considered inherent in the national political system. He had already published the political novels Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma in 1911 and Numa e a ninfa in 1915; Lima Barreto most probably feared that continued attacks would only increase his chances of being dismissed from the Ministry of War. Nor did Lima find bitter attacks easy. In his mind political themes were distasteful since he felt that Brazilian politicians had so perverted the noble ideals of service to the people that even the very word politics had become painful to him.¹²³ Yet in his later years, motivated by a deep sense of moral commitment to the poor, he wrote often with courageous honesty on sensitive political issues, an act which was bound not to ingratiate himself with those in power. So firm was Lima's dedication to social justice that Óscar Pimentel considered Lima Barreto first and foremost a moralist.¹²⁴ Alceu Amoroso Lima described him as a unique lover of humanity, who criticized only to reform or to protect those in need.¹²⁵ Politicians, symbolized by Numa Pompílio de Castro, in

"Numa e a ninfa," more than any other privileged class, tested too severely his humanitarianism. Lima invariably characterized politicians by comparing them physically to lower animals. Intellectually they are too dull to obtain employment on their own merits.

Não há lá homem influente que não tenha, pelo menos, trinta parentes ocupando cargos do Estado, não há lá políticos influentes que não se julguem com direito a deixar para os seus filhos, netos, sobrinhos, padrinhos, 126 gordas pensões pagas pelo Tesouro da República.

The guilt for the decadence of Brazilian political life was placed by Lima Barreto on the Old Republic. Paradoxically, despite his anarchist sympathies, he admired Dom Pedro II, whom his monarchist father had loyally served. Although in later years he would frequently remember with pleasure the Princess Isabel's declaration of universal manumission, his memories of the declaration of the Old Republic, only one year later in 1889, were bitter ones. He had too 127 many unhappy memories of arrogant soldiers with rifles. He believed that the Republic was initially supported by slave owners who, ruined by the Lei Áurea, withdrew their support from the Emperor. This attitude allowed the Army, whose officers came mainly from the new urban bourgeoisie, 128 to rule a largely indifferent people. Although an employee of the military, Lima regarded the Army and Floriano Peixoto in particular with special scorn.

Na Bruzundanga não existe absolutamente força armada. Há, porém, cento e setenta e cinco generais e oitenta e sete almirantes. Além disto, há quatro ou cinco milhares de oficiais, tanto de guerra, como de mar, que se ocupam em fazer ofícios nas repartições, no que toca

ao Exército, é estudar a mudança de uniformes dos mesmos oficiais. Os grandes costureiros de Paris não tem tanto trabalho em imaginar modas femininas como os militares da Bruzundanga em conceber, de ano em ano, novos fardamentos para eles. 129

He accused the military's main support, the Botafogo middle class of political treachery. These civilians, he believed, "bought" their professional degrees as guarantees of government positions.¹³⁰ He was fond of comparing their greed with royal moderation.

D. Pedro II, que tinha por avós não sei quantos reis e imperadores, tinha três ridículas casas no Rio de Janeiro, que eram da coroa ou da nação, e uma em Petrópolis, que era dêle. Um nosso presidente qualquer, tem quatro ou 131 mais palácios suntuosos, recebe de vencimentos anualmente quase tanto quanto a antiga dotação imperial.

After thirty years of Republican rule, during which Lima believed vast illegal fortunes were amassed, Lima Barreto¹³² declared the government corrupt and incompetent.

To his way of thinking, this cult of greed and violence was foreign to Brazil's conservative tradition of warmth and refined courtesy in social relations between different classes and races. Like José Lins do Rêgo, he was wont to portray the Empire favorably despite the institution of slavery.

Although the first two military presidents of the Republic, Deodoro da Fonseca and Floriano Peixoto, represented the interests of the middle class, the Republic became increasingly sensitive to the wishes of the prosperous state of São Paulo. At that time São Paulo was so busy investing vast coffee fortunes in capitalistic enterprises that it was able to place its own civilian, Prudente de Moraes, in the presidency in 1894. Lima Barreto accused both the Republic

and the state of São Paulo of introducing a moral decadence in Brazilian customs. This was caused by their dedication to capitalism's exaltation of industrialization and profits.

Em resumo, porém, se pode dizer que todo o mal está no capitalismo, na insensibilidade moral da burguesia, na sua ganância, sem freio de espécie alguma, que, só vê na vida dinheiro, morra quem morrer, sofra quem 133 sofrer.

Perhaps because of his preoccupation with the racial question in the United States, he was particularly sensitive to the issue of North American influence on Latin American economic development.

Unlike his position on the Republic, Lima Barreto's views on women and their place in society were often contradictory. At times he must have appeared to be a misogynist. It was during the presidency of Nilo Peçanha that the feminist movement in Brazil was able to make inroads into the Civil Service system. Surprisingly, Lima Barreto, who was always contemptuous of the Republic, launched a journalistic campaign against the violation of Republican law in the form of special treatment for women in the Civil Service.

Yet in many ways Lima was a precursor of modern feminism. His portrayals of women, usually seen in the seemingly contradictory roles of concubine and wife, are sensitive to the frustrating legal and intellectual limitations placed on women by the patriarchal society of his time.

Although Lima tended to puritanism in the moral code he expected women to obey, he did not condemn the prostitute, whom he regarded as a victim of society. Never far

removed from the Romantic Movement's cult of individuality, he sympathized with the poor prostitute, free to flaunt middle class morality, free to waste the wealth of the rich. In many respects Lima Barreto's sympathetic vision of the plight of the poor girl driven to prostitution is similar to Jorge Amado's view in Tereza Batista cansada de guerra. Since she was often foreign-born, she brought some contact with European manners to a class which in his thinking was pretentious and culturally barren.¹³⁴ With the exception of the prostitute made affluent by her trade, the poor and black whore is often made to appear almost angelical. His naive Clara dos Anjos, who was inspired by his concern for his sister Evangelina, becomes the innocent girl, unaided in her education by society, and easily led to perdition by unscrupulous men. Although the novels ends with Clara's disgrace, in the short stories girls like Clara appear who have been forced into prostitution by similar seductions.

Many of Lima Barreto's prostitutes are similar to Tereza Batista in their ability to rescue men from their own evil. Lima's prostitutes continue, to some extent, the tradition of Mary Magdalene. In fact, they are often spiritualized. Perhaps they were inspired by the author's compassion for the kindly Cecília, a poor Portuguese prostitute whose plight he vividly recorded in his diary.

A Cecília, tal é o seu nome, é pequena, dá-me pelo peito, é pálida, com aquela palidez mate das prostitutas um tanto diminuída, simples de inteligência, não tem quatro idéias sobre o mundo...para mim, apesar de sua maneira de apertar a mão com as pontas

dos dedos ela me fica sendo sempre uma cachopa dos arredores do Porto, meiga, simples, ignorante e um tanto obstruída de inteligência, que um vendaval de miséria trouxe para esta África disfraçada...esta rapariga...aparece-me cândida, ingênua, até piedosa. Estou a ver daqui os seus cabelos castanhos, os seus olhos de um azul desmaiada, e não sei porque me lembram Maria Magdalena. 135

Lúcia Miguel Pereira, Antônio Noronha Santos and Manuel de Oliveira Lima have noted in separate articles, Lima Barreto's almost feminine modesty in dealing with sexual matters. When drink allowed him to swallow his shame and seek briefly some female companionship, prostitution seemed a noble profession for the lonely author.

Como a prostituição me parece sagrada, se não fora ela, esta minha mocidade, órfã de amor, de carinho de mulher, não teria recebido êsse raio louro de um sorriso e de um olhar, para me recordar êsse misterioso amor que se sofre, quando se o tem, e se padece, quando se não o tem. 136

The place of women in the institution of marriage has also received considerable attention from Lima Barreto. He had often, quite romantically, declared himself married only to literature. There was a time in his youth when he even considered marriage to be harmful for intellectuals. Perhaps influenced by Spencer's Principles of Psychology, he regarded women, at one stage of his life, as innately dull-witted. 137 The married intellectual would soon find his academic interests stifled by silly feminine gossip and by the mundane financial preoccupations of providing for a family. 138 These anti-feminist views do not, however, represent his final more mature and thoughtful position. The older intellectual Gonzaga would seem to represent the

author when he sadly advises the young intellectualized Machado not to disdain romantic love.

Fugi das posições, do amor, do casamento, para viver
mais independente...arrependo-me! Vênus é uma deusa vingativa. 139

Lima's deepest sympathies lie with women, victims of a stern patriarchal society. Marriage appeared to be a deadening spiritual trap imposed on women by a society which believed domestic chores to be their only and highest aspiration. At best, if most women appear dull, in his opinion, it is not their fault, but society's. In his novels his female protagonists who struggle to liberate themselves from oppressive marriages and from dull and tyrannical husbands are portrayed quite favorably. 140 Although pre-marital sex was a forbidden topic for an author who had once set out to expel love scenes from literature, marital infidelity was not condemned. This was, he thought, an unfortunate but legitimate means of rebellion for some women.

Contra um ignóbil e iníquo estado de espírito dessa ordem, que tende a se perpetuar entre nós, aviltando a mulher, rebaixando-a ao estado social de barbaria medieval, de quase escrava, sem vontade, sem direito aos seus sentimentos profundos, e tão profundos são que ela joga no satisfazê-los a vida, degradando-a a condição de couda, de animal doméstico, de propriedade nas mãos dos maridos, com direito de vida e morte sobre ela, não lhe respeitando a consciência e a liberdade de amar a quem lhe parece melhor, quando e onde quiser, contra tão desgraçada situação da nossa mulher casada, edificada com a estupidez burguesa e a superstição religiosa, não se insurgem as 141 borra-botas feministas que há por aí.

Although there are few social issues to which Lima Barreto did not address himself, it is possible to classify almost all of his short fiction into one of the four above-

mentioned categories. Lima believed that fiction, if it was to be compelling, must be in essence a spiritual autobiography. Lima Barreto, as an alienated Negro intellectual, examined the society of his day and found it to be wanting.

E. Society and Literature in the Aesthetics of Lima Barreto

Despite Lima Barreto's interest in the psychological aspects of fiction, in theory he regarded fiction as essentially a sociological phenomenon. It was shortly before his death in 1922 that Lima Barreto prepared his only literary lecture. Coincidentally it happened to be the year of the Semana de Arte Moderna. Lima gave this lecture in the city of Mirassol in the state of São Paulo. Since the theme of the conference for that year was the relationship between literature and happiness, Lima strongly stressed the need to consider art as a social phenomenon both in origin and in effect.

Em que pode a literatura ou a Arte contribuir para a felicidade de um povo, de uma nação, da humanidade, enfim...o debate a êsse respeito não está encerrado, e nunca ficará encerrado, enquanto não concordarem os sábios e as autoridades no assunto que o fenómeno artístico é um fenómeno social e o da Arte é social para não dizer sociológico. 142

Since art was seen as a phenomenon conditioned first by society, it is not surprising that the incipient science of sociology, rather than classical aesthetics, became the focal point of Lima's literary theories. Although Lima Barreto was not an orthodox disciple of Comte, nevertheless, a certain positivism very similar to Comte's appears to have been a strong and early influence on him. 143 Like Teixeira

Mendes, he optimistically considered sociology to be the science of the future, the "queen of the sciences," able to resolve scientifically society's many injustices. However, since this science was still in an embryonic state, literature would have to perform temporarily this social function. As a social phenomenon literature would have to assume the task of studying society. In this way literary "documents" would be an aid to future scholarly research in the social sciences dedicated to the eradication of social ills.

O dever, portanto, de todos nós é colaborar, na medida das nossas forças, para que fiquem explicados o mais claramente possível, os mistérios da nossa vida social, a fim de tirar das mãos de feiticeiros e charlatões e do seu séquito de piratas especuladores de toda a sorte, a direção das nossas sociedades, para entregá-la aos que estudaram e meditaram sobre aquilo que, de positivo e verificado, os sábios desvendaram relativamente a sua existência e ao seu progresso, aconselhando, tais e quais medidas práticas, destinadas a organizá-la da forma mais perfeita possível com a qual se obtenha a mais completa felicidade para as suas partes. 144

Literature was in Lima Barreto's mind much more than the reigning Parnassian ideal which aristocratically deigned to view reality from a distance. Literature was to serve clear and extra-literary purposes in its efforts to collect extensive data on the complex functions of society:

Não há hoje problema mais angustioso e que mais desafie a capacidade da inteligência humana do que este de estabelecer as leis gerais que regulam a existência das sociedades humanas, a sua marcha no tempo e no espaço, e o destino normal delas. 145

Yet, despite Lima Barreto's recommendation that literature serve sociology, he had to confess to a general ignorance of that discipline. He believed apparently that,

as a man of intuition, given to philosophical reflection on society, he would intuitively portray society's foibles quite accurately.¹⁴⁶ Future sociologists would gain valuable insights, through his writings, into the functions of a prejudiced society.

É verdade que por isso e ainda mais por sentir um alto destino nas letras, sou levado a pensar, mais além do que fazem os simples literatos elegantes, limpinhos e bonitotes sôbre os problemas que a sociedade põe, mas isto não quer dizer que me discipline nesse estudo e tenha nêle qualquer orientação.¹⁴⁷

Taine's deterministic emphasis on environmental factors led Lima Barreto, an assiduous reader of the French critic, to devote considerable attention to the portrait of the social environment which conditions a protagonist's behavior. In theory environment controls and restricts the freedom of Lima's protagonists.

Lima believed that an author could ignore environmental detail only at the risk of creating mere stereotypes and not true characters. In keeping with the powerful traditions of French naturalism, detail was intended to document the injurious effects of a hostile bourgeois social environment on the psychological nature of the proletarian protagonist. In much the same way Émile Zola transferred Claude Bernard's clinical analysis to the characters of the experimental novels. Indeed, Lima Barreto, after having read Condorcet's history of black slavery, once contemplated writing a truly naturalist novel which would deal in epic proportions with the history of slavery in Brazil.

Lima was angered by Pedro Lessa's praise of Machado de Assis' scant use of detail and background. Lima Barreto vigorously denied the psychological validity of literary creations which seem to exist independent of their milieu.

A Arte, por ser particular e destinar-se a pintar as ações de fora sobre a alma e vice-versa, não pode desprezar o meio, nas suas mínimas particularidades, quando delas precisar.

Tendo que pintar o desgosto de um leproso, como a sua vida evolui, eu não posso me abster abstratamente ao sentimento "desgosto". É meu dever primeiramente dizer que êle é leproso, que é rico, que é burro ou inteligente, e, depois descrever a sua ambiência, tanto de homens, de coisas mortas e vivas, para narrar, romancear o desgosto do meu leproso. Todos os leprosos, meu doutor Pedro Lessa, não manifestam sua dor da mesma maneira, e, para a compreender artisticamente, são precisos, 148 muitas vêzes, detalhes que parecem insignificantes.

Lima Barreto theorized that Machado's much praised power of abstraction prevented his readers from understanding his characters' reality. He argued that the reality of day to day life allows us to know others only in the context of social life, never as mere abstractions of vague emotions, such as love, hatred or jealousy. The alchemist of "A nova Califórnia" is not merely the incarnation of intellectual dishonesty, but specifically intellectual dishonesty as it might appear in a small town in the Brazil of the early Old Republic. Machado's most famous female protagonist, Capitu, is not convincing for Lima Barreto since in reality there exists no such pure abstraction of feminine seductivity.

A arte, por sua natureza mesma, é uma criação humana dependente estreitamente do meio, da raça e do momento, tôdas essas considerações concorrendo con- mitantemente. Há uma mesma geometria para aqui e

e para a Lapônia, mas uma Virgília do Rio de Janeiro não pode agir da mesma maneira, levada pelos mesmos motivos sociais, que a Virgília de lá, se as há. 149

Lima Barreto even considered Machado's reluctance to describe more fully the physical world of his fiction as a neurotic disturbance. In his cruel opinion, Machado's poor mulatto origins explain his art more than any learned study of literary influences. Machado, the timid epileptic, gave birth to purposely vague art, afraid to attack the great social issues of his day.

Ele e a sua vida, o seu nascimento humilde, a sua sua falta de títulos, a sua situação de homem de côr, o seu acanhamento, a sua timidez, o conflito e a justaposição de todas essas determinantes condições de meio e de indivíduo, na sua grande inteligência, geraram os disfarces, estranhezas, e singularidades de Brás Cubas, sob a atenta vigilância do autor sobre ele e a obra. 150

To a great degree, Lima Barreto's mode of characterization is preoccupied with this careful documentation of the psychological effects of sociological factors. This technique renders him a figure of transition in Brazilian belles lettres. 151 As a post-naturalist, he stands between the 19th century naturalist view of literature as a social document, and the Modernist Revolt's view of literature as a free product of artistic inspiration. The emphasis placed on both sociological and psychological factors underline his position as a transitional figure between romanticism's unbridled cult of the individual and naturalism's narrow social determinism. Lima Barreto post-naturalist fiction cannot be adequately analyzed in terms of Taine's aesthetics.

For most Parnassians the primary purpose of literature

was the creation of beauty which they considered to be perfection in form and style. Lima Barreto, on the other hand, considered as beautiful that literature whose content or social theme was expressed so clearly and poignantly as to move the apolitical reader to action.

Sendo assim, a importância da obra literária, que se quer bela, sem desprezar os atributos externos de perfeição de forma, de estilo, de correção gramatical, de ritmo vocabular, de jogo e equilíbrio das partes em vista de um fim, de obter unidade na variedade, uma tal importância, dizia eu, deve residir na exteriorização de um certo e determinado pensamento de interesse humano, que fale do problema angustioso do nosso destino em face do Infinito e do Mistério que nos cerca.

152

Formal or stylistic perfection was a secondary consideration subordinate to the social doctrine conveyed. The work became a vehicle for the transmission of a social thesis.¹⁵³ Since he was faced with a society he judged prejudiced, Lima Barreto conceived of literature as a moral act born in rebellion. It was, as a vehicle of a social doctrine, an environmental product uniquely capable of acting upon the society which originally influenced in its conception.

Passemos além, mais do que nenhuma outra arte, mais fortemente possuindo essa capacidade de sugerir em nós o sentimento que agitou o autor ou que ele simplesmente descreve, a arte literária se apresenta com um verdadeiro poder de contágio que a faz passar de um simples capricho individual, para traço de união, em força de ligação entre os homens, sendo capaz, portanto, de concorrer para o estabelecimento de uma harmonia entre eles, orientada para um ideal imenso em que se soldem as almas, aparentemente mais diferentes, reveladas, porém, por ela, como semelhantes no sofrimento da imensa dor de serem humanos.

154

Because literature allows the reader to penetrate the minds of the most diverse characters, our author ascribed

to its capacities for effecting even international social change. He believed literature's unique ability to penetrate psychologically a character's world and to reveal it to the reader would eventually serve to unite mankind in love and in brotherhood.

...o homem, por intermédio da Arte, não fica adstrito aos preconceitos do seu tempo, de seu nascimento, de sua pátria, de sua raça, êle vai além disso, mais longe do que pode, para alcançar a vida total do universo e incorporar a sua na do mundo...ela (a Arte) explicou e explica a dor dos humildes aos poderosos e as angustiosas dúvidas destes, àqueles, ela faz compreender, uns aos outros, as almas dos homens dos mais desencontrados nascimentos, das mais dispersas épocas, das mais divergentes raças, ela se apieda tanto do criminoso, do vagabundo quanto de Napoleão prisioneiro ou de Maria Antonieta subindo à guilhotina. 155

A burning moral indignation over society's immorality led Lima Barreto to see literature's role as that of re-vitalizing organized religion. Close ties to the economic establishment had caused Catholicism to cease to be a vital spiritualizing force in the lives of many Brazilians. In our author's mind, literature would help considerably to re-affirm man's innate spirituality.

Hoje, quando as religiões estão mortas ou por morrer, o estímulo para elas é a arte. Sendo assim, quem, como eu, literato aprendiz que sou, cheio dessa concepção, venho para as letras disposto a reforçar êsse sentimento com as minhas pobres e modestas obras. 156

Judging from the numerous quotations taken from Guyau, we can infer that this philosopher had a particularly strong influence on Lima Barreto. It is to him that we must attribute Lima Barreto's belief that a new aggressive literature (literatura militante) must re-establish the

community of man. The term literatura militante was not original with Lima Barreto; he had borrowed it from Eça de Queiroz, whom he deeply admired.

Lima Barreto employed this term to describe his socially concerned literature and to differentiate it from polite, formalistically correct but thematically empty writing. At that time another writer of a roman à clef, Afrânio Peixoto, defined literature as o sorriso da sociedade. Coelho Neto, the reigning king of Brazilian letters had used literature to dedicate a swimming pool for the Fluminense soccer club. It was against such frivolous literature that Lima Barreto battled under the banner of literatura militante.

O termo militante de que tenho usado e abusado não foi pela primeira vez empregada por mim.

O Eça, por quem não cesso de proclamar a minha admiração, empregou-o, creio que nas Prosas bárbaras, quando comparou o espírito da literatura francesa com a portuguesa.

Pode-se lê-lo e lá o encontrei. Ele mostrou que desde muito as letras francesas se ocuparam com o debate das questões da época, enquanto as portuguesas limitavam-se às preocupações da forma, dos casos sentimentais e amorosos e da idealização da natureza. Aquelas eram militantes, enquanto estas eram contemplativas e de paixão. 157

Among his contemporaries in Brazil Lima Barreto could not find much official support for his views. The works of Anatole France, then much admired in Brazil, were cited by Lima Barreto to support his aesthetics: "Todas, ou quase todas as suas obras, se não visam a propaganda de um credo social, tem por mira um escopo sociológico. Militam." 158

Since his concept of literature was so radically

opposed to the reigning concept of art, Lima Barreto was often defensive. Histórias e sonhos, his only volume of short stories, contains a preface in which he dismisses charges that his works lack beauty.

Não desejamos mais uma literatura contemplativa, que raramente ela foi, não mais uma literatura a encontrar beleza em deuses para sempre mortas, manequins atualmente, pois a alma que os animava, já se evoluiu com a morte dos que os adoravam. Não é isso o que nossos dias pedem, mas uma literatura militante para a maior glória da nossa espécie na terra e mesmo no Céu. 159

If literature was to implement social change, the author believed, unlike the aristocratic Parnassians, that it would have to be directed democratically at the large majority of the reading public. As long as the people remained unaware of their unjust economic situation, they would unfortunately never unite politically to effect reforms.

Seria melhor que me dirigisse ao maior número possível, com auxílio de livros singelos, ao alcance das inteligências médias, com uma instrução geral, de que gastar tempo com obras só capazes de serem compreendidas por sabichões enfiados na sua inteligência, pelas tradições de escola e academias e por conceitos livrescos e de autoridade. 160

Lima Barreto's writings had a two-fold aim. His first aim was the stimulation to political action of a poorly educated and, consequently, ignorant public. Secondly, he had to transmit a complex socio-philosophical creed in simplified language, if he was to accomplish his first objective. Hence, one of his principles had to be that of simplification.

Ela (a Arte) sempre fêz baixar das altas regiões das

abstrações da Filosofia e das inacessíveis revelações da Fé, para torná-las sensíveis a todos, as verdades que interessavam, e interessam à perfeição da nossa sociedade. 161

Lima Barreto believed that his reading public would more easily grasp a thematic message (argumento) if he presented the philosophical principle in fictional form. One would normally suppose that the most direct way to influence the masses would be through the use of the journalistic essay, a genre to which he frequently turned when speaking on political issues. Yet Lima Barreto believed conversely that the theme would be more accessible to the general public if it were made more digestible, that is, if it were, by means of plot and characterization, transformed into sentimento 162 or an emotional experience. Plot would demonstrate, by a chain of cause and effect, the pernicious results of society acting upon the individual. Characters, divided into two main groups, good and bad, would illustrate the author's political and social philosophies. Thus, rather than present the reader with an erudite essay, whose abstractions might be lost on him, Lima Barreto preferred to take the theme of society's prejudice against the mulatto intellectuals and to present the reader with Isaías Caminha, for example.

É preciso que êsse argumento se transforme em sentimento, e a arte, literatura salutar tem o poder de fazê-lo, de transformar a idéia, o preconceito, a regra em sentimento, e mais do que isso, torná-lo assimilável à memória, de incorporá-lo ao leitor, em auxílio dos seus recursos próprios, em auxílio da sua técnica. 163

Lima even advised a writer of sociological essays to make use of literary devices if he desired to affect the

masses. Pure essay would not be powerful enough to cause change.

O Senhor M. C. poderá objectar-me que a sua obra não é de literatura, mas, deixando essa alegação que só poder ter base na ignorância do que seja verdadeiramente literatura- que não é o caso do autor dos Ensaaios - tomo a liberdade de dizer-lhe que um escritor como êle, que muito justamente quer agir sobre o meio que o cerca, deve revestir-se de certa sedução artística, a fim de que seu livro interesse a todos. Penso que, para isso, devia escrever com seu espírito particular para o espírito geral do país, não esquecendo que êsse país, para o qual escreve, é o mais bem dotado de preguiça mental que se conhece. 164

Despite his repeated attempts at clarity, Lima Barreto could not have always been certain that these complex social truths were indeed being grasped by his reading public. To insure their understanding, Lima resorted to the use of journalistic techniques in his fiction whenever he felt that the direct representation of events, with little recourse to fiction, would be more efficacious. 165 In an era pre-occupied with a formalistic separation of genres into higher and lower forms, Lima Barreto set an example for later authors by recommending a literature of mixed genres as a means of reviving national literature.

Tenho dito muitas vezes que o único meio de atrair o público para o nosso teatro, era abandonar os moldes estabelecidos para os vários genros de obras teatrais, quebrar, enfim, os quadros e fazer alguma coisa bem bárbara, participando, caso fôsse possível, de todos os gêneros, drama, mágica, etc., e sendo nenhum dêles. 166

He realized, though, that neither critics nor his reading public would fully understand his attempts at social literature, neither did he believe that he would live to

to witness the transformation of society. Yet he did feel, as did Guyau, that literature would make a distinct contribution to a distant future utopia: "No futuro é que está a existência dos verdadeiros homens."¹⁶⁷

Despite his belief in determinism, Lima Barreto paradoxically felt that the individual author did possess some degree of freedom of choice regarding the position he would adopt concerning society in his novels.¹⁶⁸ His conviction of the need for an individualistic approach, with his concomitant mistrust of pusillanimous publishing houses, obliged him to found Floreal, an independent literary journal, as a forum for the publication of his works.

Não se destina pois a Floreal a trazer a público obras que, revelem uma estética novíssima e apurada, ela não traz senão nomes dispostos a dizer abnegadamente as suas opiniões sobre tudo o que interessar à nossa sociedade, guardando as conveniências, de quem quer ser respeitado.

É uma revista individualista, em que cada um poderá, pelas suas páginas, com a responsabilidade de sua assinatura, manifestar julgamentos, quaisquer que sejam.¹⁶⁹

Lima Barreto intended his art to be, therefore, an instrument of social change, capable of igniting the indignation of the largest possible number of readers. Although Lima Barreto was not unaware of the importance of the psychological element in fiction, he believed that this element would have to be subordinated to the utilitarian social and political elements. For Lima Barreto the central fact of his fiction was this social, combative nature.

1. Edgar Cavalheiro. Evolução do conto brasileiro.
(Rio de Janeiro: Ministério de Educação e Saúde,
1964), p. 21.
2. Hermann Lima. "A evolução do conto" in A literatura
no Brasil. ed. Afrânio Coutinho (Rio de Janeiro:
Editora Sulamericana, 1971), VI, pp. 39-40.
3. Ibid.
4. Massaud Moisés. "O conto" in Pequeno dicionário
de literatura brasileira. ed. Massaud Moisés
(São Paulo: Editora Cultrix, 1969), pp. 75-76.
5. Lima, p. 41.
6. Luís Aníbal Falcão. El cuento en la literatura
brasileña. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional,
1944), p. 6.
7. Hermann Lima. Variações sobre o conto. (Rio de
Janeiro: Ministério de Educação e Saúde, 1952),
p. 71.
8. Hermann Lima. O conto. (Salvador: Universidade da
Bahia, 1958), p. 45.
9. Ibid., p. 44.
10. Ibid., pp. 38-39.
11. Lima, Variações sobre o conto, p. 32.
12. Almiro Rolmes Barbosa. Obras-primas do conto brasileiro.
(São Paulo: Editora Martins, 1962), p. 329.
13. Massaud Moisés. "João do Rio" in Pequeno dicionário
de literatura brasileira. (São Paulo: Editora
Cultrix, 1969), p. 217.
14. Cavalheiro, p. 32.
15. Falcão, p. 91.
16. Wilson Martins. "Lima Barreto ou o falso boêmio"
Província de São Pedro XX (Porto Alegre, 1955),
p. 119.
17. Alfredo Bosi. O pré-modernismo. (São Paulo: Editora
Cultrix, 1969), p. 93.
18. Francisco de Assis Barbosa. A vida de Lima Barreto.
(Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira,
1964), pp. 11-12.

19. Massaud Moisés. "Lima Barreto" in Dicionário de literatura. ed. Jacinto do Prado Coelho (Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, 1969), pp. 88-89.
20. Alceu Amoroso Lima. "Prefácio," Vida e morte de M. J. Gonzaga de Sá. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), pp. 12-13.
21. Manuel Bandeira. A Brief History of Brazilian Literature. trans. Ralph Dimmick (New York: Charles Frank Publishers, 1964), p. 120.
22. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Correspondência ativa e passiva (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), I, p. 204.
23. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. "Prefácio," Clara dos Anjos. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), pp. 9-10.
24. Olívio Montenegro. "Prefácio," Coisas do reino do Jambom. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), p. 13.
25. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Diário íntimo. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), p. 125.
26. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Impressões de leitura. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), p. 237.
27. Ibid., p. 74.
28. Ibid., p. 125.
29. Barbosa, pp. 15-41.
30. Ibid., p. 37.
31. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 135.
32. Barbosa, p. 43.
33. Ibid., pp. 59-62.
34. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Bagatelas. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), p. 64.
35. Ibid., p. 195.
36. Barbosa, p. 75.
37. Moisés Gicovate. A vida atormentada de Lima Barreto. (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1952), p. 54.

38. Robert D. Herron. "The Individual, Society and Nature in the Novels of Lima Barreto" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968, pp. 11-15.
39. E. Bradford Burns. A History of Brazil. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 205.
40. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 41.
41. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Vida e morte de M.J. Gonzaga de Sá. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), p. 40.
42. Martins, p. 118.
43. Barbosa, p. 85.
44. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 111.
45. Ibid., p. 130.
46. Burns, pp. 264-265.
47. Herron, pp. 12-13.
48. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 111.
49. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 162.
50. Barbosa, pp. 104-105.
51. Lima Barreto, Gonzaga de Sá, pp. 143-144.
52. Barbosa, p. 205.
53. Martins, p. 118.
54. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 77.
55. Barbosa, p. 214.
56. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Marginália. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), p. 258.
57. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 90.
58. Astrogildo Pereira. "Prefácio" Bagatelas. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), pp. 9-29.
59. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 72.
60. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Coisas do reino do Jambom. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), p. 119.

61. Barbosa, pp. 260-267.
62. Robert D. Herron. "Lima Barreto's Isaias Caminha as a Psychological Novel," Luso-Brazilian Review. VIII (Winter, 1971), pp. 26-38.
63. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 192.
64. Gregory Rabassa. "The Negro in Brazilian Fiction since 1888," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954, p. 219.
65. Barbosa, p. 332.
66. All references to Lima Barreto's works used in this study come from the Brasiliense edition of his complete works.
67. O cemitério dos vivos is an incomplete novel.
68. The first edition of Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma included "Um especialista," "O filho da Gabriela," "A nova Califórnia," "O homem que sabia javanês," "Um e outro," "Miss Edith e seu tio," and "Como 'o homem' chegou."
69. The first edition of Histórias e sonhos included "O moleque," "Sua excelência," "Harakashy e as escolas de Java," "Congresso pamplanetário," "Clô," "Hussein Ben Al-Bálec e Miquéis Habacuc," "Agaricus auditae," "Adélia," "O feiticeiro e o deputado," "Uma noite no Lírico," "Um músico extraordinário," "A biblioteca," "Lívia," "Mágoa que rala," "Clara dos Anjos," "Uma vagabunda," "A barganha," and "Uma conversa vulgar."
70. Outras histórias includes "Uma academia na roça," "A mulher do Anacleto," "Dentes negros e cabelos azuis," "A indústria da caridade," "Uma conversa," "A cartomante," "Na janela," "Despesa filantrópica," and "O caçador doméstico." Contos argelinos includes "Sua alteza imperial Jan-Ghothe," "El-Kazenadji," "O juramento," "A firmeza de Al-Bandeirah," "O descontento," "A solidariedade de Al-Bandeirah," "O reconhecimento," "O anel de Perdicas," "Os Kalogheras," "Conservou o fêz," "Arte de governar," "Boa medida," and "Hóspede ilustre."
71. Vida e morte de M.J. Gonzaga de Sá includes "Três gênios de secretaria," "O único assassinato de Cazuza," "O número da sepultura," "Manel Capineiro," "Milagre de Natal," "A sombra do Romariz," "Quase ela deu o 'sim' mais....," "Foi buscar lã," "O jornalista," "O tal negócio de 'prestações'," "O meu carnaval," "Fim

de um sonho," "Lourenço, o magnífico," "O falso Dom Henrique V," "Eficiência militar," "O pecado," "Um que vendeu a sua alma," and "Carta de um defunto rico."

72. Since some stories appear without date or place of publication, it is conceivable that the 1924 story is not the last story by Lima Barreto to be published.
73. Lima Barreto, Marginália, p. 258.
74. Herron, "Isaías Caminha," pp. 26-38.
75. Lima Barreto was not an admirer of Machado de Assis.
76. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 680.
77. Rabassa, "The Negro in Brazilian Fiction," p. 237.
78. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 237.
79. Rabassa, p. 245.
80. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Vida urbana. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), p. 129.
81. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Recordações do escrivão Isaías Caminha. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1970), p. 110.
82. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 184.
83. Ibid., p. 267.
84. Gilberto Freyre. "Prefácio," Diário íntimo. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), pp. 11-12.
85. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 78.
86. Ibid., p. 98.
87. Ibid., p. 76.
88. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Feiras e mafuás. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), p. 209.
89. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 117.
90. Eugênio Gomes. "Lima Barreto" in A literatura no Brasil. ed. Afrânio Coutinho (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Sul-Americana, 1969), III, p. 203.
91. Lima Barreto, Isaías Caminha, p. 16.

92. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 93.
93. José Pereira da Graça Aranha. Canãa. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Briquet, 1939), p. 42.
94. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, pp. 110-111.
95. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, p. 75.
96. Ibid.
97. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 76.
98. Barbosa, p. 209.
99. Lima, Variações sobre o conto, p. 92.
100. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp. 672-673.
101. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 135.
102. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. O cemitério dos vivos. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), p. 49.
103. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 136.
104. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Correspondência ativa e passiva. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), II, p. 171.
105. Barbosa, p. 50.
106. Lima Barreto, O cemitério dos vivos, p. 50.
107. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 673.
108. Lima Barreto, O cemitério dos vivos, p. 137.
109. Rabassa, p. 224.
110. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 20.
111. Ibid.
112. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Os Bruzundangas. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), pp. 61-62.
113. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 42.
114. Lima Barreto, Marginália, p. 79.
115. M. Cavalcânti Proença. "Prefácio," Impressões de leitura.

(São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956), p. 15.

116. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, pp. 190-101.
117. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 62.
118. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 99.
119. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, p. 168.
120. Ibid., p. 44.
121. Ibid., p. 42.
122. Lima Barreto, Feiras e mafuás, p. 100.
123. Lima Barreto, Marginália, p. 58.
124. Oscar Pimentel. "Prefácio," Os Bruzundangas. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), p. 11.
125. Amoroso Lima, pp. 12-13.
126. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, p. 68.
127. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 52.
128. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, p. 110.
129. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, p. 95.
130. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 232.
131. Lima Barreto, Feiras e mafuás, pp. 125-126.
132. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 293.
133. Ibid., p. 163.
134. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp. 690-692.
135. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 127.
136. Ibid., p. 129.
137. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, p. 65.
138. Lima Barreto, Vida urbana, pp. 49-52.
139. Lima Barreto, Gonzaga de Sá, p. 150.
140. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 688.

141. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 173.
142. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, pp. 55-56.
143. Barbosa, p. 59.
144. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, pp. 239-240.
145. Ibid., p. 238.
146. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 62.
147. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, pp. 237-238.
148. Lima Barreto, Feiras e mafuás, p. 39.
149. Ibid., pp. 39-40.
150. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, pp. 250-251.
151. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 40.
152. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 58.
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid., p. 62.
155. Ibid., pp. 66-67.
156. Ibid., p. 73.
157. Ibid.
158. Ibid., p. 72.
159. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Histórias e sonhos.
(São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), pp. 33-34.
160. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 75.
161. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 67.
162. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 48.
163. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 61.
164. Ibid., p. 240.
165. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp. 48-50.
166. Lima Barreto, Marginália, p. 163.
167. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, pp. 68-69.

- 168. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 39.
- 169. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, pp. 181-182.

CHAPTER II

A. The Negro and the Poor in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto

Surprisingly few short stories of Lima Barreto are dedicated to racial issues in spite of his early commitment to the creation of negrismo in Brazilian letters. This in his vision and hopes was to become a new literary trend. Lima evidently sensed the futility of limiting himself thematically to the portrayal of the tribulations of a segment of society from which he so often felt alienated. It is quite probable that the rich and successful, to whom he dedicated a large number of satirical short stories, offered, in the final analysis, a more congenital topic. This wider view of society allowed Lima Barreto to use his innate genius for brilliantly conceived caricature. In Alceu Amoroso Lima's opinion, Lima Barreto was Brazil's greatest humorist, even more so than ¹ Machado de Assis.

Out of some seventy short stories, only six deal directly with racial issues. Two works, "Miss Edith e seu tio" and "O caçador doméstico" introduce racial considerations into what is essentially a political short story. In five of the six his thematic focus was concentrated primarily on the Negro family. Invariably the theme revolves around young but naive mulatto women who fall prey to the unscrupulous advances of richer men. This is the situation in "Clara dos Anjos," "Um especialista," and, to some extent, "Uma conversa

vulgar." In the three tales which deal with the tribulations of Negro motherhood, "O filho da Gabriela," "O moleque" and "Uma conversa vulgar," the mother's hopes for a happier life for her often gifted son are sooner or later frustrated. "O pecado" departs from this focus on family life in order to offer a rather fanciful indictment of racism directed against gifted blacks. This is a very similar to the racism set against the protagonist of Recordações do escrivo Isaias Caminha.

As Professor Gregory Rabassa noted in his "The Negro in Brazilian Fiction since 1888," Lima Barreto, like Jorge Amado, offers the reader a portrait of the proletariat united² by economic oppression. It is not surprising, then, that only three works of Lima focus in on the tribulations of the white poor. "Manel Capineiro" and "A barganha" are two closely related tales. Both deal with the harsh realities of the daily work day of immigrant labor. Like their Negro counterparts, these persecuted foreigners have found, through their deep suffering, a universal love which transcends racial barriers. Similar to Jorge Amado's Antônio Balduino in Jubiabá, they have found spiritual redemption in pain.

"Uma despesa filantrópica" inspired no doubt by Lima's admiration for Monteiro Lobato's Jeca Tatú, is unique among his short stories in that it is the only one of Lima Barreto's short stories which deals with life in the rural interior, the sertão. Previously, almost all of his short stories dealing with the Negro or the poor concentrated heavily on a minute description of life in the carioca suburbs of Inhaúma, Todos

os Santos and Engeho de Dentro. Unlike the poor urban workers, the protagonist of "Uma despesa filantrópica" is a young psychopathic assassin, a jagunço. Lima Barreto was wont to burden his short narratives with a considerable amount of social philosophy, yet this work contains no explanation for the young man's violent behavior. Perhaps Lima Barreto intended merely to promote interest in his friend's Urupês, which dealt in great detail with similar rural problems.

B. THE NEGRO PROTAGONIST IN THE SHORT STORIES OF LIMA BARRETO

"Clara dos Anjos," which first appeared in 1920 in Histórias e sonhos, differs little in essential details of plot from the novel of the same title (1923-1924), one of the last, if not the last, works of Lima Barreto. This story provides an excellent starting point for a study of the Negro in the short stories because of its clarity of exposition and its focus on the Negro family.

The focus of interest is the suburban girl Clara, the naive mulatto daughter of Joaquim dos Anjos, a postman. The plot is simple and straightforward. Despite Clara's innate goodness, she allows herself to be seduced by an evil white ballad singer, Júlio Costa. When Clara discovers that she is pregnant, she courageously confronts Júlio's mother, only to be sent home in shame.

Lima Barreto's intent in writing "Clara dos Anjos" was to illustrate the dangers of the romantic social education given to young mulatto girls. He believed this to be too idealistic an education for these girls, who were then left so often an

easy prey for libertines and procurers.

Indeed, this traditional Latin upbringing might be harmful for all poor girls, independent of their racial complexions. In making his protagonist a mulatto, Lima, not without some confusion, deliberately narrowed his focus of attention.

Clara, true to her name, is more Caucasian than Negroid. Thus, Lima Barreto, as did his "model" Aluísio de Azevedo in his portrait of Raimundo in O mulato, suggests that even the slightest trace of racial mixture is sufficient for a prejudiced society.

O carteiro era pardo claro, mas só tinham uma filha, a Clara. O carteiro era pardo claro, mas com cabelo ruim, como se diz, a mulher, porém, apesar de mais escura, tinha o cabelo liso. Na tez, a filha puxava o pai, e, 3 no cabelo, a mãe.

Her stereotyped seducer, who is as wicked as Clara is innocent, is hardly convincing in his total dedication to vice. Not only is Júlio described as white, he is also freckled. This ought to leave no doubt in the reader's mind as to his race.

Yet, if Lima Barreto intended to attribute Clara's downfall to racial prejudice, he does not convince the reader from the very start. The perceptive reader senses confusion on the issue of racial versus class prejudice. The Marxist critic Octávio Brandão, in his Os intelectuais progressistas, lamented Lima's confusion on the issue of class prejudice.

Atribuiu as vicissitudes da sua vida ao fato de ser mulato. Tentou explicar seus fracassos pelos preconceitos raciais. Falou sobre "as fatalidades obscuras" do próprio temperamento. Enganava-se. Na realidade, o problema era mais complexo. Inúmeros mulatos fizeram carreira no Brasil e chegaram aos mais altos postos. Lima Barreto não fez carreira, foi vítima de injustiças,

não por ser mulato, e sim por ser um revoltado, um pobre-
tão e não saber bajular. A questão era de classe e não 4
estritamente racial.

When we examine closely the plot for some enlighten-
ment or clarification of this matter, we discover that references
to class are at least as numerous as references to race.

When Júlio Costa first entered the house of Clara's
hardworking postman father, on the occasion of his birthday
celebration, Júlio's very presence caused admiration on the part
of all girls present. Lima describes the group as being of
varied racial backgrounds, yet possessing one common bond -
that of poverty: "Tôdas as môças das mais diferentes côres que,
aí, a pobreza harmonizava e esbatia, logo o admiraram!" ("Clara,"
184) Lima Barreto makes no mention of racial prejudice among
these girls, nor does he indicate by their reactions that they
were any less prey to Júlio's seductive charms than was Clara.

Júlio's love ballad caused the same emotions in all the
girls regardless of their race: "A cousa, era, porém, sincera e
mesmo as comparações estrambóticas levantaram nos singelos cérebros
das ouvintes largas perspectivas de sonhos, erguiam desejos, des-
pertavam anseios e visões douradas!" ("Clara," 185) Clara is
singled out by Júlio Costa not because of her race, but because
of her rare combination of naiveté, a trait Lima Barreto would
have us regard as universally true of suburban girls if his
thesis is to hold true, and physical beauty: "...ninguém notou
o olhar guloso que deitou para os seios empinados de Clara."
("Clara," 186)

When Clara foolishly dreams of Júlio as a lover, she

immediately fears their racially mixed marriage to be impossible. She then remembers having seen many happy racially mixed marriages in the suburbs and her fears are quieted: "Uma dúvida lhe veio: êle era branco, ela, mulata...mas que tinha isso? Tinha-se visto tantos casos!" ("Clara," 187)

In Lima Barreto's caricatures of Júlio Costa's family, he barely mentions race. Instead he concentrates considerable attention on their vain social pretensions. Júlio's father is not a postman given to the idle playing of cards. He is a gravely serious civil servant. Júlio's mother, despite her general sloppiness, believes herself to be descended from royalty. His sisters, Mercedes, Adelaide and Maria Eugênia are well-educated. Unlike Clara, they are all determined to marry only into an established elite: medical doctors. Again, in his description of their frivolity, Lima Barreto focuses his attention on class considerations: "Pequenas burguesas, sem nenhuma fortuna, mas devido à situação do pai e o terem frequentado escolas de certa importância, elas não admitiriam para Clara senão um destino: o de criada de servir" ("Clara," 188)

If Lima was ambiguous in assigning the cause of Clara's ruination to either racial or economic factors, he was, on the other hand, perhaps all too clear in illustrating the dangers of a romantic upbringing. Clara, like Flaubert's Emma Bovary and Eça de Queiroz's Luísa, is hopelessly trapped by the conflict between her quixotic fantasies and her hostile environment. At times the thought occurs that Lima has left his Clara too little liberty. Perhaps she is more a symbol than a living creation.

Certainly Clara seems to be trapped as much by her creator's pre-determined social thesis, as by her environment.

Apesar de não demorar-se pela tarde adentro, pode ir cercando a rapariga, a Clara, cujos seios empinados, voluminosos, e redondos fascinavam-lhe extraordinariamente e excitavam a sua gula insaciável. Em começo foram só os olhares que a moça, com os seus úmidos olhos negros, grandes, quase cobrindo toda a esclerótica, correspondia a furto e com medo, depois, foram pequenas frases, galanteios, trocados às escondidas, para afinal, vir a fatídica carta. ("Clara," 186)

At the denouement, the omniscient narrator, previously occupied in documenting social detail, penetrates the protagonist's consciousness to reveal her new awareness of the social implications of her betrayal. Poor and mulatto, she is, as she confesses to her mother, "...nada nesta vida." ("Clara," 191). Since Lima Barreto addressed himself to an often poorly educated lower middle class audience, Clara's indirect discourse outlines clearly the theme for all who might still be in doubt as to the message.

Viu bem a sua condição na sociedade, o seu estado de inferioridade permanente, sem poder esperar a coisa mais simples que todas as moças aspiram. Para que seriam aqueles cuidados todos de seus pais? Foram inúteis e contraproducentes, pois evitaram que ela conhecesse bem justamente a sua condição e os limites das suas aspirações sentimentais. ("Clara," 191)

The blame for this tragic denouement is ascribed by Lima Barreto to faulty notions of romantic love taught Clara by her parents.

Her parents are portrayed as overprotective. A veritable female Policarpo Quaresma of the love ballad, she was ill-prepared for Júlio Costa: "Habituada às musicatas do pai, crescera cheia de vapores das modinhas e enfumagara a sua

pequena alma de rapariga pobre com os dengues e a melancolia dos decantes e cantarolas" ("Clara," 182) Clara was not even permitted to pass by Seu Nascimento's general store. The fictional venda closely resembles the description given by Agrippino Grieco in his Vivos e mortos of Lima's "club".

Descida a ladeira, encaminhava-se Lima Barreto para o seu "club". Seu "club" (o escritor pronunciava escrupulosamente, à inglesa "clabe", era um botequim em que se reuniam, esvaziando botelhas, os modelos preferidos do nosso retratista de caracteres: carreiros, verdureiros, 5 e mascates em trânsito por aquelas paragens.

One figure who is of interest in "Clara dos Anjos" is, without doubt, a self-portrait of Lima Barreto.

Aparecia, as vezes, o J. Amarante, um poeta, verdadeiramente poeta, que tivera o seu momento de celebridade em todo o Brasil, se ainda não a tem, mas que, naquela época, devido ao alcool e a desgostos íntimos, era uma triste ruína de homem, apesar dos seus dez volumes de versos, dez sucessos, com os quais todos ganharam dinheiro menos êle. Amnésico, semi-imbecilizado, não seguia uma conversa com tino e falava desconexamente. O subúrbio não sabia bem quem êle era, chamava-o muito simplesmente, o poeta. ("Clara," 184)

The poor Negroes who frequented the establishment are invariably like Alympio. Despite his ferocious appearance, he is incapable of violence. Yet even this minimal contact with the outside world was forbidden to Clara. Only on special occasions was she allowed to go to the cinema in Méier or Engenho de Dentro. Here most probably her romantic notions were only reinforced.

Lima criticizes her parents while realizing at the same time that they too are an unfortunate product of a pernicious environment. Joaquim dos Anjos is pictured as a hard-working but mediocre man. His only ambition in his difficult life, after providing some financial security for his family, is

to be able to spend a quiet evening playing cards with friends between glasses of parati and songs on the guitar. Even in his beloved music, Joaquim fails to distinguish himself: Acreditava-se até músico, pois compunha valsas, tangos, e acompanhamentos para modinhas. Aprendera a artinha musical na terra de seu nascimento, nos arredores de Diamantina, e a sabia de côr e salteado, mas não saíra daí!" ("Clara," 179)

Clara's mother barely appears in the short story, unlike in the novel. When Engrácia does appear, she has an extremely short confrontation with her daughter. The mother is revealed as weak. A few tears on Clara's part are all that is needed to make her desist from criticizing her daughter's affair. Perhaps, as in the novel, Engrácia too lacks the upbringing to recognize Júlio Costa's deceit.

While Clara's parents have neglected to educate their daughter to the ways of the world, they did provide her with the one clear goal of all women of her day in Brazil: marriage. In an article intitled "Os uxoricidas e a sociedade brasileira," Lima Barreto became the first Brazilian intellectual to decry the spiritual and legal limitations imposed on women by the state of matrimony.⁶

Em geral, na nossa sociedade burguesa, todo casamento é uma decepção. É sobretudo uma decepção para a mulher. A sua educação estreitamente familiar e viciada pelas bobagens da instrução das Doroteias (jesuítas de saia) e outras religiosas, a estreiteza e a monotonia de suas relações numa única classe de pessoas, as vêzes mesmo de uma só profissão, não dão às moças, que, comumente se casam em verdes anos, critério seguro para julgar os seus noivos, senão os exteriores da fortuna, títulos, 7 riqueza e um nome.

The unfortunate plight of Clara is continued to some extent in Lima Barreto's first short story, "Um especialista," Here a Portuguese businessman in Recife has enriched himself by stealing the inheritance of the innocent mulatto girl whom he has seduced. This ill-gotten money he quite profitably invests in counterfeit currency. He is financially able to dedicate himself almost exclusively to the ruination of the honor of mulatto girls. His latest find, also from Recife, is more beautiful than his original conquest. As we follow this dishonest Portuguese capitalist from bar to bar and finally to a brothel poorly disguised as a casino, we become gradually aware of an impending ironic punishment for his transgressions. Alice, his current mulatto mistress, is none other than the daughter of his first illicit union.

Within the framework of a traditional nineteenth century suspense tale, replete with a surprising denouement, Lima Barreto unites the racial issue to wider considerations of the nature of capitalism and the influence of Portuguese entrepreneurs on Brazilian political and social life.

The affluent antagonist is known merely as the Comendador. His anonymity suggests that he is symbolic of all foreign businessmen - a flat character in Forster's nomenclature.

Evil personified, at night he is wont to prowl in search of mulatto women.

A noite, pelas praças mal iluminadas, andava catando-as, joeirando-as com olhos chispantes de lubricidade, e, por 8 vezes mesmo, se atrevia a seguir qualquer mais airosa pelas ruas de baixa prostituição.

The universality of Alice's fate is reinforced by

continual references to the Portuguese penchant for African women. Long before Gilberto Freyre propounded his theories of luso-tropicalism, Lima Barreto invariably portrayed the mulatto woman as an innocent victim of Portuguese sensuality. The Comendador crassly reduces Vasco da Gama's voyages to a sensual epic.

A mulata, dizia êle, é a canela, é o cravo, é a pimenta, é, enfim, a especiaria de requieime acre e capitoso que nós, os portugueses, desde Vasco da Gama, andamos a buscar, a procurar. ("Um especialista," 200)

Like Clara, Alice is an attractive girl, but slightly more Negroid in features. Her description reveals both the author's sensitivity to racial features and his sympathy for Alice. Her physical and spiritual beauty are in sharp contrast with the ugliness of her Portuguese lover whose very evilness has become physically manifested.

Calcula que ela é alta, esguia, de bom corpo, cabelos negros corridos, bem corridos, olhos pardos. É bem fornida de carnes, roliça, nariz não muito afilado, mas bom! E que boca, Chico! Uma boca breve, pequena, com uns lábios bem roxos, bem quentes. ("Um especialista," 202)

Lima Barreto divided his characters into two large categories: good and bad. The eyes were often for him a focal point of his characterization.⁹ Whereas Alice's eyes are lively, innocent and curious, the Comendador has glaring, evil eyes: "Deixou de fumar e com olhares canalhas sublinhou a frase magnificamente." ("Um especialista," 201) Indeed, the Portuguese merchant, representative of all who would steal the honor of mulatto women, is described as a colossal pig!

Por todo êle havia aspecto de um suíno, cheio de lascivia,

enebriado de gôzo. Os olhos arredondaram-se e diminuíram, os lábios se haviam apertado fortemente e impedidos para diante se juntavam ao jeito de um focinho, o rosto destilava gordura, e, ajudado isto pelo seu físico, tudo nele era de um colossal suíno. ("Um especialista," 202)

We might question how it was possible for bystanders to recognize the relationship between the white merchant and his mulatto victim given their contrasting extremes of beauty and ugliness. Here Lima seems to fit events to the necessities of plot development.

Like Clara, Alice seductively unites two seemingly contradictory qualities: she is as angelically innocent as she is voluptuous.

O seu rosto harmonioso, enquadrado num magnífico chapéu de palha preta, saía firme do pescoço roliço que a blusa decotava deixava ver. Seus olhos curiosos, inquietos, voavam de um lado a outro e a tez de bronze novo cintilava a luz dos fôcos. Através do vestido se lhe adivinhavam as formas, e, por vêzes, ao arfar, ela tôda trepidava de volúpia... ("Um especialista," 205)

Her sensuality has afforded her an opportunity to survive economically. In Recife she lived with at least three different men after her disgrace and on board ship it was rumored that she was en route to Rio de Janeiro to market her charms. Yet at no time does Lima censure her behavior or indicate her innocence to be feigned or hypocritical. Rather his position is, like Jorge Amado in his portrait of Teresa Batista, one of understanding sympathy for a fellow Negro persecuted by an immoral society.

Alice is left no freedom of choice, and prostitution becomes the only means of survival left to her by society.

The iniquitous seduction of Alice's mother and the theft of her family fortune deprived her of economic independence. Her defloration, at the age of eighteen, by the very judge into whose legal protection she was entrusted as an orphan, deprived her of the protection of the institution of matrimony. Her first lover, a police sergeant, raped her. Her second knifed her. Alone in the world, prostitution was the only road open for a poor mulatto girl: "Geralmente, o primeiro amante não é o velho rico da lenda. É da camada delas, dos seus recursos, mais ou menos, e as raparigas do prazer se recrutam, em geral, nas modestas classes..."¹⁰

As in the case of "Clara dos Anjos" considerable confusion exists as to whether Alice's fate was economically or racially determined. By emphasizing her racial characteristics and the Comendador's taste for mulatto women, Lima Barreto deliberately focuses the reader's attention on racial issues. Yet the plot contains elements which indicate Alice's fate to be universally true for all poor women. Her mother had lived a less sheltered life than Engrácia, Clara's mother. She was, therefore, in a better position to offer more worldly wisdom to her daughter. And indeed, she often did. Alice's mother frequently warned her daughter to be careful of men. No special mention was made as to their race since, apparently, poor girls should be careful of all men's motives.

Bem me dizia minha mãe, toma cuidado, minha filha.
Esses homens só querem nosso corpo por segundos,
depois vão-se embora e nos deixam um filho nos
quartos... ("Um especialista," 207)

The Comendador's business associate and partner in iniquity, is also an unscrupulous Portuguese businessman but has political pretensions. This man is like our antagonist in every aspect except that his sport is sex with poor European immigrant girls: "O coronel era justamente o contrário: só queria as estrangeiras, as francesas e italianas, bailarinas, cantoras ou simplesmente meretrizes, era seu fraco. ("Um especialista," 200)

The novel Clara dos Anjos reveals a mulatto, Timbó, a friend of the white philanderer, Cassi Jones de Azevedo. This mulatto slavishly imitates his white model but, in the end, receives a severe beating for his romantic efforts. His failure clearly reflects Lima's condemnation of Negroes who would ape white society's mannerisms in order to succeed.

"Um especialista" depicts a similar mulatto who has just begun to frequent the sordid casino. Here the Brazilian elite entertain their "guests." His gaucherie is made to contrast with the natural debauchery of the prosperous white clientele: "Môço, moreno, seria elegante se não fôsse a estreiteza de seus movimentos. ("Um especialista," 203)

It is no coincidence that Lima's Brazilian elite and the Portuguese entrepreneurs mesh so well. Despite such notable exceptions as Lima's favorable characterization of the wealthy Italian Coleoni in Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma, Lima rarely regarded fame and fortune as products of honest labor. Wealth is generally associated with some mysterious swindle, so that the most immoral and despicable

elements of society invariably succeed and conquer while the
innocent perish.¹¹

In the final analysis, Alice's fate was sealed, not at birth by her race, but from the moment her small inheritance was stolen. To Lima Barreto capitalism was the root of all evil in Brazil. Once the impoverished Alice fell prey to the capitalists, she was indeed lost.

"Uma conversa vulgar" continues the racially and economically oriented social criticism of "Clara dos Anjos" and of "Um especialista." Now, however, the focus of interest has changed from the mulatto girl denied the dignity of matrimony to the young mulatto male denied success. In the case of the female, her failure leads to prostitution, in the male, failure leads to alcoholism. Neither fate is enviable.

In "Uma conversa vulgar" the first person narrator, like Lima Barreto, is forced to abandon his studies and to enter the Civil Service. This alone should be sufficient to embitter him. However, he persists in recalling racially-troubled events he witnessed years ago. These still have a potent grip on his memory. Such a reaction is typical of mulatto characters in Lima Barreto's writings. A safe conclusion is that the narrator in all likelihood is mulatto. He diligently recalls the day he accompanied old Florêncio, in celebration of his retirement from Civil Service, to Sugarloaf Mountain on a sort of spiritual pilgrimage through Florêncio's beloved city. On the way, they chanced upon a disheveled, alcoholic mulatto, Ernesto. This unfortunate,

despite his former position as a naval officer, was forced to support himself meagerly by menial labor and through the generous charity of the almost fatherly Florêncio. Ernesto, in spite of his poverty, is the son of the Portuguese entrepreneur, the Viscount of Castanhal. The Viscount, né José da Silva, had made his fortune by marketing ice cold milk on the elegant Rua Gonçalves Dias. As his affluence increased, he proceeded to abandon heartlessly his black common law wife and child in order to marry, now legally in a Church ceremony, into the Brazilian elite. Later on, during their stroll on the busy Avenida Central (Avenida Getúlio Vargas), the narrator and Florêncio pass Ernesto's mulatto half-sister, quite elegantly dressed. One wonders whether she too is a victim of the lust of another affluent Portuguese enchanted by the charms of Negro women.

The plot within the plot, the tale of the Portuguese's betrayal of his black lover is similar enough to the Portuguese capitalist's betrayal of Alice in "Um especialista" and Júlio Costa's betrayal of Clara. This racial betrayal is a common fate in Lima Barreto's writings, hence perhaps the title "Uma conversa vulgar."

In plot structure, this last story closely follows one of the plots of Aluísio Azevedo's O cortiço (1890). In O cortiço the Portuguese merchant João Romão prospers in part due to the efforts of his hardworking Negro common-law wife, Bertoleza. When he becomes quite wealthy, he too desires a well-placed marriage. Without pity, he denounces

the fugitive slave to her owners, but the courageous slave prefers suicide. The instrument of her suicide is a brutal kitchen knife. In "Uma conversa vulgar" the Portuguese merchant José da Silva, enriched by his wife's labors, merely abandons her. She is doomed to beg before a hovel not unlike Azevedo's cortiço. Such incredible cruelty appears again and again in Lima Barreto whenever a character has allowed himself to be dominated by materialism. It is a frequent sub-theme in many of his short stories.

This greed for money, rather than a nationality, is the ultimate root of José da Silva's corruption. Indeed, the venerable wise old civil servant who befriends Ernesto is white. Florêncio resembles Gonzaga de Sá, the intellectualized retired clerk of the Ministry of Culture. Both lives are related to us many years hence by an admiring young first person narrator. In Vida e morte de M.J. Gonzaga de Sá the narrator is a mulatto. In "Uma conversa vulgar" we suspect the same for his race also. Both are retired Civil Service clerks, given to philosophical thoughts. Both are possessed by a deep, almost mystical sensitivity for the Brazilian countryside, and for the old, imperial aspects of the capital. Both aid mulattoes financially, as if they sensed a need to undo the wrongs of slavery. Gonzaga adopts, rears and educates Aleixo, a brilliant Negro child whose ultimate success Lima Barreto leaves in doubt since his child protégés, like Isaías Caminha, invariably fail due to racial prejudice. Florêncio supports Ernesto, the

alcoholic, an image, perhaps of Aleixo's future fate. Both Gonzaga and Florêncio confess a certain lack of comprehension of the Negro, despite their sympathy for his plight.

Há não sei que desgosto recalcado nessa gente, não sei que ponto fraco, que rachadura que êles acabam sempre 12 arrebetando de alguma forma.

More importantly, both, by their kindly nature, indicate that racial prejudice need not exist in a future society where humanistic endeavor no longer competes against financial success for the hearts of men.

His protégé, Ernesto, is not dissimilar to the alcoholic poet of "Clara dos Anjos," an alter ego of Lima Barreto. He is fairly good-looking, with Caucasian features, and is quite intelligent. He became, in spite of adverse conditions, a naval officer. According to Florêncio, Ernesto's moral character was impeccable: "Gostei sempre dêle, pois era um bom filho, honesto, zeloso, e digno de tôda a proteção. ("Uma conversa vulgar," 210) Despite his fine qualities, the shock of his mother's death and the prospect of being totally alone in a hostile environment (the fate which confronted Alice), proved to be too much. He sought refuge and escape in heavy drinking. Once again, in the fiction of Lima Barreto, an exemplary mulatto, fails to succeed in a ruthless society.

Robert D. Herron, however, found questionable the evidence given by Isaías as proof of racial prejudice in society, at least a racial prejudice strong enough to prevent an intelligent mulatto's success. He points out that Isaías is characterized by a neurotic sensitivity to the slightest

racial slur. This, combined with an innately weak personality all too ready to accept defeat, explain Isaiás' failures as much as any racial hypothesis.¹³ Wilson Martins, in a similar manner, blames Lima's morbidly sensitive character¹⁴ for his failure to succeed in the world of letters.

With regard to Ernesto convincing evidence to explain his present state of degradation is also lacking. Whereas the Portuguese capitalist's immoral conduct, motivated most probably by economic rather than racial considerations, is amply documented, the only clear cause mentioned for Ernesto's alcoholism is his mother's tragic death. Florêncio, a trusted figure, assures the narrator, and through him the reader, that fate persecutes successful Negroes. The vaguely mysterious tone, with its mystical note of fatalism, could hardly convince a more skeptical reader. The Marxist critic Brandão, in his Os intelectuais progressistas¹⁵ was particularly annoyed by this mysticism.

In order to underline ironically the injustice of Ernesto's fate, no sooner than a few moments after having left Ernesto, the narrator and Florêncio pass by an elegantly dressed young girl- the half-sister of the alcoholic mulatto.

"O moleque" is an oddly structured tale. The effects of careless racist remarks on sensitive black children come under close scrutiny. The fictional element is incredibly short and disproportionate, a mere three pages out of seventeen. The first fourteen pages consist of an excessively lengthy introductory essay which, to some extent, prepares

the reader for the relatively short fictional action. Zeca, the unbelievably angelic young son of the kindly and hard-working Dona Felismina, receives as a present from Coronel Castro, a wealthier monarchical benefactor, a devil's costume for Carnival. Although Zeca is intelligent enough to realize that he and his poor mother are more in urgent need of such basic necessities as food and clothing, Zeca requested the frivolous diabolic disguise in order to scare callous boys who call him "nigger."

The expository essay demonstrates clearly Lima's indebtedness to Balzac and Eça de Queiroz for his method of characterization by detail and to Taine for his exaltation of environmental influence on character formation. The essay begins with an historical panorama of Rio de Janeiro- its geology and its Indian past. Gradually the focus is narrowed down to the present time, to the poor suburb of Inhaúma and then to the humble street, Rua dos Maricás. Finally "O moleque" ends with an essay on Brazilian housing, specifically, the barracão, or shack, of Dona Felismina.

During the essay Lima Barreto discusses four items. At the outset, he discusses the ancient granite carioca rock formations which contrast with the fragile record of human habitation. This he does somewhat sentimentally. The author asks whether nature refuses to allow mankind to share in her eternity. Secondly he proceeds to discuss the beauty of the original Tupi-Guaraní names for their tropical homeland. These names reveal a love and appreciation for nature

unknown to the bureaucrats who replace the delicate names with those of generals. In his third item, he notes favorably the mixture of African tribal religions with Catholicism. Thus, he defends the macumba cults of Inhaúma in the hope that this mixture may lead to a new, great religion. Machado, in Vida e morte de M. J. Gonzaga de Sá, displays similar feelings for a new race not far removed from José Vasconcelos' raza cósmica. Lastly Lima discusses the characteristics of a typical barracão of Inhaúma. With its sturdy simplicity, the barracão symbolizes externally the spiritual attributes of its owners, much the same way as the boarding house in Balzac's La cousin Bette.

It is difficult to understand how the first two points relate to the theme. The good people of Inhaúma, largely poor and negroid, appear unaware of the natural beauty which so preoccupies the essayist.

Por vezes, no fundo, na frente ou aos lados dêles, há uma árvore de mais vulto, um cajueiro, um mamoeiro, uma pitangueira, uma jaqueira, uma laranjeira, mas nenhum sinal de amanhã do terreno, de tentativa de cultura, a não ser um canteirozinho com uns pés de manjerição ou alecrim. Isso, às vezes, e, às vezes também, uma touceira de banana.

A guaxima cresce, e o capim, e a vassourinha, e o 16 carrapicho e outros arbustos silvestres e tenazes.

Perhaps we can assume that Lima intended a criticism in favor of agrarian reform similar to that of Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma. In this work, Olga, Policarpo's Italian-Brazilian godchild, is shocked by the miserable conditions of Brazilian farmland, abandoned and in ruins. She does

not, however, attribute the rural desolation to the laziness of the poor black tenant farmers, but rather to the latifundia system of absentee landlords.

Não podia ser preguiça só ou indolência. Para o seu gasto, para uso próprio, o homem tem sempre energia para trabalhar...E tôdas essas questões desafiavam a sua curiosidade, o seu desejo de saber, e também, a sua piedade e simpatia por aquêles párias, maltrapilhos, mal alojados, talvez com fome, sorumbáticos. 17

Only the last two points of the essay seem to pertain to the central theme: Lima Barreto's comments on the African cultural heritage. In this respect he becomes the predecessor of modern Brazilian sociology. He prepares the urban Caucasian reader, unfamiliar with Inhaúma, to accept as believable the saintly lives of Zeca and Felismina.

Dona Felismina, the mother of our young Negro protagonist, is highly idealized. While the stereotyped Negro is indolent, Felismina is hardworking to a fault. Indeed, although not yet old, she has lost all physical attractiveness through years of hard labor. All her beauty is spiritual. She is, perhaps, because of this virtue, the most respected member of the community. Even the local Portuguese merchants, characterized as stone-hearted, are moved to extend this serious women credit.

D. Felismina gozava de tôda a consideração nas cercanias e até do crédito, tanto no Antunes, como no Camargo da padaria. Além de lavar para fora, tinha uma pequena pensão que lhe deixara o marido, guardafreios da Central, morto em um desastre. Era uma preta de meia idade, mas já sem atrativo algum. Tudo nela era dependurado e tôdas as suas carnes flácidas. Lavava todo o dia e todo o dia vivia preocupada com o seu humilde mister. Ninguém lhe sabia uma falta, um desgarrô qualquer e todos a respeitavam pela sua honra e virtude. Era das pessoas mais estimadas da

ruela e todos depositavam na humilde crioula a maior confiança. ("O moleque," 42)

As a foil for Dona Felismina's idealized character, her description is preceded by that of Antônia. Antônia is a poor young white prostitute, probably not unlike the mulatto Alice of "Um especialista," whose two dirty children can hardly compare with Zeca, the epitome of neatness. Antônia does not enjoy Dona Felismina's easy credit and so she must sell her honor to the local merchants in order to survive. Despite the scorn directed at her by the richer merchants, the poor of Inhaúma understand and pity her plight. It is black Felismina, adept in the art of homeopathic medicine, which she had learned from the poor white "seu" Frederico, who becomes Antônia's greatest support. When Antônia's children fall ill, again it is the noble Felismina who assures their speedy recovery. Rather than being torn assunder by racial conflict, in Inhaúma, as in Jorge Amado's Bahia, all the races are united by poverty. Their union and friendship in mutual hardship is symbolized by the warm empathy between Felismina and Antônia. The only harsh words are those of the omniscient narrator, and these are directed against the wealthy merchants of Inhaúma.

Lima Barreto does not intend to imply, by his portrait of Antônia, that poor white women are of dubious moral character. Like Antônia, there is the black woman called a baiana. A baiana earned some money by selling angu. Now her somewhat privileged financial status has alienated her, to a small degree, from her fellow poor. Her income enables

her to change "husbands" frequently. Yet, like all the blacks of "O moleque," a baiana is a good woman. One day, while selling her African food, she found an abandoned white baby. A baiana, as racially blind as Felismina with Antônia, raised the orphan. This abandoned girl, when older, had the courage to defend her adopted mother as white!

-A Baianinha, tua mãe é negra.

A pequena arrufava-se e respondia com indignação.

-Negra é tu, "seu" burro. ("O moleque," 43)

Zeca, in the tradition of Lima Barreto's mulatto protagonists, is physically attractive. His hair, however, is clearly negroid.

...um pretinho de pele de veludo, macia de acariciar o olhar, com a carapinha sempre aparada pelos cuidados da mão de sua mãe. ("O moleque," 44)

Zeca, too, is idealized. Indeed, his characterization is so noble for a child as to be unbelievable. Perhaps Lima Barreto trusted that the sacrifice of verisimilitude could be compensated by a favorable portrait of a mulatto.

Abundant autobiographical detail appears in this portrait of an emotional, sensitive mulatto for whom childish play was unknown.

Doce, resignado, e obediente, não havia ordem de sua mãe que não compreisse religiosamente. De manhã o seu encargo era levar e trazer a roupa dos fregueses, e ele carregava os tabuleiros de roupa e trazia as trouxas, sem o mais pequeno desvio de caminho. Se ia à casa do "seu" Carvalho, ia até lá, entregava ou recebia a roupa e voltava sem a menor tranquinada, a menor escapada de criança... ("O moleque," 44)

While on errands, however, Zeca's peaceful world was regularly disturbed by ignorant boys who would call him

"nigger." No information is given by the narrator about these boys, and from the warm description of Inhaúma, we can only surmise that they are children from families with social pretensions or the children of the Portuguese merchants.

Here again the family had failed to provide the upbringing necessary to confront the hostile world outside the racially mixed and gentle poor of Inhaúma. Like Clara, Zeca is overprotected by his mother. At night she keeps him close by her side as she works and sews. Like Clara, his only diversion is the cinema of Engenho de Dentro, whose movie posters provide glimpses of a life more romantic than the dull and deadening grind of hard work in the suburbs. Despite his innate goodness and intelligence, Zeca is too weak to succeed in a hostile world ever ready to call him "nigger".

"O filho da Gabriela" (1906) offers the reader, not without some thematic confusion, a profoundly pessimistic portrait of a gifted black child predestined by his loveless environment to failure. In this story, Lima Barreto is again very autobiographical. His personal bitterness overwhelms the narrative of a precocious intelligence doomed without love. His obviously deeply rooted resentment causes him, not without some damage to the thematic unity of "O filho da Gabriela," to discourse at some length on such varied topics as the nature of love, intellectual life and the position of women in society and in marriage.

There is little external action other than several short dialogues. The omniscient narrator supplies a great

deal of information on each of the characters. His focus is first on the relationship between Dona Laura and Gabriela and then between Dona Laura and Horácio, thus dividing the story into two sections.

Dona Laura, frustrated by her marriage to an intellectual non-entity, Counselor Calaça, adopts Horácio, the son of her black maid Gabriela. The story opens with a slight argument between Laura and her independent minded black servant. In spite of this, however, Dona Laura is close to her black servant and child. Generally, as in the case of the son of Dona Felismina ("O moleque"), poor young blacks are financially unable, despite their intelligence, to receive the education necessary to succeed in society. Ernesto, the illegitimate son of the Portuguese entrepreneur of "Uma conversa vulgar" and Horácio, the adopted son of a professor, receive their education through unusual circumstances. Scholastically and intellectually, Horácio shines despite his distaste for the regimentation of school and his fragile physical and mental health. One night, Horácio, now an orphan, attends a festival celebrating Midsummer's night. Alone in the darkness, caught in the superstitious atmosphere, Horácio feels himself to be surrounded by hostile, mysterious forces. Like the suicidal young Lima Barreto, after this Joycean epiphany, Horácio devours books feverishly in an effort to find a meaning for life. Yet he never comprehends the full meaning of what he reads. The tale ends on a negative note with the neurotic Horácio in bed, delirious

with fever, watched over by a grieving Dona Laura.

The first section focuses on Dona Laura's marital problems, in part distracting the reader from the central concern, Horácio's spiritual formation.

Intelligent, Dona Laura is a typical Lima Barretian heroine. She is as beautiful as she is loving. She, rather than the good but simple Gabriela, would be the perfect loving mother who stimulates her son to academic achievement. Unfortunately, Dona Laura's type is virtually non-existent among mulatto women, not because of a lack of intelligence, but because poverty does not allow them to mature intellectually.

Middle class marriage, which Lima Barreto felt hindered the intellectuality of women, particularly such as Dona Laura, is given a considerable amount of criticism. Adultery, rather than a vice, becomes this woman's only possible means of rebellion.

Marital suffering for Dona Laura is not without positive results. As in the case of his much admired Dostoevsky, Lima Barreto uses pain and suffering to lead to spiritual salvation. Dona Laura, previously ignorant of things mystical, is now able to experience states of divine love.

....casada, sem filhos, não encontrando no casamento nada que sonhara, nem mesmo o marido, sentiu o vazio da existência, a inanidade dos seus sonhos, o pouco alcance da nossa vontade, e, por uma reviravolta muito comum, começou a compreender confusamente tôdas 18 as vidas e almas, a compadecer-se a amar tudo.

Such mysticism relates obliquely to the racial issue. Dona Laura, by her suffering and despite the enormous pre-

judices in class and race, is now enabled by her pain to become one with her poor black sister in sorrow, Gabriela. This intimate spiritual bond is not unlike Dona Felismina's instinctive empathy for her suffering white counterpart, Antônia, in "O moleque"

E ambas, pelo fim dessa transfiguração inopinada, entreolharam-se surpreendidas, pensando que se acabavam de conhecer naquêlê instante. ("O filho da Gabriela," 210)

Suffering unites the female protagonists, more sensitive and less mercenary than their male counterparts. This via dolorosa forges a racial union: "No entendimento peculiar de uma e de outra, sentiram-se irmãs na desoladora mesquinhez da nossa natureza..." ("O filho da Gabriela," 210)

St. Francis is said to have despaired when told a doctor of philosophy had joined the order. Dona Laura, although intelligent, is not a philosopher. But to her, and not to the kindly philosophical Florêncio of "Uma conversa vulgar" are given the keys to understanding the Negro race.

In part Counselor Calça (sloth) embodies Lima Barreto's resentment against his own godfather, the Viscount of Ouro Preto ("Os protetores são os piores tiranos." 19) and the hated Professor Licínio Cardoso of the Escola Politécnica. Lima Barreto was largely unable to accept the responsibility for his failure in rational mechanics. He insisted on regarding his failure as a consequence of racial discrimination. The Republic, in the thinking of Lima Barreto, was made by and for the white urban middle class. For them

the diploma was a passport to wealth and fame. Since possession of the degree seemed to carry such importance, Lima Barreto accused parents of purchasing the degree. He insinuates that Professor Calaça, who graduated with highest honors, is even in this class. In the thirty years since he first taught, Professor Calaça has never prepared for a class. His reading is confined to the financial section of the daily newspaper. This constitutes his only reading, which is hardly adequate for a man in his lofty position. Calaça, an ill-humored egoist, is the exact opposite of his long-suffering wife. He, along with the Portuguese rich, has allowed finance to so dominate his life that he tends to lose his sense of humanity. A precursor in Lima Barreto's work of the social climber Deputy Numa Pompílio de Castro (Numa e a ninfa), Calaça married for "necessidade decorativa" ("O filho da Gabriela," 215). Prejudiced, Calaça has no use for a "nigger boy" like Horácio, whom he treats as a man servant. Júlio Costa's family in "Clara dos Anjos" is likewise unable to accept a Negro as a social equal. Clara, for the sisters, could only be a humble maid.

If it were not for his wife's tears, Horácio would be replaced by a more efficient butler, and would be sent to an orphanage. Gabriela's son received his imposing name at the age of four from Counselor Calaça. Perhaps the name refers ironically to the satirical Latin poet of humble birth, who, through his kindly father's diligent efforts to insure his education, was later able to attain fame and financial success. Horácio is no Horace. Without self-confidence,

Horácio lives alone in a fearful, loveless world in which his mother is forced to wander in search of employment. He is often left in a hovel with a guardian who avenges her frustrations on the defenseless child.

Deprived of maternal love, Horácio is characterized by fear and sickness.

Enlanguescia a olhos vistos e a sua mãe, na caça de aluguel, não tinha tempo para levá-lo ao doutor do posto médico. Baço, amarelo, tinha as pernas que nem palitos e o ventre como o de um batráquio.
("O filho da Gabriela," 211)

An autobiographical element, one of many, can be detected in Horácio's precocious adulthood. Horácio is never happy, never socializes with others. Like his creator, who, as a child, twice attempted suicide, Horácio dreams of an annihilating mystical union with nature.

Ao fim, sentia-se como que liquefeito, vaporizado nas coisas - era como se perdesse o feitiço humano e se integrasse naquele verde escuro da mata.
("O filho da Gabriela," 217.)

Lima Barreto did not anticipate literary experiments with pre-verbal levels of consciousness. Such experimentation would have cost him the didactic simplicity needed to effect social change. ²⁰ The omniscient narrator frequently penetrates, however, the mental processes of Horácio in order to portray convincingly and dramatically Horácio's world view.

For a child, Horácio possesses an extraordinarily well-developed understanding of metaphysics. The images of the fires of the Midsummer's night festival appear as symbols of a hopeless war against the omnipresent forces of evil. In such an atmosphere of fear and insecurity, it is no wonder

that Horácio turns to literature and philosophy in order to find a formula, a meaning for existence.

Horácio's illness, with which "O filho da Gabriela" ends, resembles a death scene. Indeed, although Horácio will recover physically, it is clear that he will never possess the psychological strength to succeed intellectually. Lacking the harshness of his godfather, Counselor Calaça, and faced with a world he fears to be too cruel for contemplation, Horácio prefers a form of suicide.

"O pecado" departs from the family-oriented perspective of Lima's Negro short stories. Here, by means of a short parable of less than three pages, a pessimistic general statement of inter-racial relations is presented.

The plot is simple and linear. Every day, all day long an old Jesuit enters into the heavenly books the spiritual balances and deficits of the souls of the damned and those of the saved. St. Peter, the head celestial bureaucrat normally signs the documents routinely. This time, however, he reads the books only to note, with some surprise, that an extraordinarily saintly man has not been assigned to sit at the right hand of God. When questioned, the scholarly Jesuit admits to an error. The man, a Negro, should be sent immediately to Purgatory rather than sully the heavenly Paradise.

At first glance the tale might seem anti-clerical. Lima Barreto, in his moderately maximalist manifesto "No ajuste de contas," published in 1918, advocated the confis-

cation of the property of wealthy religious orders on the grounds that such orders had fallen under the control of foreign nationals.²¹ In Os Bruzundangas Lima Barreto makes the accusation that the parochial school system controls, through its graduates, Brazilian political life.²² Despite his friendship for the conservative Catholic philosopher, Jackson de Figueiredo, who found Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma to be superior to Dom Casmurro, Lima Barreto attacked the nationalist political philosophy of the Catholic Centro Dom Vital in an article in the A.B.C. of 1921 on Perilo Gomes' Penso e creio. He argued that socialism and positivism, frustrated in their attempts at social reform, were still more likely to succeed than a Church which in his mind was tied financially to republican capitalism.

A política da Igreja tem consistido nesses últimos tempos, em sustentar a classe poderosa no momento, com unhas e dentes, desculpar os seus erros e crimes para poder viver... 23

Yet, in the very same article Lima Barreto, in a burst of religiosity, confessed admiration for the spiritual nature of the Church. Divine revelation, and not science, would lead men to universal wisdom.

...a ciência não satisfaz, que ela parte do mistério e acaba no mistério, e que, fora dela, há muitas razões a crer em Deus e obedecer à revelação da voz divina... 24

Far from being a mere documentary or catalog of ecclesiastical prejudice, the tale is intended for wider criticism. Isaías Caminha had referred to his race as his original sin which only a degree could cleanse. An allegory

of societal prejudice, "O pecado" states quite simply the central thesis of Lima Barreto's racial thought. No matter how saintly or intelligent, the Negro would never be allowed to "ruin" Paradise by his presence.

C. THE POOR PROTAGONIST IN THE SHORT STORIES OF LIMA BARRETO.

"Manel Capineiro" (1915) is closely related, both thematically and structurally to "O filho da Gabriela," Thematically Lima Barreto presents two interrelated concepts . These also dominate the latter tale. The first theme, which is merely hinted at, is that agrarian reform would make prosperous the now desolate Brazilian interior. The second is one of his most cherished dreams - the loving union of all poverty-stricken races. Poverty should be a force to bind people together, not to sunder them apart.

Structurally "Manel Capineiro" resembles "O filho da Gabriela" in that it is almost anecdotal. Two paragraphs suffice to relate simply the tragic death of Manel Capineiro's oxen under the wheels of a train. This constitutes the only external action in the tale. This rather unfortunate accident is preceded by three pages of descriptive narration broken, at intervals, by short interviews, as it were, between the first person narrator and the poor, racially mixed habitués of the rural bar "As duas Américas."

The descriptive portion paints a depressing portrait of the neglected royal highway, the Estrada de Santa Cruz. As in his famous crônica of January 15, 1921 ("O prefeito e

o povo," Lima Barreto laments the preferential treatment given to affluent Botafogo and Copacabana by the administration of Mayor Pereira Passos. Unable to accept the latter's modernization of Rio de Janeiro, the writer from Todos os Santos, the socialist sympathizer, injects a note of nostalgia for the Monarchy so admired by João Afonso de Lima Barreto. Luís Martins in his Homens e livros attributes Lima's surprisingly contradictory emotional conservatism to his rural background. He believes that Lima Barreto's European radicalism, his intellectual rationalism, never succeeded in dominating his deeply rooted suburban traditionalism.

O subúrbio era conservador, apegado nostálgicamente às velhas instituições, aos velhos ritos, aos velhos 25 mitos, a começar pela fidelidade à Monarquia.

Years of avaricious and unscientific cutting deforested the suburbs. Yet, true to Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter, nature, calm and serene, gradually repossesses the land.

Falta-lhe um debrum de verdura, de árvores, de jardins. O carvoeiro e o lenhador de há muito tiraram os restos de matas que deviam bordá-la, e hoje, é com alegria que se vê, de onde em onde, algumas mangueiros majestosas a quebrar a monotonia, a esterilidade decorativa de 26 imensos capinzais sem limites.

The narrator implies in "O filho da Gabriela" and in Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma that rural decadence is not the result of suburban or Negro indolence. Latifundia have prevented the poor from making the land prosperous. In the bar "As duas Américas," similar to Inhaúma's bar in "Clara dos Anjos" and in "O filho da Gabriela," we meet a Negro coalman from Irajá whose industry and prosperity indicate

what might happen if the poor were free from economic bondage.

...o mulato, quase preto, ativo, endossa letras sem saber nem escrever. É um espécie do que podemos dar de trabalho, de iniciativa e de vigor. Não há dia em que ele não desça com a sua carroça e não há dia em que ele não volte com ela, carregada de alfafa, de farelo, de milho, para os seus muares. ("Manel Capineiro," 200)

In "As duas Américas" all races mix socially without tension. For example, "Tutu," the husky Negro muleteer, discusses politics with the loquacious Portuguese butcher, Sr. Antônio do Açougue. Poor now, Antônio allowed his business to fail in his unconcern for profits. Ironically, he must now sell milk in order to earn a living, just as the Portuguese José da Silva of "Uma conversa vulgar." Unlike José da Silva, he detests a trade which does not allow him to use his skills: "Não se conforma absolutamente com êsse negócio de vender leite, o seu destino é talhar carne". ("Manel Capineiro," 201)

"Parafuso," the Negro tamer of horses and amateur veterinarian, has no difficulty associating with Antônio do Açougue, despite racial and national differences. In this suburb lives a girl who is, like white Antônia of Inhaúma, ("O filho da Gabriela"), a prostitute. This nameless unfortunate never fails to return home sadly with flowers she has picked along the roadway. Her sensitivity to nature suggests that her present degradation is due not to spiritual corruption, but to unfortunate circumstances not too different from those of Clara ("Clara dos Anjos") or of Alice ("Um

especialista").

Such is the environment of the hardworking muleteer Manel Capineiro, friend of the anonymous narrator. Although still nostalgic for Portugal, Manel Capineiro has come to accept Brazil's tropical nature on its own terms since not even the snakes in his fields disturb him. His harmony with nature is even more evident in Manel's relationship to his two mules, Estrêla and Moreno. He lives as a good and poor man without material desires, without racial prejudice. Like Dostoevsky's poor Russian peasant, he feels an almost mystical link with mother earth, not unlike poor Horácio of "O filho da Gabriela" : "Manel os ama tenazmente e evita o mais possível feri-los com a farpa que lhes dá a direção requerida...Ele e os bois vivem em verdadeira comunhão". ("Manel Capineiro," 201-202)

27

Yet, as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda noted,²⁷ the meek never succeed in the cruel world of Lima Barreto and so Manel Capineiro, like Lima's other kindly protagonists (Clara, Horácio), ends his tale in tears.

"A barganha" (1920) is different from Lima Barreto's more serious shorter fictional works dealing with the Negro and the poor in that it contains little of a didactic nature. Although most of his short stories contain comic elements, as in the case of the description of the Portuguese merchant in "Um especialista," the seriousness of the theme invariably lends a somber tone to the narratives.

Part fable, "A barganha" to a great extent lacks the

sweeping social statements so typical of Lima Barreto's fiction. It illustrates merely the popular wisdom of some of the poorer people who are not unlike Sancho Panza in their love of the practical and distrust of the ideal.

The protagonist is Miguel José, an Armenian peddler of religious art. This unfortunate spends his whole morning in the blazing tropical sun without a single sale. Finally, more dead than alive, he stops for a lunch of stale bread and an onion under the only shade tree in this desolate suburb. Along comes a good but naive Portuguese sardine peddler, Manuel da Silva. Manuel, in his simple religiosity, is so impressed by the crude but inspirational art that he exchanges his lucrative sardine trade. Needless to say, he is no more successful in selling religious objects than the Armenian.

In "A barganha" two interesting comic figures appear who reveal something of Lima's conception of proletarian society. The first, of course, is Miguel José. Less an individual character than a type, he differs little from the industrious and kindly Manel Capineiro. His strenuous labor has brought him only the poverty which he attempted to escape in his own country. Like Manel, he is nostalgic for his distant homeland.

E Miguel José olhou as montanhas pedregosas que êle via lá, longe, esbatidas no azul profundo da manhã, ressaltando quase inteiramente na ambiência translúcida do dia, e lembrou-se da sua aldeia armênia, 28 das suas cabras, das suas ovelhas, dos seus porcos.

He is similar to all of Lima Barreto's moral pro-

tagonists in that he suffers from an acute emotional sensitivity. Melancholy seems to be his principal trait. It virtually dominates his personality. Lima Barreto implies that goodness is again intimately related to a severe, harsh Franciscan poverty, independent of race and nationality.

A sua fisionomia dura contriu-se um pouco e os seus olhos de carneiro quiseram chorar de recordação, de sofrimento e de mágoa. Ele se encheu todo de uma pesada tristeza. ("A barganha," 199)

Miguel José is so poor that even the poor of the suburbs cannot fail to note his miserable clothing.

As calças ficavam-lhe pelos tornozelos; o chapéu era de fetro, mas não se sabia se era preto, azul, cinzento. Tinha tôdas as côres próprias a chapéus dessa espécie. Em um pé calçava uma botina amarela, em outro, um sapato preto. ("A barganha," 198)

In order to combat the prejudices of the affluent, Lima Barreto at times exaggerated purposely the goodness of his suburban protagonists. Many of his Negro protagonists are, to a greater or lesser degree, physically attractive. Their superior moral worth is externalized simplistically in their physical description. Yet Lima Barreto realized, of course, that not all poor and Negroes are such paragons of moral perfection. Into Miguel José's difficult life comes a despicable suburban type, the Negro dandy. In his comic arrogance, this type is not unlike the servile Negro brigand of Clara dos Anjos.

Foi dizendo isto a um petulante crioulo, muito preto, de um preto fêso e desagradável, cabeleira grande, gordurosa, repartida ao alto, e o chapéu a dançar-lhe em cima dela. ("A barganha," 199)

The supercilious Negro becomes so aggressive that

the Armenian supposes him to be a police detective, since, in his experience, all arrogant Negroes are members of the police. Ironically, the Negro accuses the Caucasian of not being civilized.

O negro perfilou-se todo, tomou uns ares judiciais, ou policiais, chegou o chapéu de palha para a testa e disse:

- Você parece que não é civilizado. ("A barganha," 199)

Even though he is uninvited to give his opinions, the Negro lectures the unfortunate Armenian on the sacrilege of selling such sacred items. Such objects should be traded and not sold. Obviously feeling himself superior to the poorer immigrant barely able to speak Portuguese, the Negro accuses him inquisitorially of being a Judaizer.

-Sim, você é herege, inimigo de Nosso Senhor.

-Não, senhor.

O prêto desarmou-se um pouco de seus ares judiciais ou policiais, tornou-se mais suave, quis fazer-se de penetrante e sagaz. Perguntou:

- Você come carne de porco? ("A barganha," 199)

The Armenian is no more fortunate than his Portuguese counterpart from the previous tale. Suffering is the common fate of all of Lima Barreto's poor and Negroes.

"Despesa filantrópica", the only regionalist short story of Lima Barreto, is so brief as to be almost anecdotal. Yet it is quite clear and distinct in its presentation of the psychology of the rural poor. Generally in the works of Lima Barreto the poor, the suffering and the oppressed are united to their fellow sufferers in almost a Christian fashion by virtue of their mutual tribulations. Their bond is a common one of brotherly love which transcends distinctions

of race and nationality. However, in this case Lima Barreto, inspired perhaps by his admiration for the regionalist short stories of Monteiro Lobato, presents the reader with the shocking figure of a jagunço or hired assassin who feels little compassion for his fellow impoverished sertanejos. Even in such an extreme case, however, Lima Barreto portrays the killer with warm understanding. He is presented as a victim of an environment which has taught him to revere a false concept of masculinity.

In "Despesa filantrópica," Lima Barreto again avails himself of the narrative device in which one friend, over a beer in a carioca café, relates an amusing adventure to a ready listener. The narrator remembers one fine day when he was terrified by the unannounced arrival of an infamous bandit. In the most tranquil manner possible the outlaw, who was little more than a boy and yet had murdered three men, swore to the nervous narrator that he would have his revenge by slaying still more victims. The narrator, in a desperate philanthropic gesture, offered young Aluísio three hundred mil-réis for his parabellum in the hope that this would eliminate the temptation to kill. Later the young man returns proudly armed with a magnificent Winchester purchased for only two hundred mil-réis.

"Despesa filantrópica" is related indirectly to Lima's indictment of society's abuse of women. It is essentially an attack on the grossly exaggerated masculine pride popular in the sertão where a man prides himself on his

ability to avenge insults with blood. Aluísio kills not out of cruelty, for he is childishly innocent, but out of unthinking devotion to the region's machismo.

Pois é, meu caro Felício. O caipira, o matuto, o Jeca, como se diz atualmente depois de Monteiro Lobato, mata mais por vaidade do que mesmo por vingança, crueldade ou tara. De forma que ser valentão, matador, é lá um título de honra e os assassinatos cometidos são como condecorações de ordens reais e imperiais. Sendo assim, nada mais fácil do que achar quem aceite encomendas de "mortes." 29

As an example, the narrator cites the case of Madruga who, after having separated tragically from his poor wife who prostituted herself, heard one day rumors that his wife had publically insulted his masculinity in a distant brothel. Without thought, Madruga immediately rode to the city where he then murdered the unfortunate woman. When Madruga joyfully returned home he anxiously publicized his revenge with the expectation of being considered a hero.

Yet this is too extraordinary a case. Quite often the motives are even more banal. The most trivial gossip can readily cause a fatal feud.

É a futilidade dos móveis do crime e a capacidade de matar a mandado de outrem. No interior, a mais simples rixa por causa de uma questão de compra ou venda, leva um sujeito ao assassinato. Uma frase assim, assim, que o Fagundes ouvia da boca do Antônio, como tendo, sobre ele, sido proferida por seu inimigo Orestes, determina que Fagundes mate Orestes. ("Despesa filantrópica," 246)

Despite the fortuitous violence of Lima's caboclos, the sympathetic narrator does not condemn the man but his environment. Aluísio, as is the case with almost all of Lima Barreto's poor, is essentially good and noble in his childish

dedication to a distorted ideal. Unlike the educated narrator, the doutô to whom he confides his woes, Aluísio lacks the social and civic education necessary to recognize the folly of an exaggerated machismo. More philanthropy either on the part of interested individuals or on the part of the government, and Lima Barreto was always a firm opponent of philanthropy, could never succeed as long as the basic social problems of the sertão remain unsolved.

D. CONCLUSION

Lima Barreto's pessimistic portrait of the lives of Negroes and the poor of Rio de Janeiro runs contrary to the popular nationalistic Brazilian pride in the nation's apparent racial harmony. Writers such as Machado de Assis, Brazil's most acclaimed literary figure and first president of the Academy of Letters, were held to be representatives of Brazil's racial democracy rather than as exceptions to the rule.

Lima Barreto's young Negro protagonists, despite their often precocious intelligence, never attain success. Their exemplary morality only compounds their original "sin" of having been born black in a Republic of ruthless civil servants and entrepreneurs. Motivated more by class than racial prejudice as such, Botafogo never permits humble Inhaúma to rule Rio de Janeiro. Like their sensitive author, who went from Laranjeiras to Todos os Santos, Lima's protagonists are reverse images of a Brazilian Horatio Alger myth. Failure, relieved only by alcohol, is the destiny of

the poor and the blacks of the city's suburbs.

Mulatto women, restrained intellectually by a lack of a formal education, fare no better. Their reputation for sensuality, and their intellectual and financial poverty leave them hopeless prey for the eloquent and the affluent of dubious morals. Prostitution invariably claims the unfortunate woman unable to marry a good worker of Joaquim dos Anjos' caliber.

As in Dostoevsky, suffering brings spiritual regeneration. Into this pessimistic view of society's racial and economic prejudices, Lima Barreto injects a note of Christian brotherhood. Affluent and intelligent women, prisoners of marriages to dull-witted husbands, and poor immigrant whites, victims of menial labor, all unite in love. In Lima Barreto's fiction poverty and suffering conquer barriers of racial discrimination.

1. Amoroso Lima, "Prefácio," Gonzaga de Sá, p. 14.
2. Rabassa, "The Negro in Brazilian Fiction," p. 237.
3. Lima Barreto, "Clara dos Anjos," Histórias e sonhos, p. 181. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and page number.)
4. Octávio Brandão. Os intelectuais progressistas. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Simões, 1956), p. 138.
5. Agrippino Grieco. "Prefácio," Marginália (São Paulo; Editora Brasiliense, 1956), p. 11.
6. Luís Martins. Homens e livros. (São Paulo: Conselho Estadual do Livro, 1962), p. 24.
7. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 172.
8. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. "Um especialista," Clara dos Anjos. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), p. 200. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and page number.)
9. M. Cavalcânti Proença, "Prefácio," Impressões de leitura, pp. 27-30.
10. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 136.
11. Holanda, "Prefácio," Clara dos Anjos, pp. 18-19.
12. Lima Barreto, "Uma conversa vulgar," Histórias e sonhos, p. 210. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
13. Herron, "Isaías Caminha," pp. 26-38.
14. Martins, "Lima Barreto," p. 118.
15. Brandão, pp. 137-139.
16. Lima Barreto, "O moleque," Histórias e sonhos, p. 41. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
17. Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto. Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), p. 162.
18. Lima Barreto, "O filho da Gabriela," Clara dos Anjos, p. 214. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and page number.)

19. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 34.
20. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp.
21. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 93.
22. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, p. 61.
23. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 238.
24. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 82.
25. Martins, Homens e livros, p. 24.
26. Lima Barreto, "Manel Capineiro," Gonzaga de Sá, p. 199.
(Future references to the story will be indicated
in the text by the title and the page number.)
27. Holanda, "Prefácio," Clara dos Anjos, pp. 18-19.
28. Lima Barreto, "A barganha," Histórias e sonhos, p. 199.
(Future references to the story will be indicated
in the text by the title and the page number.)
29. Lima Barreto, "Despesa filantrópica," Histórias e
sonhos, p. 246. (Future references to the story will
be indicated in the text by the title and the page
number.)

CHAPTER III

A. The Intellectualized Protagonist and the Pseudo-Intellectual in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto

Despite the central role Lima Barreto assigned to the intellectualized protagonist in all of his novels with the possible exception of Clara dos Anjos¹, he dedicated few short stories to the unique psychology of the Lima Barretian educated man. Lima Barreto preferred, it would seem, to concentrate his genius for satire on the figure of the pseudo-intellectual.

In his short stories, as in his novels, Lima Barreto divided his educated protagonists into two general types. The first resembles the contemplative Gonzaga de Sá. He is a somber, philosophic individual more given to pessimistic contemplation of society's ills than to action. Although he possesses a lucid mind, which enables him to recognize social injustices, his philosophizing nature prevents him from taking effective political action. In "Porque não se matava" an anonymous intellectualized protagonist contemplates suicide as a means of protest. In "Cló;" Professor Maximiliano spends his time tormented by financial woes and a sense of alienation from the people.

The second type resembles Policarpo Quaresma. He is the educated man as a man of ideals. His intelligence is less than brilliant. He is often superficial, more given

to quixotic attacks on society's ills than rational political programs for effecting change. Despite his faults, he possess a courage lacking in the contemplative protagonist. The hero of "Ele e suas idéias," the only short story of this kind, occupies himself with exotic plans to transform Rio de Janeiro. The ideal, a combination of the mature thought of the first with the zeal of the second, simply does not exist² in the fiction of Lima Barreto.

The two chief vices of Lima Barreto's bourgeois half-scholars and sciolists are cupidity and pretension. Since they are generally co-existent to a greater or lesser degree in any one bacharel protagonist, it would be difficult indeed to identify one vice as dominant in any given protagonist. We have arranged the short stories according to the professions satirized. Within such a system of classification the medical, legal and scientific professions are clearly Lima Barreto's preferred targets for satire.

Lima Barreto's would-be illuminati are invariably rapacious scoundrels. They may be either elegant physicians whose devotion to medicine goes no further than their exorbitant fees or they may be confidence men masquerading as scholars. Their success in intellectual affairs never fails to bring them to their original goal of untold wealth and fame. Despite the success of these "professionals" their scholarship is never more than a masterful lie. Their professionalism is a hoax, a conto do vigário, perpetrated by the more unscrupulous on a naive and unsuspecting public.

The more immoral the protagonist, the greater will be the heights scaled in his conquest of republican Brazil.

Not all of Lima Barreto's roguish intellectuals possess the criminal flair needed to swindle the innocent. The less inventive hide their intellectual mediocrity behind empty pompous rhetoric. They fill their expensive libraries with deluxe editions of unread books. They often plagiarize extensively in order to publish arcane articles in obscure learned journals. Rui Barbosa, Coelho Neto, João do Rio and Afrânio Peixoto were most probably the source of Lima Barreto's caricatures of his more successful literary colleagues.

Despite their intellectual dullness, Lima Barreto's plagiarists are distinguished by an inordinate number of pretensions. They consider themselves to be members of an elite by virtue of their education. They are Brahmins, members of a special caste, for whom all is permitted.

The greatest number of short stories deal with the greed and the pretensions of the medical and scientific communities. In this category are "A doença do Antunes," "Haraskasy e as escolas de Java," "Agaricus auditae," and "A biblioteca." Three tales concentrate on the criminal aspect of the conduct of the bacharel: "A nova Califórnia," "O homem que sabia javanês," and "Foi buscar lá." "Uma academia da roça" satirizes the Brazilian Academy of Letters, while "O jornalista" continues the portrait of journalistic corruption first presented in Recordações do escrivão Isaías

Caminha. "Miss Edith e seu tio" deals in part with the absurd reverence in which things European are held by the more "pedantic." "Um músico extraordinário" and "Lourenço, o magnífico" satirize the artistic pretensions of the idle rich. The last three deal only in part with the question of the role of the educated man in society and so they appear only briefly at the end of this study.

B. The Intellectualized Protagonist in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto

In "Porque não se matava" Lima Barreto questions, in a manner reminiscent of the French existentialists, the role of the socially committed educated man in an unjust society. Despite his at times ingenuous confidence in the beneficent effects of a socially didactic literature, Lima Barreto's protagonist pessimistically decides against intellectual life. Suicide, as in Camus' Le Mythe de Sisyphe,³ becomes the only true philosophical question.

The tale is narrated by a former classmate of the anonymous solitary intellectual. The former classmate recalls the day that he chanced upon his old acquaintance in a café,⁴ idly counting his numerous drinks with wads of paper napkins. The establishment where our lonely writer obscurely drowns his misery and his overwhelming sense of uselessness, is a fin de siècle sidewalk café, a rendez-vous for those with literary pretensions. Its symbolist habitués, in reality doctors, lawyers, and journalists, invariably prefer gambling to poetry, an activity too somber to entertain their gay

spirits for long. Gonzaga Duque, the imitator of the French décadentistes and B. Lopes, the alcoholic mulatto poet, are just two of Rio de Janeiro's small Parisian style bohemian community who crowd the chic literary cafés of the Rua da Assembléia. As the narrator enters the café, he is attracted to his friend whose dark pensive mood contrasts sharply with the physicians' superficial gaiety. His friend has found life to be empty; suicide remains the alternative. No other recourse is open to him. He is kept from suicide, however, only because of his poverty. He fears the newspapers will interpret cynically his existential decision to die as his solution to his many financial problems.

What remains quite unclear, however, is whether Lima Barreto intended the reader to blame society or the protagonist himself for this very obvious waste of intellectual talent.⁴

At first glance, as in the case of his Negro short stories, it would appear that society and the so-called intelligentsia in particular are at fault. There can be no doubt that this was Lima Barreto's initial position. We can see from the laudatory description of the protagonist that the reader is to sympathize with his plight. His intellectual and emotional sensitivity reveal a psychological complexity usually only hinted at in Lima Barreto's short narratives where characters tend towards psychological superficiality.

Esse meu amigo era o homem mais enigmático que con-

heci. Era a um tempo taciturno e expansivo, egoísta e generoso, bravo e covarde, trabalhador e vadio. Havia no seu temperamento uma desesperadora mistura de qualidades opostas, e, na sua inteligência, um encontro curioso de lucidez e confusão, de agudeza e embota- 5
mento.

As in the case of almost all of Lima Barreto's protagonists, the man of learning is not physically unattractive. The sad, philosophic glance of the protagonist's eyes at once draws the narrator's attention to his colleague's complex character. In his initial description, Lima Barreto predisposes the reader to sympathize with the protagonist so that the reader would quite naturally attribute the failure of so pleasant a character to a society less intellectually honest than he.

Não se fazem discursos à entrada, bebe-se e joga-se bagatela, lá ao fundo, cercado de uma platéia ansiosa por ver o Amorim Jr. fazer sucessivos dez-
oitos. ("Porque não se matava," 277)

The contrast between the physician poets and the philosophical protagonist is made obvious. While the former gamble elegantly, the protagonist, who we are told is gifted at times with remarkable intellectual penetration, ponders somberly his negative metaphysics. He has found, he tells his friend, no solution for life's pain, no road map to guide him and society to a better existence despite his study of philosophy, theology and science. He considers these intellectual disciplines to be the mere intellectualist fabrications of vain scholars eager to classify and tame a chaotic, hostile and senseless universe. Total intellectual nihilism has brought him to thoughts of suicide: "Já descri

de tudo, da arte, da religião, e da ciência." ("Porque não se matava," 277)

The protagonist's self-confessed freedom from ambitions and his freedom from the necessity of daily labor lend his criticisms a convincing air of impartiality - the same impartiality Raymond Sayers noted in Machado de Assis' aristocratic protagonists.⁶ Indeed, he even rejoices as does Dom Casmurro in not having transmitted through children his legacy of human misery. Although no more compelling example of society's moral corruption is given than the mere banality of the symbolist gamblers, the reader accepts his casmurrice much in the same manner that he accepted Isaías Caminha's assertions of racial discrimination despite the lack of ample evidence.⁷ Lima Barreto's heroes are so blatantly virtuous that it is difficult not to question their intellectual honesty.

Yet the narrator's cynical rejection of learning strikes the reader as somewhat pretentious. Here is a man not unlike Carlyle's professor of allerlei Wissenschaften. Despite his alleged enlightenment, his philosophical insight lacks joy. Its fearfulness reminds one of Dostoevsky's depressing House of the Dead, a source for Vicente Mascarenhas's Slavic mysticism in O cemitério dos vivos.

Wilson Martins regards Lima Barreto's allegations of racial discrimination at the Escola Politécnica as a rationalization based on weakness.⁸ We cannot deny after a close reading that the sensitive protagonist appears to be

unduly morbid and defeatist. Like the neurotically sensitive Sérgio of Pompéia's O Ateneu, a work particularly admired by Lima Barreto, the timorous protagonist's morose thoughts are conceivably more a product of a too fertile imagination. Fear is a constant trait. As with Lima Barreto, the protagonist fears his intelligence might be dull. But, unlike the author, whose failure in rational mechanics was a great shock to his ego, the protagonist excels in mechanics. Yet, unlike the mathematically gifted Lima Barreto, he has a general aversion to business arithmetic.

Ele entendia maravilhosamente a mecânica, mas não havia jeito de estudar essas coisas de câmbio, de jôgo de bolsa. Era assim, para umas coisas, muita penetração, para outras, incompreensão. ("Porque não se matava," 275)

The protagonist's nature, perhaps euphemistically classified as emotional and sentimental, forces him into lengthly self-analyses over beer in the presence of any receptive listener. In this he is similar to Albert Camus' Jean-Baptiste Clamence (La Chute), who also haunts bars in search of listeners. Our protagonist has a compulsion to reveal the secrets of his soul, tormented and frustrated by his failures. His guilt is thus alleviated to some extent, at least temporarily.

Era sentimental, era emotivo, mas nunca lhe conheci amor. Isto eu consegui decifrar, e era fácil. A sua delicadeza e a sua timidez, faziam-no compartilhar com outro as coisas secretas de sua pessoa, dos seus sonhos, tudo o que havia de secreto e profundo na sua alma. ("Porque não se matava," 275)

Like Isaías Caminha, whose interest in literature seems strangely passionate for a clerk, our protagonist too

follows the arts closely: "Ele não é literato, mas gosta das letras, e as acompanha com carinho e atenção." (Porque não se matava," 276) Yet this disclaimer of literary inclinations is misleading. Only towards the end do we discover that the protagonist does not write out of fear of criticism. Again, the parallel with Lima's own fears while writing Recordações do escrivo Isaiás Caminha is striking.⁹ His anxiety is so comically irrational that he allows himself to rationalize his obvious fear of both writing and suicide. He cannot commit suicide, although he would regard this as his noblest art, since, to his thinking, suicide would not express any more adequately than his written words the despair he feels.

Perhaps then the protagonist's lack of ambition, rather than being an expression of freedom from society, is in all honesty, a product of his fears. Fear dominates his conduct.

The protagonist's fear that the police will attribute his suicide to poverty appears comic, especially since the protagonist does enjoy a small inheritance.

Se eu ingerir aí qualquer droga, as autoridades vão dar com o meu cadáver miseravelmente privado de notas do Tesouro. Que comentários farão? Como vão explicar o meu suicídio? Por falta de dinheiro. ("Porque não se matava," 277)

One is reminded of Lima's fear of the police. Once, while he was still an adolescent, some fellow students jumped a fence to see an opera. Lima went home alone, certain that if he, a Negro, were to attempt such, he alone would be arrested as a chicken thief.¹⁰

The protagonist has perhaps never known the world which he has so cynically rejected. Rather he fears its potential brutality as it passes by, indifferently, before the café. He delved into the arts, science and religion in order to obtain, as Robert D. Herron noted in his study of Lima Barreto's novels, a philosophical strategy which would¹¹ order a hostile and chaotic world.

"Ele e suas idéias" is a very short narrative. It runs a mere three pages. In a kindly manner the author satirizes the intellectual idealist. Specifically Lima Barreto ridicules the then popular but somewhat utopian plans for the urban remodeling of Rio de Janeiro. An inevitable clash occurs between the idealist's often wildly absurd engineering theories and the more prosaic Brazilian reality. This conflict offers the reader humorous moments at the expense of the anonymous protagonist and the urban renewal movement in general.

The plot is quite simple. As in "Porque não se matava" an interested party recalls a friend, prodigious for his remarkable ability to invent ideas, particularly ideas for urban reforms. This rather extraordinary friend is so captured by the Old Republic's modernization of the capital that he dedicates himself vigorously to even more daring innovations than the Paris-inspired Avenida Central (Avenida Rio Branco). His suggestions usually are so extravagant - he contemplated changing the course of the Paraíba River, reproducing the Eiffel Tower in Rio de Janeiro, or making Corcovado into a

a gigantic lighthouse - that even the zealously modern city officials, newspaper editors and engineers invariably begin to fear and to dread his visits. Finally they simply ignore the dedicated crazy little man. The narrator ironically informs us that this Brazilian Marconi now lives a tormented life in exile in the interior.

The historical basis, the urban renewal euphoria of the early Old Republic, greatly impressed the carioca of Lima Barreto's day. Often the common man regarded the demolition of countless Imperial sobrados with astonishment,¹² if not with outright fear. During the presidencies of Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906) and of Epitácio Pessoa (1919-1922), Rio de Janeiro was gradually transformed into a city famous for its beauty by such able engineers as Bicalho, Paulo de Frontim, Pereira Passos and Carlos Sampaio. Under the Old Republic, the new, hygienic city contrasted greatly with José Maria Bello's description of Imperial squalor.

The capital at the time of the proclamation of the Republic was a vast, provincial town. Set in great natural beauty, between mountains and beaches, it was neglected and run down. In many ways it resembled a colossal, temporary encampment of human hordes who had renounced life's material comforts. It had narrow streets, tiny squares, few trees or gardens and decadent architecture of incredibly bad taste, tawdry and ridiculous; the traditional spacious and staid colonial house had disappeared. Its one badly paved central thoroughfare, Rua do Ouvidor, was the daily rendezvous of the local political elite; along it businessmen and bureaucrats rubbed shoulders with adventurers and prostitutes. Rio was not very different from the poor and dirty town that Pedro I¹³ had made his imperial home.

Yet the common man resisted change. When Dr. Osvaldo Cruz, after conquering yellow fever and the bubonic plague,

proceeded to inoculate the population against smallpox, J. J. Seabra, the Minister of the Interior, and President Rodrigues Alves, were forced to use the military to end street rioting.¹⁴

At times surprisingly conservative in the best traditions of the suburb, Lima Barreto seemingly never forgave the Republic for its dismissal of his monarchist father. An admirer of the colonial Rio de Janeiro of Dom João VI, Lima Barreto frequently denounced the vast urban transformation which he feared would destroy the legacy of the past, the harmonious blending of small colonial sobrados with the surrounding morros. He believed the renewal aimed at reproducing New York's business district in the tropics without concern for the urban proletariat and the differences in culture and geography.

Condições particulares de sua topografia obrigaram a cidade de Nova Iorque a apelar para êsses estafermos de inúmeros pisos, e não se verificando elas na nossa, antes pelo contrário, não tínhamos necessidade de enfear o Rio de Janeiro com construções que a sua natureza repele. 15

Lima Barreto had a firm belief that the new capitalist spirit of the Republic (Dom Pedro II refused to aid the Barão de Mauá during a financial crisis) conflicted with Old Rio's quiet, traditional ways. Nature in particular, he felt, no longer offered these men of finance a source of spiritual comfort, rather he accused them of regarding nature as a mere obstacle to be plowed under in order to construct hotels and offices.

Uma coisa que ninguém vê e nota é a contínua derrubada de árvores velhas, vetustas fruteiras, plantadas há meio século, que a avidez, a ganância e a imbecilidade vão pondo abaixo com uma inconsciência lamentável. 16

Perhaps the greatest shock, shortly before Lima Barreto's death, was the destruction of the Morro do Castelo in 1922, to make way for an international exposition commemorating one hundred years of independence. Rio de Janeiro, he feared, would soon look more like the Parisian style Buenos Aires with her surrounding flat terrain: "Remodelar o Rio! Mas como? Arrasando os morros...mas não será o Rio de Janeiro, será toda outra cidade que não éle." 17

In "Ele e suas idéias" the idealist, with his mania for foreign inspired urban renewal, is the target of Lima Barreto's light-hearted satire. He is a Policarpo Quaresma in reverse, who has lost his reason, not through readings in patriotic literature, but through the Republican press.

There is a certain ambivalence in Lima Barreto's position concerning this protagonist. Like Policarpo, he is an idealist given to rash actions that would be incongruous for Lima's more somberly pensive protagonists such as Gonzaga de Sá. Despite his ridiculous beliefs, his superficiality, his aggressive attachment to an ideal, despite the hardships of his "exile," he endears himself to the reader more than the morbid philosopher of "Porque não se matava." The ideal man would combine both philosophic insight with courageous action, but apparently Lima Barreto believed this type to be non-existent. 18 Lima Barreto indicates in the narrator's warm yet ironic tone his admiration for the idealist's

dedication and his condemnation of his superficiality: "Creio que dormia pouco: todo êle se encontrava na função de ter idéias. E era pródigo e era generoso, e era desperdiçado: pensava, tinha idéias e dava aos outros." 19

Unlike Policarpo, the idealist prepares no Joycean "epiphany," no enlightenment as to the folly of his ways. Rather he is left abandoned by society. "Ele e suas idéias" ends with a note of pity for the absurdly idealistic man unable to use his imagination to serve the practical needs of society.

Although the title "Cló" at first directs the reader's attention to the lascivious daughter of an impoverished Italian music teacher, the true focus of the short story is the professor whose thoughts, words and actions we follow closely on one hectic Carnival day. Through the pathetic figure of this alienated scholar Lima Barreto explores thematically such sundry topics as the educated man as husband and father and his role in society.

Maximiliano is a devotee of classical music. During the Carnival, with its air of gay sensuality, Maximiliano invariably becomes depressed. Alone, he drowns his cares in beer in some stylish literary coffee house. Amid occasional thoughts on the nature of society, he is worried by the necessity of providing on a meager salary for the infantile whims of both wife and daughter.

Professor Maximiliano's alienation is not unlike that of the anonymous protagonist of "Porque não se matava."

Like all of the author's protagonists, the professor's psyche contains elements similar to Lima Barreto's, who also despised the simplicity of the Carnival's lyrics.²⁰ Like Lima Barreto and the suicidal protagonist of "Porque não se matava," Professor Maximiliano does not participate in the popular or intellectual life of the capital. Rather he prefers to sit inebriated in coffee houses frequented by poets. He stays by himself, in a corner, far from the erudite conversations of the literati and the simplistic beats of the Carnival. Unlike the protagonist of "Porque não se matava," however, attention is focused only briefly on his alienation from literary society. Again in another respect he is like Lima Barreto, who was so well-read in nineteenth century French literature and philosophy that he initially felt lost among the poor uneducated blacks of Todos os Santos. The savage Carnival chants irritate the musician's delicate European sensitivity and help to isolate him further. The African beat, which in "Cló" excites the masses, seems far too crude for Professor Maximiliano: "A frase, mal desenhada, era curta, logo curtada, interrompida, sacudida pelos rufos, pelo ranger, pelos guinchos,²¹ de instrumentos selvagens e ingênuos."

Yet Professor Maximiliano, like Lima Barreto's Russian immigrant intellectual in As aventuras do doutor Bagóloff, is surprisingly aware of African history. He reflects pessimistically that Africa once had a contribution to make to world civilization but slavery had destroyed all but a dim recollection of the previous culture in the minds of the

people. Because he is a cultured European, Maximiliano suffers in African Brazil. His pessimism seems to suggest that native African traditions have deteriorated so sharply that a cultural renaissance is all but impossible.

Eram restos de danças guerreiras ou religiosas dos selvagens de onde a maioria dêles provinha, que o tempo e outras influências tinham transformado em palhaçadas carnavalescas.

Certamente, durante os séculos de escravidão, nas cidades, os seus antepassados só se podiam lembrar daquelas cerimônias de suas aringas ou tabas, pelo Carnaval. A tradição passou aos filhos, aos netos e êstes estavam ali a observá-la com as inevitáveis deturpações. ("Cló," 79)

A similar pessimism is to be found also in Lima Barreto's novels according to Gregory Rabassa.

Lima Barreto is not as interested in African traditions as other writers on Negro subjects. He felt that cultural integration would be a process of Europeanization and that any African heritage would have to be relegated to the position of early legends 22 which would have no present bearing.

Maximiliano considers rapidly the possibility of educating the people's simple tastes. Despite his sympathy for their plight, he concludes that he is unable to create a new musical tradition expressive of their deepest emotions since his European cultural heritage not only separates him from the people, but impedes his actions.

Ele queria que aquela gente entoasse um hino, uma cantiga, um canto com qualquer nome, mas que tivesse regra e beleza. Mas, logo imaginou, para que? Corresponderia a música mais ou menos artística aos pensamentos íntimos dêles? Seria mesmo a expansão dos seus sonhos, fantasias e dores? ("Cló," 80)

Here, perhaps, Lima Barreto writes of those very fears which plagued his first work, Recordações do escrivo

Isaias Caminha. It is also possible that at this point Lima Barreto interjects a warning to those contemporary critics, disciples of Coelho Neto, who would reject all modern Brazilian literature which does not neatly fit the categories prescribed by European aesthetics.

Although Maximiliano is a moralist aghast at the general eroticism of the Carnival, described as "homens e mulheres cheios de vícios e aleijões morais,"²³ although he is sensitive to societies many injustices epitomized by the ostentatious display of wealth by rich whores amid the surrounding general poverty, he never allows his incipient thoughts of social protest to develop. Rather Maximiliano quickly rationalizes that some sexual liberalities are needed to soften society's psychological demands. After contemplating briefly the Carnival and its music, Maximiliano returns to his central preoccupation - finances.

That is not to say that the professor is avaricious. Lima Barreto, after his failure in the Escola Politécnica, came to believe that the professors' inadequate salaries forced their subservience to the whims of indolent but wealthy students.²⁴ Maximiliano's first concern on that Carnival day was not his occasional thoughts on society but his frustrated hopes of riches, lost gambling on the jogo do bicho. Any prize would have been superior to the mere 800 mil-réis he earned as a teacher. On that particular day, under the pressure of Cló's expensive tastes, the underpaid teacher cancelled classes in order to search for part-time

employment as a piano teacher.

Desci para espairer e "cavar." É dura esta vida... "cavar." Como é triste dizer-se isto! Mas que se há de fazer? Ganha-se uma miséria...um professor com oitocentos mil-réis o que é? Tem-se a família, re-resentação...uma miséria! Ainda agora com tantas dificuldades, e que Cló deu em tomar banhos de leite. ("Cló," 81)

Lima Barreto believed that the necessity of providing for a family prevented an educated man from realizing his intellectual potential.²⁵ Maximiliano's serious dereliction of professional honor is caused not only by his salary, but by his severe financial obligations to his family, and Cló in particular. According to Falcão, Cló, Maximiliano's attractive daughter, is the epitome of feminine sensuality.²⁶ Indeed, like Machado de Assis' Capitu, Cló, described at one point as capitosa, is quite devious. Unlike Capitu's brief characterization in terms of olhos de ressaca and cigana oblíqua, Maximiliano's problematic daughter is described at great length on one note only - her lasciviousness.

Pensou então em sua filha, Clódia, a Cló em família, em cujo temperamento e feitio de espírito, havia estôfo de uma grande hetaira. Lembrou-se com casta admiração de sua carne veludosa e palpitante, do seu amor às danças lúbricas, do seu culto à toilette e ao perfume, do seu fraco senso moral, do seu gosto pelos licores fortes, e, de repente, e, por instante, ele a viu coroadada de hera, cobrindo mal sua magnífica nudez. ("Cló," 74)

Due to Maximiliano's paternal weakness, Cló is courted by a married, mediocre caboclo deputy from the Northeast, Dr. André. Dr. André is Lima Barreto's typical politician: amoral and dull-witted. His characterization as an Inca idol reveals Lima Barreto's continued contempt for

the Indianist movements satirized in Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma.

A sua falta de agilidade intelectual, de maleabilidade, de ductilidade, a sua fraca capacidade de abstração e débil poder de associar idéias não pediam fôsse êle deputado e bacharel. Êle seria rei, estaria no seu quadro natural, não na câmara, mas remando em ubas ou igaras nos nossos grandes rios ou distentendo aqueles fortes arcos de iri que despejam frechas ervadas com curaro. ("Clô," 75)

Maximiliano meekly protests Clô's immorality but is embarrassed by his dependence on the affluent deputy's "generosity." Such generosity often consists of nothing more than free beer for the professor and costume jewelry for Clô. Forced to support his family's expensive tastes, Maximiliano cajoles the vain politician with laudatory references to his inane political speeches.

Such financial concerns naturally limit Maximiliano's intellectual development. While sitting in a café, much like the philosophic protagonist of "Porque não se matava," he constantly interrupts his brief thoughts on societal inequities in order to contemplate such transcendental issues as how to obtain confetti for Clô's Carnival party.

...Como havia de comprar bisnagas, confetes, serpentinhas, alugar automóvel? E - o que era mais grave - como havia de pagar o vestido de que a filha andava precisada, para se mostrar sábado próximo, na Rua do Ouvidor, em tôda a plenitude de sua beleza. ("Clô," 73)

In "Ele e suas idéias" the inventive idealist laments Brazil's poverty which cannot support intellectual life on the same level as France. A generous salary, a solitary life removed from common domestic woes would certainly alleviate

Maximiliano's dilemma. Lima Barreto, however, does not suggest in "Clô" a solution for the Europeanized intellectual's alienation in the Americas. Similar to the protagonists of "Porque não se matava" and "Ele e suas idéias," Maximiliano is alone.

C. The Pseudo-Intellectual in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto

With his "A doença do Antunes" Lima Barreto presents a witty attack on the medical profession's pretensions to scholarship. Very similar to "Uma consulta médica" in Os Bruzundangas, "A doença do Antunes" is a rather biting satire. Lima Barreto uses the ridiculous figure of the eminent physician Dr. Gedeão Cavalcânti to illustrate two of his own grievances against the official intelligentsia in general and medical doctors in particular. Both notions stems originally perhaps from his own failure at the Escola Politécnica. This he attributed to no fault of his own but to racial and class prejudices.

The first attack is launched upon educated men who by virtue of their diplomas form an elite not unlike that of European noble families with their lavish privileges. The second onslaught is similar to the first in its economic basis. It states that this pseudo-intellectual elite attended academic institutions not for intellectual enlightenment, but for financial gain. Their scholarly writings are superficial; more often than not, they are merely obvious plagiarisms of European works. The affluent medical doctor with literary or scholarly pretensions was a continuous irritation to Lima.

In all probability, in his portrayal of Dr. Gedeão Cavalcânti, Lima Barreto was inspired by a famous but now forgotten high-society physician of his own day.

"A doença do Antunes" relates the gastronomic woes of a certain Portuguese grocer, José Antunes Bulhões. Antunes has stoically abandoned all luxuries and pleasures, even that of love and family. His sole ambition in life is to amass a fortune by selling vegetables in Cascadura. He has forced himself to renounce almost all pleasures, all except one. Although José has renounced even the love of a woman, he has been unable to forgo his gluttonous passion for the thick, spicy cabbage stews of his native Tras-os-Montes. This soup becomes his only devotion. Lately, however, sharp stomach pains prevent our transmontano from enjoying his pleasure. Miserly José finally decides to splurge painfully fifty mil-réis for a brief consultation with the renowned Dr. Gedeão Cavalcânti, whose miraculous healing powers according to the newspapers rival those of Lourdes itself. Once in the famous medical scholar's presence, José is surprisingly astonished and infuriated to hear that he is in fine health. He perceives too clearly that after a few short minutes he has only become considerably poorer.

In this satire of both the medical profession and the press, Lima Barreto first presents the reader with news clippings on the doctor. These articles on the popular physician emphasize his elite social status without even a casual mention of professional ability. The specious

assumption is made that a man who can play polo, soccer and write music and acrostic verse must be an excellent man of science. The bombastic, chauvinistic tone of these accounts reminds one of Gabriel García Márquez' rendition in Los funerales de la Mamá Grande of the elevated prose style of the Colombian press in its fantastic description of the Pope's journey to Macondo for the funeral of a local matriarch.

In a similar vein, Dr. Cavalcânti's devotion to soccer is likewise quite revealing. Lima Barreto often cited his favorite English philosopher, Spencer, in condemnation of soccer as a sport he felt to be indicative of civilization's regression to barbarism.²⁷

O doutor Gedeão, êsse maravilhoso clínico e excelente goal-keeper, acaba de receber um honroso convite do Libertad Football Club, de São José de Costa Rica, para tomar parte na sua partida anual com o Airoca Football Club, de Guatemala. Todo o mundo sabe a importância que tem êsse desafio internacional e o convite ao nosso patrício representa uma alta homenagem à ciência brasileira e ao football nacional. 28

The doctor is a frequent subject for comment in the elegant social pages of the snobbish O Conservador, which typically dedicates itself to a minute description in French or English of the fashionable dress of the wealthy doctor. Such frivolity reaches unbelievable heights when the doctor's appearance in the nude for the opera only evokes glowing words of praise - Lima's revenge for the silent reception the press gave Recordações do escrivão Isaías Caminha: "O doutor apareceu ontem no Lírico inteiramente fashionable. O milagroso clínico saltou do seu coupé completamente nu." ("A doença do Antunes," 269)

Lima Barreto saw intellectual mediocrity as the key to fame and fortune in Brazil. Any cunning vigarista with courage is bound to succeed despite his often dismal ignorance. Dr. Gedeão Cavalcânti has no time for scientific studies since he dedicates himself entirely to the chic social circles in which he delights to travel. Medicine is at best a hobby. Somewhat of a Don Juan, Dr. Cavalcânti is surrounded by attractive well-to-do ladies who nobly sacrifice the purchase of the latest article of modish clothing in order to consult the doctor. Despite the rich social receptions he attends daily, he has gracelessly decorated his waiting room with temperance slogans. His elegant life style is maintained in part by his excessive fees. Dr. Gedeão justifies, in a manner not unlike Freud, his excessive fees as a necessary measure to prevent neurotic patients from monopolizing his precious time.

Surprisingly enough, he is judged to be an excellent doctor by the superstitious masses who regard a diploma as the sure sign of wisdom, a prejudice which particularly irritated Lima Barreto who never graduated from the Escola Politécnica. Indeed, the masses feel admiration for the physician's riotous life. Sr. Albano, a conscientious worker, assures the avaricious grocer of the physician's worth by praising his social virtues: "(É um médico) milagroso. Monta a cavalo, joga xadrez, escreve muito bem, é um excelente orador, grande poeta, músico, pintor, goal-keeper dos primeiros." ("A doença do Antunes," 272)

Since Dr. Gedeão has little love for learning, given his social obligations, his scholarship is weak at best, despite his fame. His scientific accomplishments are nonexistent with the possible exception of some dubious research on a callus pomade. He is totally ignorant of the science of pharmacology. In a manner of African witch doctors he prefers to recommend exotic herbs. One female patient was "cured" for a considerable fee of a disease as serious as a running nose by a weed called "anakati tokututa." A charlatan, a quack of the first order, Dr. Cavalcânti illustrates Lima Barreto's scorn of academic credentials.

"Harakasy e as escolas de Java" is a satire of the intellectually pretentious in the tradition of Swift's Laputa in Gulliver's Travels. In a manner not at variance with his own satirical account of the imaginary literary school of the Samoieda, described in Os Bruzundangas, Lima Barreto ridicules the Brazilian intelligentsia under the guise of an impartial description of Java's unique caste system. This is a system in which the intellectuals are Brahmins.

"Harakashy e as escolas de Java" lacks a plot in E. M. Forster's sense of inter-related actions. It does possess unity, however, by virtue of the exclusive use of one point of view - that of a well-informed Brazilian traveler in Java. This observer recalls the exotic customs of the caste formed by the graduates of the three schools of the University of Java. These schools are the School

of Medicine, the School of Law, and the School of Engineering (Escola dos Físicos, Escola dos Cortadores, Escola de Sapedores).

Although the title would lead one to conclude that the focus of interest is the Javanese engineering student Harakashy who fails to graduate due to prejudice, however, only the last three pages of the lengthy account deal with this obvious injustice.

In such a society the physicians' absurd literary status leads the author to devote the greatest amount of space to a comical portrait of the graduates of the Medical School. The local Academy of Letters resembles more a medical convention than a literary assembly. Medicine, of course, has little to do with literature, but as in the Brazil of Dr. Castro's medical handbook, the doctors believe that their glib skill at writing obtuse medical texts in a specialized jargon qualifies them as guardians of the purity of the Javanese language.

Supposedly men of science, these Javanese medical literati have little time for philosophy and aesthetics. Thus, Javanese literature is forced to remain outside the principal currents of European thought: "O critério literário e artístico dos médicos de Java não é o de Hegel, de Schopenhauer, de Taine, de Brunetière, ou de Guyau. Eles não perdem tempo com semelhante gente."

The rather observant narrator obviously shares Lima Barreto and Taine's literary belief that literature must go

beyond mere facts to the vivid portrayal of life more intense and meaningful than life itself. Without that intensity, literature could never be militant in the tradition of Eça de Queiróz. Naturally such sentiments were heresy to the medical caste.

Não admitem que a obra literária tenha por fim manifestar um certo caráter saliente ou essencial do assunto, que se tem em vista, mais completamente do que o fazem os fatos reais. Literatura não é fazer entrar no patrimônio do espírito humano, com auxílio dos processos artísticos, tudo o que interessa à vida, à direção da conduta, e o problema do destino. Não, absolutamente, não. ("Harakashy e as escolas de Java," 55)

Form dominates content in the physicians' literature. Javanese literary creation is rigidly controlled by formulas as strict as those of the Brazilian Parnassians, for whom Lima Barreto felt nothing but contempt. Obscurity and confusion are marks of perfection in Java's Gongoristic poetics. Clarity, the coherent presentation of a social idea in the style of Voltaire, is considered a vice to be carefully avoided. Their creative process is similar to the Samoida's método confuso in the baroque literary schools of the Bruzundangas. Translated into Portuguese their style consists of an irrational mixture of João de Barros, Padre Vieira and Alexandre Herculano. The doctors write in this pot-pourri of classic and romantic styles spiced with a medieval lexicon.

Lima Barreto gives as an example the dilemma of a physician desirous of entering the Academy of Letters. His medical insight, itself quite banal, was that fevers should be attacked directly at their source. This is how he chose

to express the thought in order to gain entrance to the Academy of Letters.

Erro, querere parescer-me, é não se atentar donde provém tal febre com incendimento e modorra, para só tratá-la às rebatinhas, tão de pronto como se mesmo fôra ela a doença, senão consequência muita vez de vitais desarranjos imigos da sã vida e onde o físico de recado achará a fonte ou as fontes do mal que deixa assi o corpo sem os bons e sãos aspetos de sua habitual composição. ("Harakashy e as escolas de Java," 57)

As in the case of Dr. Gedeão Cavalcânti of "A doença do Antunes," affluent ladies are the key to success for the Javanese physician, who must also minor in money collection in the Escola dos Cobradores. One way a young physician can enter the Academy of Letters is by charming the mistress of another physician-member. Most of a physician's clients are wealthy hypocondriacal women, who crowd the offices of the most handsome writers. These are physician-writers who have been made celebrities by their friends in the influential press. One amorous lady paid the enormous fee of 150 florins in order to have the popular Dr. Llovehy call at her home. The good medical scholar, after examining the patient, wrote a prescription in Greek for ordinary chicken soup. The narrator at one point gives an interesting sample of Dr. Llovehy's ludicrous speech.

Mister é que tenhais sempre atilamento com êsses físicos incautos. Eles são homens que não curam senão por experiência e costume, e, é tão bom de enganar os néscios não afeitos ao bom proceder dos físicos de valia que dão côr a facilmente serem enganados por êles e o pior é que alguns cientes físicos ou por contentar todos os do povo e não querer trabalhar ou especular as curas, vão-se com o parecer dêles; e porque ser aprazível ao povo faz ao físico ganhar mais moedas,

usam logo em princípio as suas mēzinhas dêles.
 ("Harakashy e as escolas de Java," 56)

Since the social life of the Academy of Letters occupies most of the doctors' time, Javanese savants have never made even the most insignificant scientific discovery, nor have they ever formulated a single theory. True gentlemen, the Javanese men of science are horrified by the very thought of soiling their clothes in a dusty laboratory. All medical discoveries are plagiarized from foreign authors.³⁰ Although Java is a tropical country, the physicians prefer to dress in the European manner, as did the Brazilians of the upper class during the Old Republic. One quack European physician had once wildly advanced the theory that a doctor's attire aided to some extent in the cure; although such nonsense was quickly rejected abroad, in Java it became the most elegant way to combat disease.

Das grandes artes técnicas, a mais avançada, como era de esperar, é a medicina. O tratamento geralmente empregado é o do vestuário médico. Consiste êle em usar o doutor certo traje para curar certa moléstia. Para sarar bexiga, o médico vai em ceroulas, para congestão de fígado, sobrecasaca e cartola, para tuberculose, tanga e chapéu de palha de côco, antraz de casaca, etc., etc. ("Harakashy e as escolas de Java," 59)

Little space is dedicated to the Javanese Law School or the Escola dos Cortadores whose emblem is a pair of scissors. There, in an obvious satire of Rui Barbosa's legalistic pomposity, students are most carefully taught to write erudite legal articles totally void of original thought.³¹ The method used consists of cutting out long scholarly quotations from library references and gluing

them onto the students' reports. Entire libraries are thus mutilated. The more learned a lawyer is, the more holes will appear in his texts. To aid in their writing, law students minor in a special course in baroque prose.

Even less is said of the School of Engineering or the Escola de Sapadores. Here the narrator, in a play of words, gives us some lucid notes on the engineers' study of chiseling (picaretas).

Harakashy, although an amateur historian by nature, as was Lima Barreto, entered the School of Engineering to obtain a degree, the sine qua non for success in Javanese society.³² Racially Malayan despite some Dutch ancestry, and poor, Harakashy, an alterego of Lima Barreto, never succeeded in graduating. His family was not able to bribe the poorly remunerated professors who were pressured by the University of Java for failures as evidence of the rigors of their course. In Java, as in Lima Barreto's vision of Republican Brazil, poor mulatto students never graduate.

"Agaricus auditae" continues to characterize the scientific community as successful charlatans dominated by greed. The author centers attention on the pseudo-scholarship of a young student of botany who is the archetype of scientific pretension, and whose academic profile differs little from that of the medical doctors of "Harakashy e as escolas de Java." The scientist appears as a pedantic dilettante more given to a reverential plagiarism in the pompous jargon of foreign scholars than to laboratory

research. Science is, the cynical protagonist proclaims, a mere decoration useful in marrying well. Only dull Germans take research seriously.³³

Alexandre Ventura Soares, a bachelor of science and curator of the local Museum of Natural History, obtained his degree with the sole aim of marrying into money. His rich neighbor, the retired Judge Monteiro, is an amateur geologist dedicated quixotically to a proposterous search for gems in his garden, in street pebbles and even in street paving stones, which he pays moleques to carry home. At home Soares' neighbor spends his day cracking stones open on an anvil with a huge hammer in a vain attempt to isolate fragile crystals. Soares, inspired more by greed than by love, decides to court the senile scientist's naive daughter whom he first noticed while observing her father's strange mania for exotic rocks. However, before the eccentric judge consents to the marriage, Soares must prove his worth by presenting a learned paper to the Academia dos Esquecidos, a scientific academy over which the judge presides. Soares' education never prepared him for such original thought and so he shamelessly plagiarizes a ludicrous article on giant mushrooms, an article written by a Dr. Kramer of Harvard University. Judge Monteiro meditates seriously for six months on Soares' three page "study". The result of his profound meditation is to welcome the plagiarist into the academy as a true scholar. As a final irony, the botanist and his wealthy bride are presented with a chalet in a forest

of "agaricus auditae."

The dishonest protagonist, the young ambitious botanist Soares, is more openly cynical in his relentless devotion to success than Stendhal's energetic social climber Julien Sorel in Le Rouge et le noir, a work admired by Isaías Caminha. Since Soares is a master of deceit, his disarmingly frank monologues seem forced. They would seem to serve as convenient foils or sounding boards for Lima Barreto's beliefs. Soares confesses to himself that science is only a trivial piece of jewelry useful in obtaining a good marriage. He is even prepared to invent data in order to win Nenê's hand.

Mas, não era já suficiente ser "doutor" para casar...
E preciso ter-se uma posição decente na sociedade,
um bom casamento, senão rico, pelo menos semi-rico...
Se não descubro, forgo qualquer coisa e a ciência
que se amole...a ciência é um enfeite; e assim como 34
êste anel de safira.

The demands of a thoughtful research paper at first leave the pseudo-scholar quite perplexed. Although he is supposedly a scientist, he is not acquainted with the use of laboratories. Soares' scientific education has left him ill-prepared for any original research since foreign scholars' experiments were the only source of all of Soares' studies in college. His own experience in scientific research was very little or none at all.

Fui um bom estudante e, talvez, por isso, nunca supus que, na ciência, houvesse novidade. Tudo já estava feito e, quando não estava, comprava-se as revistas estrangeiras. ("Agaricus auditae," 105)

In a pompous pseudo-scientific style reminiscent of

the medical doctors of "Harakashy e as escolas de Java," Soares covers his ignorance with verbiage as he plagiarizes in the National Archives the work of the American botanist, Dr. Kramer. Soares' style is a hilarious blend of incongruous styles in which he juxtaposes the erudite Latin "agaricus auditae" with the colloquial Portuguese "mijo de sapo."

Convém - e que com humildade vos peço, Senhores Acadêmicos, que vós esqueçais (não fôsseis Esquecidos) das mais mezinhas noções de botânica, pois o nosso excêntrico sábio vai desvendar órgãos pouco fáceis de aceitar em mijo de sapo. ("Agaricus auditae," 104)

His report is filled with references to foreign sources, but not to any empirical findings of his own. The introduction is an exercise replete with name-dropping of learned and noted scientists.

Senhores Acadêmicos: Seduziu-me desde moço a doutrina darwiniana; e eu, com Lyell, a sorvi em grandes hautos na sua aplicação à geologia. Concordei que o mundo atual era resultante e resultado de várias, lentas transformações seriadas cujos termos não têm origem; com Huxley, depois daquela sua célebre demonstração por que tem passado o cavalo através das idades (T. Huxley - L'Evolution et l'origine des espèces - tradução francesa, 1892, pags. 232 e segs.) - com Huxley, dizia, acreditei que o Megatherium e o mamute como plenipotenciários seus, tivessem acreditado (crescido) entre a horrída preguiça e o informe elefante. ("Agaricus auditae," 106)

His only satisfaction in writing the article comes not from the discovery of a new species, but from the discovery of the cliché excelsa ciência, a cliché whose literary qualities he is sure will not escape the critical eyes of the geologist Judge Monteiro.

Professor Kramer's rather comical study investigates five foot mushrooms replete with mature sex organs! Soares

realizes vaguely the ridiculous nature of such a study, and so he places most of his report in quotes to avoid academic censure. Yet he only vaguely suspects Dr. Kramer's study to be nonsense since, in his own mind, foreign scholars are infallible.

Another aspect to the theory of Professor Kramer's study of monster mushrooms presents itself. Granted Soares' superficiality, yet he recognized in part gigantic mushrooms as a fantasy of a too vivid imagination. Just as Cabrera Infante in Tres tristes tigres questions the cultural knowledge of Hispanic Americans nourished on faulty translations, Lima Barreto also in his own way lampoons the culture of Brazilian academicians brought up on careless translations from French and English scholars.³⁵

Perhaps the gigantic mushrooms are a product of Soares' general ignorance of foreign languages. It is interesting to speculate on his linguistic competence. Several major linguistic errors appear in "Agaricus auditae," but, as Antônio Houaiss noted, careless typography makes it difficult to ascertain Lima Barreto's stylistic intentions in many of his works.³⁶ First, Francisco de Assis Barbosa notes that the very title "Agaricus auditae" is poor Latin.³⁷ Soares' knowledge of English, the language from which he plagiarizes, could hardly be better. He consistently spells Harvard as Harward University. He later refers to Dr. Kramer as a professor of Cambridge, United States of America. He refers to Huxley as the author of the (sic) Origen of

Species, a work which he cites in the French translation.

Despite Soares' ignorance of the English language, his "research" progresses rapidly. Soares confesses that such speed is characteristic of Brazilian science where erudite references are more appreciated than laboratory work.

A ciência brasileira tem os seus lados notáveis e singulares...e um deles é essa presteza nos seus trabalhos. Isto é devido ao fato que, para os outros sábios, o objeto da ciência está no mundo, exigindo pesquisas, observações, e experiências demoradas; nós, porém, pouco nos importamos com o mundo. Há livros, fazemos ciência. ("Agaricus auditae," 112)

Judge Monteiro is little different from Alexandre Ventura Soares. Although he is ignorant of basic mineralogy, he owns a fine but largely unused scientific library of rare first editions of the complete works of famous European mineralogists. Like Soares, Judge Monteiro lives obsessed by German science and scientists, yet the works he possesses, such as Estrutura dos cristais, gather dust as unread translations.

In a manner similar to Soares with his mushrooms and to Dr. Cavalcânti with his calluses, Judge Monteiro dedicated his time to a senseless activity. In an underdeveloped country, he spends his days as a scientist pounding away with a huge hammer in search of garnet crystals. Years of failure have hardly diminished his childish enthusiasm. Such frivolous pseudo-scholarship is rewarded with wealth in Lima Barreto's Brazil and so Judge Monteiro

and Alexandre Ventura Soares need not concern themselves with serious intellectual labors.

"A biblioteca" continues the delineation of Brazilian scientists as bookish dilettantes, little given to original laboratory research. "A biblioteca," however, differs from "Harakashy e as escolas de Java," and "Agaricus auditae" in its surprising note of nostalgia for the Monarchy. This has the effect of softening the caricature of the savants, otherwise very similar to Dr. Llohevy of "Harakashy e as escolas de Java." Thus, "A biblioteca" lacks the personal note of anger so evident in most of Lima Barreto's satirical works.

Fausto Carregal, the impoverished descendant of a wealthy line of scientific scholars under the Monarchy, has lost the family's stately mansion and elegant furniture. Despite his financial woes, Fausto has consistently refused to auction off the extensive and rather expensive leather-bound volumes on chemistry accumulated by both grandfather and father and which are as interesting to the bibliophile as they are useless to the scientist. Although a graduate of the School of Pharmacy, Fausto is totally devoid of intellectual ability. He has never read a single volume of the beautiful library that he esteems so dearly as a family relic. The almost religious devotion to the learning symbolized by his beloved library leads Fausto to the extreme of spending long nightly vigils among the sacred volumes. He has retained the library in the fervent hope that one of

his sons will be able some day to carry on the family's cherished scholarly tradition. When his youngest son Jaime, his last hope, proves likewise to be totally devoid of intelligence, a defeated Fausto burns the library as a sacrificial offering made in frustration and despair.

In his description of Conselheiro Fernandes Carregal, lieutenant-colonel in the Imperial Army Corps of Engineers and professor of the Academia Real Militar of Dom João VI, Lima Barreto's reverence for the Monarchy becomes evident.³⁸ Conselheiro Carregal, who did not own a single test tube, suffered from the prevalent aristocratic fear of soiling his delicate hands. Like Judge Monteiro of "Agaricus auditae," in his fear of manual labor, the Counselor is a true fidalgo whose costly library replaced anything so banal as a modern laboratory. More a humanist, an idealist given to lofty metaphysical thought and speculation, the Counselor was more comfortable in the abstract world of philosophy than in the empirical test tube reality of modern chemistry. The strange bibliomania that possessed Counselor Carregal caused him to devote hours to the exegesis of moldy scientific texts more precious as antiques than as sources of knowledge. Perhaps his favorite relic was the ill-fated Lavoisier's Traité élémentaire de chimie, présenté dans un ordre et d'après les découvertes modernes. A true monarchist, the Counselor never forgave the French Revolution for beheading the noble father of modern chemistry.

Although Carregal must have witnessed the rise of

the positivist Old Republic, the most modern work in his library was a translation, which dated from 1864, of Wurtz' Lições de filosofia química. French and Latin were the only foreign languages which the chemist had been able to master. Works by German or English chemists such as Priestly had to be read in translation.

The Counselor proudly possessed many dusty chemical incunabula, mystical works on alchemy dating from the earliest days of printing. The French alchemist Nicolau Flamel's Le Livre des figures hieroglyphiques, a work long forgotten in France, still remained one of the Brazilian chemist's most cherished works. Most volumes, beautifully bound in leather, existed only to please their owner who had hardly read the larger part of his library and had no intentions of ever doing so.

Despite the Counselor's "antiquarian science", Lima describes him pleasantly in decidedly aristocratic terms: "...o perfil aquilino, duro e severo."³⁹ The Counselor, despite his ludicrous science, is not ridiculed as strongly as Alexandre Ventura Soares in his search for mijo de sapo or the Republican Judge Monteiro in his quest for the perfect garnet crystal in "Agaricus auditae."

Viu o pai, o casarão, os retratos... lembrou-se mais fortemente de seu pai e viu-o lendo, entre aquelas obras, sentado a uma grande mesa, tomando de quando em quando rapé, que êle tirava às pitadas de uma boceta de tartaruga, espirrar depois, assoar-se num grande lenço de Alcobaça, sempre lendo, com o cenho carregado, os seus grandes e estimados livros. ("A biblioteca," 148)

Lima Barreto seems to suggest that there was a progressive degeneration in intellectual and moral life in Brazil from the impractical but idealist Monarchy to the immoral Republic. The anachronistic Counselor certainly represents intellectual stagnation in his comical role as a nineteenth century alchemist. Yet his noble air and his singular dedication to medievalism lend him a certain note of scholarship. Indeed, after chemistry (or alchemy), his Latin classics occupy a prominent position in his library.

Fausto Carregal, the son of the Counselor, barely managed to become a pharmacist. Although a university graduate, Fausto, a comfortable and timid bourgeois, possesses neither the quixotic intellectual life evident in that of his ancestors nor their aristocratic manner. Fausto slyly uses his degree to "arrange" a comfortable post in the bureaucracy where his inadequate knowledge of chemistry would never be noticed. What little science he had learned in the pharmacy school, Fausto had long since forgotten.

As in the case of almost all of Lima Barreto's pseudo-intellectual protagonists, intellectual sloth brings some degree of success. Fausto, although lazy and dull-witted has retained one quality: a religious devotion to his beloved library; he hopes one day one of his sons will be able to unlock its stored-up wisdom. Yet the familial degeneration is unfortunately strongest in Jaime, Fausto Carregal's youngest son and his final hope. Despite Fausto's employment of a renowned private tutor, the slightly retarded

Jaime experiences an almost physical pain in progressing beyond the letter "o". By the time the boy has reached his sixteenth year, his only love has become soccer. Apparently youth under the Republic preferred the game of soccer to chemistry. Thus, from the Counselor's absurd yet aristocratic alchemy to Jaime's retardation, the circle of intellectual mediocrity in this unfortunate Carregal family became complete.

"A nova Califórnia" is probably, with the possible exception of "O homem que sabia javanês," the most widely appreciated and anthologized short work of Lima Barreto. In few short stories, indeed, has Lima Barreto summarized so cleverly in the tradition of the folkloric conto do vigário his particular Weltansicht. Here in Lima Barreto's Republican Brazil, in this new California, riches are won, not through hard labors, but by an ingenious swindle. The unscrupulous chemist, "Doctor" Raimundo Flamel, epitomizes Lima Barreto's immoral and crafty bacharel more enamored of ill-gotten wealth than of scholarship. Lima Barreto's republican Brazil has become the promised land, the California of the Amadís de Gaula, for any confident flim-flammer. It brings to mind a Brazilian plagiarism of an inverse American Wild West where the good suffer and the evil prosper. Nathaniel West would easily have recognized his California in Lima Barreto's.

The action of "A nova Califórnia" is set in the quiet rural town of Tubiacanga. The good poor people of the

town lead a tranquil, bucolic existence. Crime is unknown and so houses have doors only to imitate the homes of Rio de Janeiro. Similar to the sleepy Itaguaí of Machado de Assis' O alienista, the peaceful town was rudely disturbed by the arrival of a "scholar" more sinister than Machado de Assis' Dr. Simão Bacamarte. "Doutor" Raimundo Flamel is an eccentric recluse whose name reminds one of the French alchemist of "A biblioteca." Flamel excites Tubiacanga's suspicion by orders for medieval laboratory equipment and by massive subscriptions to a host of scientific journals published in the most exotic languages. In the opinion of the unsophisticated, Flamel is a wizard possessed by Satan. When passing in front of his mansion with its constantly smoking chimney, the poor bless themselves, mumble a quiet prayer and hurry on their way in superstitious awe.

The turning point occurs when the vainglorious Homais of Tubiacanga, Sr. Bastos, himself mystified by fatuous scientific jargon, convinces his numerous clients that "Doutor" Flamel must be a noted scholar. Flamel, thereupon, ceases to be considered the devil's emissary; he has now the dignity of a highly respected doutor. For the common man, only Jesus Christ himself is deserving of more respect. The alchemist Flamel convinces the inane Bastos that he has extracted from human bones the long-sought philosopher's stone. Shortly thereafter, "Doutor" Flamel mysteriously flees in the night, but only after selling his golden formula. A few days later the crimeless town of

Tubiacanga is shocked to find the local cemetery desecrated in a macabre fashion. The culprits are caught and are forced to confess the existence of the gruesome formula for changing human bones into gold. By daybreak all the tombs have been forced open by the greedy villagers who fight a vicious battle among themselves for the magical bones. Only Bastos, who had fled that very night, and Belmiro, a Lima Barreto style intellectual and drunkard, manage to survive unharmed.

Raimundo Flamel is the perfect criminal trickster, the personification of the pompous erudition which Lima Barreto's Brazil rewards with fame and fortune.⁴⁰ Like the deceitful protagonist of "O homem que sabia javanês," whose linguistic expertise is limited to an encyclopedia entry on Javanese, Flamel in all probability does not possess even the most rudimentary notions of chemistry. This alchemist's foreign journals are surely left as unread as the volumes in Carregal's library ("A biblioteca"). It should be noted that never once did Flamel introduce himself as a chemist. That he possessed such a degree was merely inferred by the naive pharmacist Bastos. His chemical laboratory and international correspondence helped to serve this picaresque protagonist in his plans to win Tubiacanga's esteem. Such esteem was important for his fraud since the simple people who respectfully addressed Flamel with a warm "boas noites, doutor" suffered from what Lima Barreto called the "super-⁴¹stição do doutor." Their respectful reverence had to be supported by his maintaining a careful distance between

himself and the ignorant masses. As in the case of "Miss Edith e seu tio" where the distance maintained by an adulterous English couple between themselves and the dwellers of a pensão enabled the immoral foreigners to pass as virtuous people, Flamel's aloofness and seclusion enable him to hide his deceit more easily.

Ninguém sabia donde viera aquele homem. O agente do Correio pudera apenas informar que acudia ao nome de Raimundo Flamel, pois assim era subscrita a correspondência que recebia. E era grande. Quase diariamente, o carteiro lá ia a um dos extremos da cidade, onde morava o desconhecido, sopesando um 42
maço alentado de cartas vindas do mundo inteiro...

Given the omniscient narrator's assertion of the people's superstitious reverence for degrees, the reader readily accepts the esteem in which Flamel was popularly held by the masses. Yet Flamel's successful deception would not have been possible if the more intellectual and learned members of the Tubiacanga community had not, in one form or another, lent their support. One would expect that the better educated would see through such a transparent fraud. Their inability to perceive such deceit and to act morally gives sound evidence of the superficiality of their intelligence.

Flamel's initial acceptance would have been impossible without the naive assistance of the pharmacist Bastos. The narrator supplies little information on him. We know that like Flaubert's Homais, Bastos performs illegal surgery. Such information establishes in the reader's mind the highly regarded position of the pharmacist in the community, while

allowing the reader to establish parallels with Joinville's grandiloquent apothecary. Like Homais and the Counselor Carregal, Bastos believes more in rhetoric than in thoughtful research, hence his admiration of Flamel's subscriptions. The absurdity of his faith in an alchemical philosopher's stone and his greed for gold are sufficient to establish Bastos as a buffoon in the tradition of Lima Barreto's pseudo-scholars. For readers familiar with "Agaricus auditae," Bastos differs little from Alexandre Ventura Soares.

Bastos is not, however, the leading intellectual light of Tubiacanga. Such a dubious distinction belongs to Capitão Pelino, the local stylist and grammarian, school master and editor of the Gazeta de Tubiacanga. The pedantic Capitão Pelino spends his early evenings browsing through the then definitive grammars of Sotero dos Reis, Cândido de Figueiredo and Castro Lopes. Pelino's highest ideal is to be knowledgeable on such lofty matters as the correct position of pronouns. Wearing his hair plastered down with a cheap tonic, he invariably spends the evenings in the druggist's "conversing." Pelino, in reality, hardly ever speaks, probably out of fear of making an error. Rather he dedicates his time either to correcting the speech of others or to censuring the style of authors not devoted to Sotero dos Reis. Conversation under Pelino's reign was so stifled that it gradually became a dying art in Tubiacanga.

Conversar é um modo de dizer, porque era Pelino avaro de palavras, limitando-se tão-somente a ouvir. Quando, porém, dos lábios de alguém escapava a menor incorreção

de linguagem, intervinha e emendava. "Eu asseguro," dizia o agente do Correio, "que..." Por aí, o mestre-escola intervinha com mansuetude evangélica: "Não diga "asseguro" Senhor Bernardes, em português, é garanto. ("A nova Califórnia," 225)

Capitão Pelino is little different from the fanatical grammarian Lobo of Recordações do escrivão Isaías Caminha. Lobo, like Pelino, is a specialist in pronouns and has even authored a Colocação dos pronomes: teoria e prática. Similar to Monteiro Lobato's grammarian in "O colocador dos pronomes," he has written a supposedly definitive text which has hardly eradicated the problem. Lobo, again like Pelino, hardly ever speaks. Finally driven insane by Brazilianisms, Lobo seeks refuge in the Ensinaça de bem cavalgar tôda a sela. The comical Lobo and Pelino are Lima Barreto's revenge for the numerous attacks by critics on his "errors" of style, which until the studies of Antônio Houaiss⁴³ and Cavalcânti Proença⁴⁴ were common in critical references to the author.

Pelino's opposition to Flamel was merely one of jealousy at the prospect of a rival scholar. In reality Pelino is as ignorant as Bastos and as greedy as Flamel. The night of the mass desecration the grammarian knifes the "Turkish" merchant Miguel Abudala while fighting over a huge bone.

The only resident of Tubiacanga not to participate in the new spirit of greedy destruction, for which Tubiacanga is the symbol of Republican Brazil enamored of American capitalism, is the alcoholic student Belmiro. Belmiro is

an alterego of Lima Barreto himself, and as such he is familiar to the reader of "Clara dos Anjos" as the dipsomaniac poet J. Amarante.

"O homem que sabia javanês" has ranked as Lima Barreto's most acclaimed work of short fiction. Here he explores the psychology of the unscrupulous intellectual dilettante. Its success in part lies in the first person narration which allows the reader greater psychological insight into the picaresque character of the protagonist. In the related "A nova Califórnia" the third person narrator envelops the person of Dr. Flamel in mystery. In "Agaricus auditae" the portrait of Soares is more a caricature of intellectual pretense than what E. M. Forster would call a "round character".⁴⁵ Only in "O homem que sabia javanês" does the protagonist attain the latter dimension.

As in "Um especialista," "O homem que sabia javanês" commences with a conversation between two friends in a confectionary shop. The narrator Castelo recounts the list of shameless swindles he has perpetrated in his quest for fame and fortune in Brazil. Now a noted diplomat, Castelo finally reveals his secrets. His most ingenious caper was to pass himself off as a learned professor of the exotic language Javanese with no more knowledge of the subject than an entry in the Grande Encyclopédie. The victim of the hoax was the good but senile aristocrat Dr. Manuel Feliciano Soares Albernaz, the Baron of Jacuecanga. The now not so affluent Baron had received years before from his

grandfather Counselor Albernaz, a confidant of Dom Pedro I, a mysterious oriental manuscript. This promised untold riches to whoever could decipher the Javanese text. The Baron proved to be an exceedingly slow student, unable to learn little more than some letters of the Javanese alphabet. Finally Castelo resorted to "translating" the original while the senile old man listened. The Baron never recognized the specious nature of the "translations" and, as luck would have it, the Baron received a small inheritance from Portugal. In gratitude the family rewarded Castelo with a position in the diplomatic service. Now esteemed as an expert on oriental languages by the Ministério dos Estrangeiros, Castelo represents Brazil at international linguistic conferences.

Francisco de Assis Barbosa in his A vida de Lima Barreto speculated on the identity of the bogus linguist. He concluded that the Bahian confidence man was a caricature directed at another Bahian literary scholar, Dr. Afrânio Peixoto.⁴⁶ Although the author of A esfinge is best remembered today for his studies of Camões (Dicionário de "Os Lusíadas," A camonologia e os estudos camonianos, Estudos camonianos), Peixoto did attain fame and entrance into the Brazilian Academy of Letters in 1911 on the basis of his novel, A esfinge, and his book of poems in prose, Rosa mística. Lima Barreto, after repeated attempts, was denied entrance into the Academy of Letters.

In As aventuras do Doutor Bogóloff there appears

the figure of Xandu, the inane Minister of Agriculture, who appoints the Machiavellian Bogóloff to the Ministry after hearing enthusiastically of his absurd plan to raise cattle the size of elephants.⁴⁷ Similarly, an equally ignorant Minister of Foreign Affairs appoints Castelo to a diplomatic post. It is quite possible that the historian Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, Minister of Agriculture at the age of twenty-seven, was the object of this caricature.⁴⁸ João Ribeiro regarded Lima Barreto's portrait of opportunism in Brazilian political life to be so true to life that it is difficult to separate fact from fiction in his works.⁴⁹

The question of identity aside, "O homem que sabia javanês" is Lima Barreto's most successful satire of the crafty bacharel. Its extraordinary charm lies in the facility with which the narrator gains our sympathy. It is not hard to admire Castelo's cleverness and his sense of absurdity. Unlike Soares of "Agaricus auditae," who half takes his nonsense seriously, Castelo's humor is disarming.

Yet such ease of manner, as in the case of Lazarillo de Tormes, hides much of the picaresque hero's immorality from the casual reader. Castelo belongs ultimately to the same line of imposters as Dr. Flamel, the criminal alchemist of "A nova Califórnia" or Soares, the plagiarist-botanist. Castelo is the perfect bacharel confidence man; he is a composite of all of Lima Barreto's educated scoundrels.

As in the case of Soares, Castelo is capable of a

surprising degree of cynicism. The thought of stealing from the venerable old Baron merely detains him for a moment.

Sabes bem que até hoje nada sei de javanês, mas compus umas histórias bem tôlas e impingi-las ao velhote como sendo do crônicon. Como êle ouvia aquelas bo- 50
bagens!

Just as "Doutor" Flamel, Castelo subscribes to numerous scientific journals, such as the Proceedings of the English Oceanic Association and the Revue Anthropologique et Linguistique. Castelo never reads a scholarly journal; his social life is far too demanding. He becomes somewhat of a pedant who disdains practical knowledge even in the small amount he learned. Surprisingly Castelo manages to learn more Javanese literary history than Javanese itself--an attitude similar to Counselor Carregal's dislike of modern chemistry. In the tradition of Java's Escola dos Cortadores, Castelo prepares learned articles on Javanese by cutting out and pasting together as many references as possible. This method we have seen others use also leads to reasonable success.

In Novas histórias das Bruzundangas the term Javanese referred to Brazil's Negroes in much the same way as Voltaire, a model for Lima Barreto's short satirical tales, used Bulgarian in his Candide to refer to the troops of Frederick the Great of Prussia: "A gente solene da Bruzundanga dizia dêle o seguinte: é um javanês (equivalente ao nosso mulato 51
daqui...)

Castelo's negroid appearance originally allowed him

to present himself as the son of a Javanese fisherman resident of Bahia. Dark "Javanese" as foreigners are allowed more success than Negroes in Lima Barreto's works.

Não sou, objetei, lá muito diferente de um javanês. Estes meus cabelos corridos, duros e grossos e a minha pele basané podem dar-me muito bem o aspecto de um malaio. ("O homem que sabia javanês," 241)

Throughout Recordações do escrivo Isaiás Caminha, Lobo, the director of O Globo, betrays his surprise at his Negro clerk's civilized manners. In a similar vein the aristocratic Albernaz clan can hardly dissemble their amazement at Castelo's linguistic prowess.

Mas com que tu vais ficar assombrado, meu caro Castro, e com a admiração que o genro ficou tendo pelo professor de javanês. Que coisa única! Ele não se cansava de repetir: É um assombro! ("O homem que sabia javanês," 243)

Thus, the term "Javanese" has a double significance, important in one's evaluation of Castelo's psychology. If we put aside the comic effect of being expert in so exotic a language, we then see that the term refers to a not so exotic Negro population of Brazil.

The portrait of the young Negro's first and foreboding confrontation with racial prejudice in "O moleque," and the description of the elderly Negro's condemnation to hell in "O pecado" offer the reader a sad view of Brazil's treatment of its gifted Negroes. If Castelo is criminal in his behavior as a "scholar," such behavior must be in some small part weighed against the obstacles to success placed in his path by society. The only Negro allowed to succeed by society is a Negro as immoral as society itself.

And even then he must be from Java.

"Uma academia da roça" attacks openly the pretense of Machado de Assis' Academia Brasileira de Letras. It quite simply illustrates the contention of Lima Barreto, three times rejected by that learned body, that anyone can be elected to the Academy provided that he is sufficiently pretentious, affluent and in favor with the political powers in office. In the world of Lima Barreto's rural academy the only obstacle to membership for any local dignitary is literary ability. Only the most banal literary topics are discussed by members whose claim to immortality must never be more than a few plagiarized Parnassian verses. In this sense "Uma academia da roça" continues Lima Barreto's satire of his more successful academician Afrânio Peixoto.

The action takes place in a sleepy rural town not at all unlike Tubiacanga ("A nova Califórnia.") In this quiet village of Itaçarai the pharmacy, Farmácia Esperança, is once again the meeting place where important citizens, all would-be literati, come to discuss literature, philosophy, and art. One day the pompous district attorney, Dr. Aristogen Tebano das Verdades, decides to imitate the illustrious Academie Française by founding a no less illustrious forty member Itaçarai academy of immortals. During his inaugural speech which had to be given in a visiting circus tent for lack of space, the circus horses stampeded. In the ensuing panic, the local literati fled never to reunite.

The comportment of the Academy's members follows

closely the pattern set in previous tales. As in Lima Barreto's Java, where university graduates possess by mere virtue of a degree the privileges of the Hindu Brahmin caste, the academicians of Itaçaraí clearly consider themselves to be an intellectual elite with no more academic credentials than a professional position or sufficient wealth. In Lima Barreto's world, after cupidity, the chief vice of this caste is pretension. It is obviously pretentious to imagine oneself a rival of the Parisian academy. Itaçaraí was no less affected than Rio de Janeiro with its forty immortals. Perhaps even more incredible was their absurd claim to literary renown without even the most trivial publications. None had ever penned more than some horribly rhymed Parnassian verse half plagiarized from Olavo Bilac.

The pharmacy is the center of intellectual sham for the bacharéis. Later and even more appropriate given their abilities, the circus will be the arena in which the ignorant will perform. As in Lima Barreto's Java the medical profession have designated themselves the role of literary critics despite their ignorance of aesthetics, a science not taught in the schools of surgery. The traditional professions comprise essentially the nucleus of the literary serão of the Farmácia Esperança. The district attorney of Itaçaraí county, Dr. Aristogen Tebano das Verdades represents the legal profession as president and founder. Dr. Joaquim Petronilho represents the medical profession along with the

pharmacist Segadas, and sacristan Sebastião Canendé represents the Church. Interestingly enough, there is no representative from the fourth profession popularized by the positivist Republic - engineering. European culture is certainly not disdained by these illuminati; the Astrian veterinarian Dr. Francisco Kauffman and the Spanish barber Ximénez are also present. Wealth and political influence also permit one to enter; the vice-president of the Academy is the local coronel. Other members include the congressman Penido Veiga and the military man, lieutenant Barnabé.

An elite in their own mind they believe that their professional status allows them the right to dabble in literature as a chic avocation. Writing is not a profession in Itaçarai. Rather it has become simply a hobby for members of other professions.

In A literatura no Brasil, Afrânio Coutinho singled out dilettantism as a major vice which has impeded the growth of literary maturity in Brazil.⁵² Since the would-be hommes de plume do not recognize literature as a profession, they lack the most basic knowledge of world literature and aesthetics. Questions of talent aside, their scant production is passé and amateurish. The cause of repeated contention is the hackneyed debate of form versus content. The President of the Itaçarai Academy has argued for years in favor of content. He based his position on his readings of the thematically limited romantic poet Casimiro de Abreu. The physician, the arch-plagiarist of Olavo Bilac, favors form.

In an era of turmoil, such are the concerns of Itaçaraí. With such arid contentions to inspire thought, it is no wonder plagiarism became common.

Lima Barreto has consistently portrayed the Brazilian scientific community as reverential of all things German despite their ignorance of the language. The literati, on the other hand, are not to be outdone in reverence for all things European, which José Antônio Tobias described as one of the great Brazilian myths.⁵³ The Spanish barber admires the third-rate neo-romantic Spanish novelist Pérez Escrich and the horribly trite poet Campoamor. Yet with such poor literary taste, he is an influential academician. The Austrian is acquainted with some German poetry and some Shakespeare, but has never read Goethe or the Bible. He is also held in much esteem despite his ignorance of the Portuguese language whose conjugations he has never quite mastered.

As in the case of Java's sterile medical authors, there is an almost superstitious reverence for grandiloquence. Arcane vocabulary and syntax are magic formulas used in Itaçaraí to transform clichés into what appears to be profound. Aristogen's opening remarks have the same bombastic style of Alexandre Ventura Soares' report on mushrooms.

Basta que, a fé sincera, eu vo-lo afirme: há dentre os eleitores para esta Egrégia Companhia, os que desalentaram em meio da jornada, há os que se deixaram empolgar de tanta vaidade que já se sentem sobrelevados aos que lhes foram pares na eleição, há os

que do alto do seu valor, gozando a convicção própria de serem olímpicos, supremos, sorriram, num sorriso de superior condescendência, aos pigmeus que lhes 54 buscaram a honra eminente do convívio.

Literature has been reduced to nothing more than an amateurish enterprise for stylish professionals. Thought is not necessary since there are magical formulas similar to the método confuso of the Bruzundangas. When this fails, there are always national or European models to plagiarize.

Among the amusing teachings of "O jornalista" is the prevailing thought that all journalists are knaves, possessors of all the now familiar vices of the bacharel without any of the concomitant virtues that distinguished the aristocratic alchemist of "A biblioteca." Lima Barreto's disenchantment with journalism and journalists dates from his first published work Recordações do escrivão Isaías Caminha (1909), a roman à clef which satirized unmercifully the then prestigious O Correio da Manhã. So violent was his ridicule that for most of the mulatto-author's life his works were coldly received by the press in general. As late as 1922, the year of his death, Lima Barreto continued his ridicule of the press with an article in A Careta intitled "A liberdade da imprensa." 55 The paragon of the successful journalist appears in Recordações do escrivão Isaías Caminha as Ricardo Loberant, the editor of the fictional O Globo and caricature of O Correio da Manhã's Edmundo Bittencourt. 56 The archetypal editor not only is intellectually mediocre, but he is also devoid of any literary abilities. His sole distinction is his unique flair for hypocrisy and machination.

The once prosperous but now somewhat somnolent fishing village of Sant' Ana dos Pescadores becomes the setting for "O jornalista." The hamlet was at one time a fairly successful commercial center, but the railroad line bypassed Sant'Ana and thereby relegated it to a minor role in the region's commerce. Greed seems to be unknown among its simple inhabitants. The only vice, if such it should be called, is the fierce rivalry between Dr. Fagundes' O Ba-luarte, a commercial journal, and Salomão Nabor de Azevedo's O Arauto, a somewhat more sensationalist daily. This is the sole disrupter of the peace. The two journalists once collaborated peacefully on O Arauto, but Nabor, in order to become editor and gain influence in Sant'Ana, betrayed his even more dull-witted colleague. He ingratiated himself very quietly into the favor of Dr. Fagundes' influential enemy, Dr. Castro, who occupied the position of president of the local chamber of commerce. Despite Nabor's most vigorous attempts at plagiarism of the leading European and national journals, he is never able to make his tabloid paper prosper. Finally Nabor decides to imitate the sensational tragedies found in Rio de Janeiro's newspapers by setting fire to the town hall one Saturday night. Early next morning O Arauto is on the newstands with a complete account of the disaster. Naturally the district attorney Fagundes recognizes Nabor's criminality and has him arrested.

Lima Barreto's exotic theology allows for no original sin. In the beginning all was harmony and man was one with

nature. Sin comes much later in the form of capitalism. The simpler the local economy, the more virtuous is the life in the town. Sant'Ana is no exception.

A gente pobre, após a sua morte (a cidade como centro comercial), deu em viver de pescarias, pois o mar aí era rumoroso e abundante de pescado de bom quilate.

Tripulando grandes canoas de voga, os seus pescadores traziam o producto de sua humilde indústria, vencendo 57 mil dificuldades, até Sepetiba e daí, a Santa Cruz...

In contrast to the heroic efforts of her anonymous fishermen, the town notable Salomão Nabor de Azevêdo stands as an exceptionally vicious scoundrel. Nabor is, like all of Lima Barreto's bacharéis, pretentious. His total culture consists of no more than some vague notions of grammar and the most elementary operations in arithmetic. His literary training consists of some line of Fagundes Varela and a novel or two of Macedo. With such a limited cultural background, Nabor decides that humble Sant'Ana should not lack a daily newspaper. The journal was to serve Nabor's ambitions and never the needs of the town's fishermen.

As in the case of many of Lima Barreto's successful men, Nabor prospers with the rise of republicanism. Inspired by the successful Negro abolitionist José do Patrocínio,
58
whom Lima Barreto disliked, the youthful Nabor first decided to become a journalist. He became an abolitionist when it was to his financial advantage to do so. Nabor was converted to the noble cause, the narrator assures us, only after he had made a successful sale of his last slaves. These had been inherited along with his parents' farm.

The youthful author of the diatribe against O Correio da Manhã established the literary journal Floreal partly in response to the need for a forum free from the control of established publishing houses. The elderly French editor Garnier was too far-removed in his Paris office from Brazilian reality to publish any except the most successful writers. The press, conscious of their financial dependence on advertising, would praise only those young writers with social connections.⁵⁹ Or so thought Lima Barreto as he dedicated himself to publishing in such obscure journals as Revista Sousa Cruz, A.B.C., or A Careta. O Globo's literary critic Floc did his criticisms most probably with the aid of the social register.

It is not surprising that O Arauto is hardly different. It would publish only the tired verses of the local schoolmaster, one of Sant'Ana's leading citizens. Originality here was as scarce as in Itaquaraí's Academy of Letters.

Às vezes, publicava curtas composições poéticas do professor público. Eram sonetos bem quebrados e estúpidos, mas que eram anunciados como "trabalhos de um puro parnasiano que é esse Sebastião Barbosa, exímio educador e glória da nossa terra e da nossa raça. ("O jornalista," 234)

Original thought is as unknown as in the Academia dos Esquecidos ("Agaricus auditae"). At times whole sections were simply transcribed from journals in Rio de Janeiro. Plagiarism was the rule of the day for a journal whose editor has read only A moreninha. This was his only recourse or refuge.

Dentro do jornal, reinava uma grande rivalidade latente entre o promotor e Nabor. Cada qual se julgava mais inteligente por decalcar ou pastichar melhor um autor em voga. ("O jornalista," 234)

Once, just because Rio de Janeiro's journals were filled with sensational disasters, Nabor dedicated three columns to singing the praises of the local dignitaries in a rather pompous tone.

O Arauto era semanal e saía com um artiguete laudatório do diretor, à guisa de artigo de fundo, umas composições líricas, em prosa, de Nabor, aniversários, uns mofinos anúncios e os editais da Câmara Municipal. ("O jornalista," 234)

Lima Barreto's journalists, then, are no more to be trusted than their fellow professionals in other fields. Their pretension is directly proportional to their ignorance; their immorality is no less vicious than that of the worst of Lima Barreto's scoundrels.

"Foi buscar lá" introduces a rather unfamiliar twist in the normal course of events in the adventures of a Lima Barretian pseudo-intellectual. The first is that Dr. Felismino Praxedes da Silva, a lawyer, belongs to a profession not often satirized by Lima Barreto. Members of the bar have hitherto been spared Lima Barreto's stinging or chastening rod. Lima Barreto, as a man of letters and engineer raté, preferred to deride the scientific community, their scientific scholarship and their literary pretensions.

The second point is that Dr. Praxedes da Silva is a faithful reduplication of two of Lima Barreto's arch confidence men, "Doctor" Flamel, the criminal alchemist of "A nova Califórnia" and Castelo, the amateur linguist of

of "O homem que sabia javanês." Dr. da Silva is unique in that his sham is finally revealed and the famous attorney is sent to prison. Others manage to escape exposure and consequent humiliation.

In this one case crime did not lead to fame and fortune. However, no optimistic conclusions are to be deduced as to society's morality. His failure is due to the singular moral and physical strength of one lonely scholar uniquely dedicated more to the pursuit of knowledge than to financial gain.

As in the case of "A nova Califórnia," Dr. Praxedes da Silva, a "nortista," first makes his appearance in Rio de Janeiro under mysterious conditions. Well-dressed, da Silva only associates with the capital's haut monde, whose admiration he conquered through a series of pretentious articles. With such social grace and scholarship the Rua do Ouvidor naturally courted his favor. Yet disturbing rumors persisted to the effect that his legal studies were financed by funds stolen from his military regiment, but no one could seriously doubt the moral worth of one so adept in the use of court rhetoric.

The narrator then switches his attention to the figure of Dr. Campos Bandeira, who serves as a foil for Praxedes' pretension. Dr. Bandeira is a rare figure in Lima Barreto's repertoire. He is the only truly intellectual character to appear in the author's fiction who is a bacharel. In all other cases the title doutor, as is indeed

true with Praxedes da Silva, immediately serves to warn the reader that he is to be presented with the figure of a pretentious scoundrel of the worst kind. Dr. Bandeira is a combination Policarpo Quaresma and Gonzaga de Sá. As in the case of Policarpo, Campos Bandeira is an eccentric dedicated to agriculture. Yet he is a contemplative in the style of Gonzaga, who disdains wealth for the quiet of his study in the wilds of the then distant Inhaúma. Yet one day the good scholar is found bound, gagged and half-dead. Suspicion naturally falls on his kindly but alcoholic servant Casaca. He is promptly charged with attempted murder. During the trial, which surprisingly has Dr. da Silva as the defense attorney, Campos Bandeira miraculously recovers enough to testify. The retired professor states that some time ago da Silva approached him as a long lost relative sadly and pitifully in need of money. That fateful night da Silva entered Bandeira's home, stole his life savings and left the unfortunate professor for dead. To the astonishment of the spectators, da Silva, the epitome of virtue, had to be arrested. The evidence was too overwhelming.

Dr. da Silva's deceit was made possible through his skillful use of the public's respect for titles. Such tactics are not new for Lima Barreto's bacharéis. "Doutor" Flamel established his reputation by purchasing conspicuously exotic equipment.

Lima Barreto seemed to hold a mirror up to society, but unlike Stendhal's famous mirror in Le Rouge et le noir,

which reflected both the mud of the road and the blue of the sky, Lima Barreto's mirror reverses images. In Lima Barreto appearances invariably deceive. Scholars are charlatans and the guardians of public morality are immoral.

Veio do Norte, logo com a carta de bacharel, com uma solene pasta de couro da Rússia, fêcho e monograma de prata, chapéu-de-sol, e bengala de castão de ouro, enfim, com todos os apetrechos de um grande advogado e de um sábio jurisconsulto. 60

Naturally da Silva only associates himself with the elite circles in law, business and journalism. Just as in the case of the noted physician of "A doença do Antunes," da Silva's reputation as an able legal scholar was a fabrication perpetrated by important journalist friends. In a similar fashion, O Globo's Loberant made and broke careers. At first glance the facility with which da Silva is accepted might seem strange. It is here precisely that Lima Barreto extends his indictment of society beyond the figure of the pettifogger to that of upper society in general. Praxedes is accepted by the elite since they are no less immoral than he.

Aparecia sempre em roda de advogados, mais ou menos célebres, cheio de morgue, tomando refrescos, chopes, mas pouco se demorando nos botequins e confeitarias. Parecia escolher com grande escrúpulo as suas relações. Nunca se o viu com qualquer tipo aboemiado ou mal vestido. Todos os seus companheiros eram sempre gente limpa e do vestuário tratado. ("Foi buscar lá," 223)

Dr. da Silva could easily feel comfortable with the traditions of the law school of the University of Java, the Escola dos Cortadores. His most famous article, "Indenizações por prejuízos resultantes de acidentes na navegação

aérea" was a supreme blend of innocuous pedantry and blatant plagiarism. Over two thirds of his foolish study was shamelessly pirated from other more scholarly sources. His "scholarship" merely served to hide his intellectual sterility, which is no small accomplishment. Influential journalist connections in the Jornal do Comércio would assure publication of da Silva's flowing verbiage.

When plagiarism is not sufficient, empty rhetoric covers for the lack of originality of thought. Similarly, in the bombastic tradition of "Uma academia da roça" words are never used for communication. The criticism was plainly directed at Rui Barbosa's pompous legal rhetoric riddled with literary allusions.

Eloquente a seu modo, com voz cantante, embora um tanto nasalada, senhor de imagens suas e sobretudo, de alheias, tendo armazenado uma porção de pensamentos e opiniões de sábios e filósofos de tôdas as classes, Praxedes conseguia mascar a miséria da sua inteligência... ("Foi buscar lá," 225)

The second factor aiding in da Silva's initial deceit was the reverence in which the bacharel caste was held in the Old Republic. For the narrator of "Haraskashy e as escolas de Java," the university graduate was a true Brahmin. For the simple folk of "A nova Califórnia" the lofty title doutor virtually guaranteed Flamel's moral worth. For such scholars as E. Bradford Burns⁶¹ or José Antônio Tobias, Lima Barreto did not exaggerate the importance of a degree in republican society.⁶²

Em seguida, pelos tempos do Brasil-Reino, isto é, de 1800 em diante, com a criação das primeiras

faculdades de Direito no Brasil, já vinha em plena ascensão o título de "doutor," qualificativo do licenciado pela faculdade de Direito. E a história social do Brasil, mesmo ainda a de hoje em dia pelo interior, está repleta de fatos chistosos a mostrarem o ponto de prestígio e de endeusamento conferido pelo cobiçado título de "doutor." Por causa especialmente da decadência de certos membros do clero, já se encontrava em franco declínio o mito do padre, em contraposição, devido a ausência de Faculdades e em virtude da necessidade de políticos e dirigentes, ia tomando corpo o novo sonho e o novo amor de toda mãe brasileira: o mito do "doutor." E sonho, não só de ver o filho doutor, mas também de ter a filha casada com "doutor."

For da Silva himself, and for the society of the Rua do Ouvidor his degree was not unlike a medieval coat of arms. It is his key to success at the expense of others.

Para êstes, ter um pergaminho, como êles pretensiosamente chamam o diploma, é ficar acima e diferente dos que não o tem, ganhar uma natureza especial e superior aos demais, transformar-se até de alma. ("Foi buscar lá," 225)

D. The Bureaucrat

For the unscrupulous graduate of a law school and for the impoverished intellectual the growing bureaucracy of the Old Republic offered an opportunity for employment. "Três gênios de secretária," "Carta de um defunto rico," "Milagre de Natal," and "Como 'o homem' chegou" relate only in part to the theme of intellectual life. Rather, all four concentrate on the workings of the bureaucracy which has served traditionally in Brazil as a haven for impoverished intellectuals.

"Três gênios de secretaria" contains material which deals thematically with the deadening effects of the bureaucracy on sensitive intellectuals such as Gonzaga. The spiritual stagnation they experience is caused by their

fellow colleagues, who may be divided into two classes. The first category is represented by the official par excellence, Dr. Xisto Rodrigues (Dr. Xisto Beldroegas in the novel). As honest as he is dull, Xisto cannot conceive of the rain not being regulated by law. The second category is represented by Dr. Mata-Borrão. Also dull-witted, the pedantic doctor is the Numa Pompílio de Castro of the clerks. Unscrupulous, Mata-Borrão is Lima Barreto's traditional bacharel out to conquer the official world at all costs. Dr. Mata-Borrão's highest ambition is to marry well.

"Milagre do Natal" expands on the characterization of the academic rogue in the bureaucracy. The treacherous Amerindian Guairicuru, with a dubious law degree from Goiás, is out to conquer the federal capital. His victim is Simplício, a quiet intellectualized colleague in the bureau of Feliciano Campossolo Nune. Guairicuru openly plagiarizes Simplício's legal wisdom in an attempt to publish an absurdly obscure and pedantic legal treatise. Although he fails to win the hand of the boss' daughter, the implication is clear that successful bureaucrats prosper at the expense of quieter, more intellectually honest colleagues.

"Carta de um defunto rico" resembles Machado de Assis' Brás Cubas in technique. The posthumous narration relates in retrospect the wisdom of a bureaucrat, José Boaventura da Silva, who has finally found spiritual fulfillment in the Cemitério São João Batista. There he is finally free from the banal bureaucratic concerns of a Dr.

Xisto Belgroegas who is interested in determining the exact number of arrows in St. Sebastian's body.

"Como 'o homem' chegou," based on the alcoholic author's humiliating experience of being transported ignominiously in a padded wagon to the mental hospital, is more clearly autobiographical than usual. In the short story, the good-natured but slightly demented astronomer is declared insane by the jealous pseudo-intellectuals of Manaus. Once his case is handed over to the obtuse police red-tapist Cunsono, the scholar's fate is sealed. Cunsono dispatches an armored car to Manaus to bring "the man" to Rio de Janeiro; at first he contemplated dispatching the battleship Minas Gerais as transportation since Cunsono considers all intellectuals to be dangerous. Naturally the unlucky astronomer arrives dead, killed less by police sadism than by official stupidity.

E. The Patron of the Arts

"Um músico extraordinário" and "Lourenço, o magnífico" are two tales among the few which Lima Barreto dedicated to satirizing the intellectual mediocrity of the upper class. As such they depart from his portrait of the unscrupulous middle class arrivistas. Both, however, do shed some light on Lima Barreto's vision of the Brazilian educated man. For the more affluent, money replaces the degree for money can buy "culture." Surprisingly money replaces the need for cunning and so the well-to-do are por-

trayed as childishly naive and foolish.

Ezequiel, the protagonist of "Um músico extraordinário" inherits a considerable sum which allows him the luxury of a life of study and travel. More immature than pretentious, he leads successively the life of a law student, an artist, a dramatist, a literary editor and finally that of a reporter. Totally without creativity, Ezequiel's latest whim, after numerous failures, is to become an accomplished musician. For the mediocre but wealthy dilettante, failure is always the fault of others. Money will eventually buy critical acclaim.

"Lourenço, o magnífico" is one of Lima Barreto's few pacifist short stories despite his horror of World War I's senseless carnage. Lima Barreto saw the war in somewhat Marxist terms as a capitalist conflict in which the poor should have had no part. Despite its critical focus on capitalism, "Lourenço, o magnífico" offers some insight into Lima Barreto's view of modern capitalism's relationship to the "arts".

The highbrow protagonist Lourenço Caruru, entrepreneur, enriched himself during the devastating war by the sweat of suffering factory workers. By 1918 he is a wealthy man, anxious to import culture by patronizing the arts. Although adept at business, Lourenço so lacks the most basic artistic sensitivity that he foolishly patronizes the latest foreign "artist" praised by the leading critics. After spending a thousand contos for the complete works of the Egyptian painter Sâde Ben Álfari, he discovers he has merely pur-

chased several dull paintings of the same pyramid but at different angles. Like Ezequiel, Lourenço is totally without culture, but his vast fortune unjustly assures his critical position as a patron of the arts.

Lourenço patronizes Egyptian "artists." Ezequiel spends years in Europe studying the fine arts. Both are victims of what José Antônio Tobias refers to as the myth of European superiority.⁶⁴

"Miss Edith e seu tio" is a loose, rambling tale which satirizes diverse aspects of Brazilian political, social and intellectual life. At one point, however, it touches on this chic pre-modernist phobia of things Brazilian. Basically this bias caused Brazilian anglophiles and franco-philes to accept uncritically all European thought such as Comte's positivism and Gobineau's racism even when such thought ran counter to the national reality. One is reminded of the pomp and ceremony which attended the arrival in Rio de Janeiro of the social activist Anatole France, whom Lima admired, and the silence which greeted Lima Barreto's Recordações do escrivão Isaiás Caminha.

Mme. Barbosa, the owner of the humble boarding house Boa Vista receives two English visitors, a modest young English maiden and her distinguished-looking uncle. For Angélica, the black maid, this pale Englishwoman is the same beautiful Caucasian Virgin to whom she prays in church. For Dr. Benavente, the positivist and social Darwinist, the virtue of the English couple symbolizes the noble political

and economic policies of the British Empire. When Angélica discovers that the hypocritical and licentious couple are really lovers, Dr. Benavente's praise is revealed as senseless.

F. Conclusion

Lima Barreto's portrayal of Brazilian intellectual life is exceedingly grim. Surprisingly, he dedicates comparatively few short stories to delineating the profile of the intellectualized protagonist. For Lima Barreto the psychology of this protagonist may take on two distinct forms. The first is that of a contemplative in the spirit of the melancholic Gonzaga de Sá. This type possesses the intellectual vigor needed to become aware of society's injustices but lacks the strength to combat these same injustices. He generally leads an obscure life and is tempted by thoughts of suicide. The second is that of a man of action. He dedicates himself to quixotic attacks on social problems, but in general lacks the mental acuteness of the first type. Without such an ability his actions tend to be ineffective. Sadly, in no instance does Lima Barreto present an intellectualized protagonist who is both both lucidly cognizant of society's ills and able to take action. Perhaps Lima believed this type of intellectual to be nonexistent in a neo-colonial society.⁶⁵ Certainly among the Brazilian intelligentsia of the Old Republic, this model intellectual was not to be found.

Perhaps Lima's sense of the omnipresence of pseudo-scholarship inspired him to pen numerous hilarious caricatures of the intellectuals of his day. There can be no doubt that Lima Barreto's resentment at his failure in the Escola Politécnica, his rejection at the doors of the Academia Brasileira de Letras and the general hostility with which his works were received motivated in part his vitriolic attacks against the intellectual mandarins. Yet neither can there be doubt that, behind the caricature of a professor of Javanese, Lima Barreto revealed painful truths invariably hidden by writers who were more sympathetic to the Republic.

In Lima Barreto's time the Republic was young. The nascent urban bourgeoisie, previously hindered by Dom Pedro II's economic policies, was anxious to occupy the sudden vacuum created by an aristocracy and a clergy in disfavor. A degree in law or engineering was seen often not as an intellectual accomplishment but as the golden key to a lucrative career in the capital. Perhaps the studious author was too naive in viewing the degree in purely intellectual terms without reference to its utilitarian value. He then invariably attributed the vices of greed and pretension to the graduates of the law and medical schools. Their successes were always the result of elaborate swindles or hoaxes perpetrated by the unscrupulous pseudo-scholar, the yagarista, on the more innocent. Lima Barreto's bacharel camouflaged his enormous ignorance of intellectual

matters behind a smoke screen of pompous rhetoric, arcane vocabulary, and convoluted and involuted syntax. Plagiarism replaced research as a tool used by indolent "scholars" adverse to reading the numerous dusty volumes left unread in their beautiful libraries.

1. Robert D. Herron uses the term "intellectualized protagonist" in his "The Individual, Society and Nature in the Novels of Lima Barreto," p. 673.
2. Ibid., pp. 673-674.
3. Lima Barreto was fascinated by suicide. Lima Barreto, Marginália, p. 42.
4. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 162.
5. Lima Barreto, "Porque não se matava," Marginália, p. 275. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
6. Raymond Sayers. The Negro in Brazilian Literature. (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1956), pp. 202-204.
7. Herron, "Isaias Caminha," pp. 32-34.
8. Martins, "Lima Barreto," p. 118.
9. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 136.
10. Barbosa, p. 88.
11. Herron, "Isaias Caminha," pp. 36-38.
12. Barbosa, p. 117.
13. José Maria Bello. A History of Modern Brazil. trans. James L. Taylor (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 177.
14. Ibid., pp. 180-183.
15. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, pp. 185-186.
16. Lima Barreto, Marginália, p. 87.
17. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, p. 124.
18. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp. 673-674.
19. Lima Barreto, "Ele e suas idéias," Marginália, p. 281. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
20. Lima Barreto, Feiras e mafuás, p. 209.

21. Lima Barreto, "Cló," Histórias e sonhos, pp. 79-80.
(Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
22. Rabassa, p. 235.
23. Lima Barreto, "Cló," Histórias e sonhos, pp. 79-81.
(Full reference necessitated by position of quotation in text.)
24. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 41.
25. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, p. 115.
26. Falcão, pp. 6-7.
27. Lima Barreto, Feiras e mafuás, p. 113.
28. Lima Barreto, "A doença do Antunes," Marginália, p. 269. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
29. Lima Barreto, "Harakashy e as escolas de Java," Histórias e sonhos, p. 54. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
30. José Honório Rodrigues identifies an aversion to manual labor as a Brazilian characteristic in his The Brazilians: Their Character and Aspirations. trans. Ralph Edward Dimmick (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), p. 51.
31. José Honório Rodrigues identifies an exaggerated faith in rhetoric as a Brazilian characteristic. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
32. José Antônio Tobias notes the same prejudice in Brazilian society in his O ensino da filosofia nas universidades brasileiras. (Washington, D.C.: União Pan-Americana, 1968), pp. 80-81.
33. Tobias identifies a love of foreign scholarship as a characteristic of Brazilian intellectual life. Ibid., p. 79.
34. Lima Barreto, "Agaricus auditae," Histórias e sonhos, p. 105. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
35. D.P. Gallagher. Modern Latin American Literature.

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 181-185.

36. Antônio Houaiss. "Prefácio," Vida urbana. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), pp. 9-35.
37. Barbosa, "Notas ao texto," Histórias e sonhos, p. 292.
38. Lima Barreto, Feiras e mafuás, pp. 125-126.
39. Lima Barreto, "A biblioteca," Histórias e sonhos, p. 148. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
40. Lima Barreto, Marginália, pp. 79-80.
41. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, pp. 40-41.
42. Lima Barreto, "A nova Califórnia," Clara dos Anjos, p. 292. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
43. Houaiss, pp. 9-35.
44. Cavalcânti Proença, pp. 9-44.
45. E. M. Forster. Aspects of the Novel. (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1955), pp. 65-82.
46. Barbosa, p. 198.
47. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, pp. 199-218.
48. Barbosa, p. 198.
49. João Ribeiro. "Prefácio," Numa e a ninfa. (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), pp. 10-12.
50. Lima Barreto, "O homem que sabia javanês," Clara dos Anjos, p. 243. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
51. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, p. 179.
52. Afrânio Coutinho. "Definição e caracteres da literatura brasileira" in A literatura no Brasil. ed. Afrânio Coutinho (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Sulamericana, 1971), I, pp. 23-24.
53. Tobias, p. 80.

54. Lima Barreto, "Uma academia da roça," Histórias e sonhos, p. 218. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
55. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, pp. 48-49.
56. Barbosa, p. 168.
57. Lima Barreto, "O jornalista," Gonzaga de Sá, p. 232. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
58. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 78.
59. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, pp. 281-282.
60. Lima Barreto, "Foi buscar lá," Gonzaga de Sá, p. 223. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
61. Burns, p. 205.
62. Tobias, p. 80.
63. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
64. Ibid., p. 79.
65. Carlos Nelson Coutinho. "O significado de Lima Barreto na literatura brasileira," Realismo e anti-realismo na literatura brasileira. ed. Carlos Nelson Coutinho, Luiz Sérgio N. Henriques, Leandro Konder, Gilvan Ribeiro, José Paulo Neto. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1974), pp. 32-35.

CHAPTER IV

A. The Politicians of the Old Republic in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto

The Contos argelinos, a series of loosely inter related political short stories, inspired in Swift and Voltaire, appeared, for the most part, in 1915 in the journal Careta.¹ Under the guise of a report on Algerian political life, Lima Barreto cruelly and at times heavily-handedly lampooned President Hermes da Fonseca whom he unmercifully characterized as dull-witted, treacherous and violent. Later, in 1922, Lima Barreto again availed himself of the Algerian format in order to lambast President Epitácio Pessoa and his Minister of War, João Pandiá Calógeras.

The principal historical focus of the original Contos argelinos is the salvação, a term which refers to the violent military coups d'état directed by Hermes' Minister of War against the conservative rural oligarchies. To a somewhat lesser extent, the historical frame of reference is the Compact of Taubaté and the domination of Brazilian economic and political life by the coffee-rich state of São Paulo.

In his later short stories, Lima Barreto focused his attention on the carioca phenomenon known popularly as the bota-abaixo, a term which refers historically to the vigorous program of urban renewal and modernization undertaken by the Old Republic.² Lima Barreto also continued to

ridicule the military, an institution for which he never felt affection despite his many years at the Ministry of War.

In both instances Lima Barreto bitterly attacked the Old Republic as the most immoral of political institutions. At times we sadly sense that Lima Barreto's characteristic humor is missing in his treatment of a regime whose democratic façade irritated him so deeply. In contrast, Lima Barreto's naive views on the Monarchy were overly favorable.

Lima Barreto's political short stories which do not appear in the Contos argelinos complement the latter. "Eficiência militar" merely translates into Oriental terms Lima Barreto's contempt for João Pandiá Calógeras ("Conservou o fêz"). "O falso Dom Henrique V" offers the reader a highly biased account of the history of the Old Republic. "O caçador doméstico" illustrates Lima Barreto's original theory that the slave owners dominated the Old Republic. "O congresso pamplanetário" warns Brazilians of the dangers of American imperialism. "O meu carnaval," "A sombra do Romariz," and "O único assassinato de Cazuza" analyze the Old Republic's penchant for fortuitous violence. "O feiticeiro e o deputado," "Um que vendeu a sua alma," "Uma noite no Lírico," "A indústria da caridade," and "Fim de um sonho" are almost anecdotal in content. Yet, considered as a whole, these last stories indict the total fabric of bourgeois society.

B. History of the Old Republic

The declaration of manumission by the Princess Isabel in the year 1888 was the beginning of the end for Brazil's unique monarchical government. Despite the progressive growth of urban centers with their nascent industrialization supported by massive coffee revenues, the economic support of the monarchy's political system was dependent on the profits produced by the slave labor owned by the rural sugar aristocracies. Yet monarchical society was an anachronism in the Americas. It was almost medieval in its patriarchal structure in which the fortunate few lived regally off the harsh labors of the masses of black slaves. The respected figure of Dom Pedro II for years was able to forestall republicanism, but the internal decay of the system guaranteed at best the end of the system with the revered king's passing. When public sentiment finally forced abolition, without compensation, the angered landed aristocracy withdrew its support of the Crown.

The Catholic Church whose hierarchy was composed of sons of the aristocracy upheld its traditional sanction of the Empire. Slightly agnostic, the Emperor lost this tenuous support in an ill-timed position taken against Rome's stand on Freemasonry. If the Church did not become openly indifferent to the Monarchy, it at least did not become openly Republican.

A pacifist by nature, Dom Pedro II showed little concern for Brazil's primitive military organization until

the Paraguayan War forced an enormous redistribution of the Empire's limited finances in favor of the military. After the war, the army, covered with glory, enlarged by the costly conflict and adored as heroic by the popular press, came to resent Dom Pedro's refusal to recognize its attempts at a political role equal to its new power. As representatives of the middle stratum of the urban bourgeoisie in a society still controlled by an archaic landed aristocracy, the military were defensively proud of their precarious new social status. They, more than any other class, identified republicanism with progress and saw the Crown as the very personification of Brazil's underdevelopment.³

Actually all these forces were present, to a greater or lesser degree, before November 15, 1889. Fearful of repeating the chaotic example of their neighboring Hispanic republics torn by civil war and grateful for the political tranquility afforded by the monarchy's artificial system of alternating political cabinets between conservatives and liberals, Brazilian politicians hesitated to destroy the system. Rather than let power pass to the unpopular foreign born Conde d'Eu, it was generally assumed that the monarchy would die peacefully with the aging and sickly Emperor.

Perhaps only Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, an admired military hero and veteran of the horrid swamps of Paraguay, commanded the necessary respect to precipitate a political change, a step taken painfully by the cautious Marshal only after being certain, late on the fateful day of November 15,

that Dom Pedro's Viscount of Ouro Preto, Lima Barreto's godfather, was forming a new cabinet hostile to the military.

Rather than being a popular movement, the Republic began as a coup d'état initiated by the military in order to protect essentially military interests. As opposed to the turbulent declaration of 1888, which gave the federal capital a wildly festive air, the populace remained quietly indifferent to the events in the Campo de Sant'Ana. Writing in Bagatelas Lima Barreto was most revealing on this point: "Da tal história da proclamação da República, só me lembro que as patrulhas andavam nas ruas, armadas de carabinas e meu pai foi, alguns dias depois, demitido do lugar que ⁴ tinha."

The political change trailed the already obvious shift in economic power from the sugar plantations of the Northern states of Bahia and Pernambuco to the coffee and cattle states of the south.⁵ The spectacle of the shift in political power from the hands of the privileged few in the North to the hands of the privileged few in the South could hardly be expected to inspire mass interest. Such indifference could be in part due to the political alienation of the illiterate masses, disenfranchised by the Crown's unquestioned support of the rural elite. In the scramble for monetary gain that took place after the declaration of the Republic, the masses remained as forgotten as under the Monarchy. At times Lima Barreto considered revolution to be the only course of action after the Republic's betrayal of

popular interests: "A nossa República se transformou no domínio de um feroz sindicato de argentários cúpidos, com os quais só se pode lutar com armas na mão."⁶

During the Monarchy, the law or medical graduate, son of the coronel belonged to the small urban bourgeoisie as the representative of the territorial interests of the sugar aristocracy. With the fall of the monarchy the newer members of a now truly urban middle class battled for the coveted degree which would admit them to the privileged class.⁷ These urban "intellectuals", by way of the military academies where, through the Paraguayan War, members of the petite bourgeoisie were able to rise to power, yearned for a highly organized, progressive nation where an incipient industrialization in the South might catapult them into the newly opening positions of power. Greedy, they introduced a note of ruthlessness hitherto absent in Brazilian political life: "Uma rematada tolice que foi a tal República. No fundo, o que se deu em 15 de novembro foi a queda da parte liberal e a subida do conservador, sobretudo da parte mais retrógrada dêle, os escravocratas, de quatro costados."⁸

The urban elite desired a simple, direct philosophy of action which could effect the transformation of the country while cancelling dramatically the cumulative effects of the anti-industrial bias of the Monarchy. Positivism appealed to these young idealistic minds who, as engineering students in the military academies where Benjamin Constant de Botelho preached positivist doctrine, lacked a formal

training in philosophy and in the humanities. Without such a mental discipline, their youthful zeal left them blind to the doctrine's specious assumptions. Even the young Lima Barreto was not immune from the charms of Comte's doctrines.

In their love of philosophy and desire for financial success, the early republicans ignored vast social issues. Although slave labor had been replaced by remunerated labor, the Republic did not attempt, on the whole, to modify the abominable standard of living for the urban poor. Rampant inflation, caused by the Encilhamento, a product of Rui Barbosa's naively liberal economic policies, severely menaced the lower middle class with poverty and the poor with starvation. Unable to voice their discontentment at the polls because of literacy requirements, some 95 per cent of the population deliberately was kept from participation in the political process by an alliance between the urban elite and the coffee interests. The new urban middle class, through its representatives in the army and the coffee oligarchy, through its representatives in the state political machines, forcefully resisted all significant social changes, just as the owners of the Monarchy's latifundia had done, despite the growing proletarian consciousness awakened by newly-arrived foreign anarchists.

The new constitution, despite its surface affinities with its North American model, proved to be little more than a document legalizing military control under Marshals Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca and Floriano Peixoto. The former, a good

soldier but limited as a politician, held that Congress should, in a military fashion, follow the wishes of its commander-in-chief. When it did not comply, he had it disbanded after only eight months. In November, 1891, in reaction, the conservative navy, noted for its neo-monarchical position, forced Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca's bitter resignation by revolting against the President under the command of Admiral Custódio de Melo. Thus the Provisional Government of the Republic hardly began auspiciously. For many it might have seemed, in contrast with the quiet of Dom Pedro's last years, that the Republic was not the miracle they had expected. Thirty years later many would agree with Lima Barreto's caustic indictment of the Republic.

Estes trinta anos de República tem mostrado, mais do que o passado regime, além da incapacidade dos dirigentes para guiar a massa da população na direção de um relativo bem-estar, a sua profunda desonestidade, os baixos ideais de sua política que, em presença de propinas e gorjeta, lucros ou quais seja em moeda, não trepidam em lançar na miséria, na mendicância, no alcouce, na taverna, os seus patrícios, mesmo atirá-los a aventura de uma grande guerra, quando o pourboire 9 estrangeiro em geral, era de encher os olhos.

The Vice-President under Deodoro, Floriano Peixoto unconstitutionally became Commander-in-Chief in 1891 without an election. An impassively cold man of lower middle-class background from Alagoas, this taciturn mixed blood or caboclo soon proved himself not to be the puppet ruler Congress had foolishly hoped for.¹⁰ With Floriano's brutal dictatorship Brazil discovered herself not to be immune from the caudillismo which plagued her sister Latin American republics.

As a confidant of the monarchist minister Visconde

Floriano betrayed his superior and thus insured the military victory of the rebel troops on that fateful day in November of 1889. When Floriano realized it was personally more advantageous to side with the Republicans, he simply ignored his pledge of loyalty to Ouro Preto. As Vice-President in Deodoro's provisional government, Floriano in turn betrayed the President's interests in order to become head of the Republic.¹¹ His many dictatorial acts, such as his unilateral dismissal of the state governors caused Brazil a bloody civil war in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and the 1893 naval revolt in Rio de Janeiro by Saldanha da Gama and Custódio de Melo. A similar naval revolt had caused the fall of Deodoro's government, but Floriano, under enormous pressure, proved himself to be the "Iron Marshal".

The state of São Paulo's crucial support of the Republic during the Silveira Martins and Saldanha da Gama's pro-monarchist revolt during the Civil War in the South guaranteed paulista control when civilian rule reappeared¹² as a reaction to the violence of military rule. The election of the civilian paulista Prudente de Morais in 1894 began the new domination by the southern coffee aristocracy of the Federal Government in Rio de Janeiro, a domination so complete that its political ties superseded all preceding agreements.¹³

For some time, São Paulo had been attempting actively to gain political control of the nation in order to obtain favorable economic treatment from the Federal Government.

The Government in 1906 during the administration of Rodrigues Alves, in the Compact of Taubaté, even went so far as to insure coffee production by federal legislation. The government would subsidize coffee during times of crisis and protect local industries supported by the São Paulo oligarchy. In addition, the Republic's dangerous constitutional federalism insured that the rich coffee state could not be forced into subsidizing in turn the decadent Northern sugar aristocracy. Thus the election of Prudente de Morais in 1894 marked another change in power from the urban bourgeoisie, often represented by the military, to the coffee plantations. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the Old Republic was essentially a coffee republic controlled by the São Paulo oligarchy.

During the term of Prudente de Morais (1894-1898) Colonel Silva Tavares finally pacified Rio Grande do Sul in 1895. Possible future clashes with Brazil's neighbors were eliminated by Rio Branco's skillful negotiation with Argentina over Misiones and with France over Guiana's claims to extensive Brazilian territory. Under Prudente de Morais the Republic's concern with coffee and urban interests only aggravated the disharmony between Brazil's surface veneer of Europeanized coastal civilization and its perhaps neo-colonial culture in the backlands where Euclides da Cunha's bedrock of the Brazilian race is concentrated.

Conflict between the cities and the interior could not be avoided in the northern state of Bahia where, in

Canudos, an impoverished makeshift shanty town, the psychotically religious Antônio Conselheiro lead a revolt against the Republic. After an excessive number of spectacular defeats, which humiliated the Army supplied with Krupp cannons, the Minister of War, Marshal Machado Bittencourt, took Canudos in 1897 at a cost of 5,000 men. A fanatic, Marcelino Bispo, assassinated Marshal Bittencourt as he was watching troops return from the Canudos campaign. Taking advantage of the state of siege granted by Congress, President Prudente de Moraes suspended civil liberties and imposed marshal law on the Republic and especially on the city of Rio de Janeiro, where violence had become commonplace. The President closed the opposition press, had the influential politician Pinheiro Machado arrested and exiled the noted journalist Alcindo Guanabara.¹⁴

The forced civil peace imposed on the nation by Prudente de Moraes enabled his successor Campos Sales (1898-1902) to attempt to control the wild inflation of the Encilhamento which was undermining foreign confidence in investment in Republican Brazil. Campos Salles appointed Joaquim Murtinho, an economic darwinist, to redirect the economy. Murtinho increased taxes and levied a strong protective tariff while using revenues to repurchase the excessive amounts of paper money issued previously. His economic plan followed the traditional paulista view of Brazil as an agricultural country whose industrial and urban needs could easily be sacrificed to coffee interests.¹⁵ The Rothschilds were pleased to see their loans repayed at the

the expense of the Brazilian people.

The election of Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906), a paulista, continued coffee's domination of the Executive. Despite the obvious injustice of the agreement, under his administration the Federal Government, in the Compact of Taubaté, insured the stability of coffee prices even in years of over-production.

A poorly planned rambling colonial town of narrow streets, poor sanitation and constant plagues, Rio de Janeiro, the federal capital, was poorly suited to represent the nation in the twentieth century. Rodrigues Alves' first task was to eradicate disease. As Minister of the Interior, J. J. Seabra placed Dr. Osvaldo Cruz in charge of a vigorous campaign against yellow fever. Popular sentiment, however, ran against the urban reformation. Senator Lauro Sodré led the revolt against the vaccination which broke out into street violence in 1904, supported the revolt of the military academy of the Praia Vermelha under General Silvestre Travassos, but Rodrigues Alves was able to repress it.¹⁷

Lauro Muller transformed the port of Rio de Janeiro, thus opening it up for full scale industrial use, while the city's dynamic mayor Pereira Passos retained the engineer Paulo de Frontin with the purpose of transforming the city into an international capital of great beauty. Hills or morros such as the Morro do Castelo were destroyed, large numbers of colonial buildings or sobrados were demolished and a huge Parisian central avenue (Avenida Central, now Avenida

Rio Branco) was cut through the city. Known popularly as the bota-abaixo the reforms threatned vaguely the stable tranquil life of the urban dweller unaccustomed to the new lively pace of the city. For Lima Barreto the destruction of the colonial city was a constant source of sorrow.

Afonso Pena's election (1906-1909) brought a dynamic mineiro into office, who, as state governor of Minas Gerais, had transferred the capital from colonial Ouro Prêto to the newly created Belo Horizonte. Now regarded as a demi-god, Rio Branco continued as Foreign Minister, Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, a nephew of Deodoro became War Minister and Davi Campista became the Minister of Finance. Under Campista's direction the wildy inflated currency was stabilized, in a currency reform suggested by the needs of the Compact of Taubaté. Pena's economic policies continued industrial expansion, which further increased the growth of the urban middle class.¹⁸

When President Pena died suddenly in office in June of 1909, Nilo Peçanha (1909-1910), a former florianista and a Jacobin, came to office.¹⁹ A man of little intellectual preparation, Nilo Peçanha lacked the skill to prevent a conflict between the civilian presidential candidate, Rui Barbosa, and the military candidate, Hermes da Fonseca.²⁰

In addition to opposing a military candidate, Rui had the onus of being an intelligent civil servant in the intellectually mediocre world of the bureaucracy.²¹ Representing the state of São Paulo, the wealthiest state in

Brazil, Rui, like most Brazilian intellectuals of the time, totally lacked a comprehension of Brazil's vast social problems. Despite Rui's ties to the coffee oligarchy, Lima Barreto openly supported the civilian candidate as a matter of principle. It is doubtful, however, that his superiors in the War Ministry appreciated the independent attitude of their Negro clerk.

Backed by the powerful politician Pinheiro Machado, Marshal Hermes' followers had easily won the support of the powerful Club Militar and the political machines in the states which had controlled the elections since the Campos Salles administration.²² Where the government did not openly interfere in the voting, the vote was enormously in favor of the civilian Rui. However, the Minas Gerais political machine was able to throw the election in the favor²³ of the military.

The somewhat violent history of the Hermes da Fonseca presidency (1910-1914) inspired Lima Barreto's Contos argelinos. No sooner was Hermes in office than another naval revolt on the battleships Minas Gerais and São Paulo threw the capital into panic. As soon as this revolt was sternly quieted, yet another exploded on the Ilha de Cobras. Repeated violent revolts against the state political machines periodically shook the nation from north to south, culminating in 1915 with the assassination of the powerful political boss Pinheiro Machado during the early days of President Venceslau Brás' administration. In addition to these

political woes, Hermes was unable to save the once prosperous Amazon region from economic disaster when the world demand for Brazilian rubber fell dramatically.

During the term of Venceslau Brás (1914-1918), Brazil, ever loyal to France, its cultural mentor, and to England and the United States, its political and economic mentors, nominally entered World War I on the side of the Allies. Despite some initial financial upsets, Brazil's large reserve of natural resources, safe from German attack, made her a prosperous source of vital war materials and industrial products for a weakened European economy. For Lima Barreto the participation of Brazil in the foreign conflict was an act of pure madness which could only be explained by Brazil's domination by the United States.

During the administration of Epitácio Pessoa (1918-1922) the superficial economic prosperity brought to Brazil by the First World War slowly dissipated. The continued growth of a large disenfranchised urban proletariat during the Old Republic presented an enormous change in the social structure which was disregarded both by the civilian presidents dominated by coffee interests and by the military content with large appropriations in the budget. The War was able to suppress this class for a period of time, but as soon as it ended, long before the tenentes' revolt and the Prestes' column, it was clear through increased social agitation and widespread social discontent that the days of the Republic were numbered. Its birth brought the death of the rural paternalistic sugar aristocracies of the North; its own

death, at the hands of Getúlio Vargas, marked the passing of²⁴
the old oligarchies made obsolete by industrialization.

When President Pessoa vetoed the military pay increase and appointed civilians, João Pandiá Calógeras and Raul Soares to the Ministries of War and of the Navy, the unwritten alliance between the military and the coffee interests began to crumble, as Hermes da Fonseca began to move against the President through the Club Militar.

In 1921, with coffee prices and exports falling, the coffee states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais agreed to support Artur da Silva Bernardes, governor of Minas Gerais, in his bid for the presidency. Despite efforts to the contrary, the military, under Hermes da Fonseca, began to regard the Old Republic with the same hostility with which Deodoro da Fonseca had regarded the Monarchy.

C. Contos argelinos

"Sua alteza imperial Jan-Ghothe" is a very personal and bitter attack on the Old Republic in general and on President Hermes da Fonseca in particular. In a mere three pages, the author informs the reader in no uncertain terms that Hermes is totally without virtue. He is dull-witted, greedy, treacherous and oppressive. His many vices are those of the Republic. His fanciful downfall at the hands of the²⁵ masses echoes Lima Barreto's call for a social revolution.

Abu-Al-Dhudut, king of Al-Patak through treachery, is incredibly criminal. Despite his incompetence, he is maintained in power by an alliance with an equally corrupt

military. Constantly with his harem, he appoints only members of his own family to important government agencies. His only public work was the massive construction of housing for workers. This supposedly beneficial project so depleted the treasury that heavy taxes had to be imposed on the already impoverished workers. The people, no longer able to endure their poverty, attacked the palace in desperation. The cowardly Dhudut, in a panic, fled with his faithful eunuch Broderodes; but first he stopped at the vault in order to steal the enormous wealth illegally accumulated during his reign. However, to his consternation, not even one diamond was left. Jan-Ghothe, Dhudut's brother, had already escaped with the nation's wealth.

"Sua alteza imperial Jan-Ghothe" has some historical basis in fact. However, the satirical distortions are truly enormous. Hermes da Fonseca, the military candidate against the civilian Rui Barbosa, was indeed "elected" through the combined influence of two antagonistic factions, the pro-monarchist state oligarchies represented by the noted politician Pinheiro Machado, and the urban middle class represented by the military. This fragile alliance was doomed at birth; it very quickly dissolved into violence between the two factions. Hermes' indecision certainly must have made him appear dull-witted to the mass of Brazilians.

Sabia que era impopular, que o povo ridicularizava com canções satíricas a sua pessoa desgraciada e proclamava também os seus méritos intelectuais com 26 anedotas hilariantes.

A nepotist, Hermes appointed his brother, Fonseca

Hermes, to the position of leader of the Senate. Hermes' son became a member of the Cabinet allied with the Minister of War, General Dantas Barreto.

As president Hermes did, indeed, accumulate an enormous deficit relieved only by equally enormous loans. However, no conclusive evidence exists to indicate that the deficit was not principally a result of the trade imbalance. Certainly neither Hermes nor his brothers emptied the federal treasury. A military man and not a politician, most probably Hermes da Fonseca, like Deodoro da Fonseca, owed his fiscal misfortune to administrative and political naiveté.

Although he was quite unpopular, no revolt deposed him. Power passed tranquilly to the civilian vice-president, Venceslau Brás. The government of Hermes da Fonseca was no model of a political utopia, yet "A sua alteza imperial Jan-Ghothe" today appears to be too violent a satire for a mediocre, but not satanic, administration.

"El-kazenadji" continues the exceedingly caustic portrait of the presidency of Marshal Hermes da Fonseca. For the narrator it is a government characterized by extraordinary moral corruption. These wise laws of the sacred Koran rule Al-Patak in theory only. They are as effective as the Republic's Anglo-Saxon Constitution. To this note of immorality, Lima adds a new ingredient, violence. Despite Brazil's pride in its more "tranquil" history when compared with Mexico or Venezuela, the era of Hermes da Fonseca was not without some stormy events. Al-Patak suffered some of

its most violent moments under the dull-witted Abu-Al-Dhudut.

Abu-Al-Dhudut foolishly appointed Cide Ercu Ben-Lanod kazenadji or Minister of the Interior for Al-Patak. A littérateur and a francophile, Ercu Ben-Lanod had even adopted the foreign vice of alcohol despite the Koran's stern prohibition. This irreligious alcoholic was accustomed to pass his time in sin with French whores drinking champagne with the kaia or police chief Pessh Ben-Hoa. One night the intemperate politico insulted the military police. Furious, the kaia surrounded the royal palace in an idle display of his martial prowess. In the senseless battle that ensued, two thousand soldiers died.

"El-kazenadji", as in the case of the previous tale, takes considerable liberty with historical fact. Hermes da Fonseca's administration endured only two minor revolts against it, namely the naval mutinies of the common sailors aboard the Minas Gerais and the São Paulo in Rio de Janeiro harbor. Such minor revolts hardly fit the above plot, nor do they compare with the revolt of Silveira Martins and Custódio de Melo in Rio Grande do Sul during the administration of Floriano Peixoto.

Neither can one easily identify the politicians satirized. Hermes' Minister of the Interior was Rivadávia Correia and his Minister of the Treasury was Francisco Sales. Clearly neither of the two names corresponds to the cryptonym Ercu Ben-Lanod or Herculano. Neither José Maria Bello's standard political history of the Republic nor Afrânio

Coutinho's literary history of Brazil mentions a politician and homme de plume named Herculano. Most probably the lampoon was directed at a minor official, now long forgotten, whose excesses seemed to symbolize for Lima Barreto the Republic's love of corruption and violence.

Deixavam-se arrastar pelo vício de beber licores es-
pirituosos, coisa que mais depressa faz com que entre-
guemos as nossas almas aos espíritos malfazejos, e
cercavam-se de mulheres infiéis, mediante alguns ce-
quins de ouro, com as quais tinham propósitos mais 27
próprios de se os ter com as verdadeiras espôsas.

Despite the lack of fidelity to historical facts, the tale faithfully represents violence as one of the major foibles of Hermes' administration. Hermes' presidency may be remembered today chiefly for the violent salvações or military coups d'état directed against the state oligarchies. Whereas the Minister of War, General Dantas Barreto, did not quell a palace revolt, he was involved in a vigorous military campaign against the governor of Pernambuco, Estácio Coimbra. Similarly Coronel Francisco Rebelo battled Coronel Bezerril Fontenello in Ceará, while General Mina Barreto sought to 28
depose Pinheiro Machado in Rio Grande do Sul.

"O juramento," an extremely brief tale, again maligns the moral character of Hermes da Fonseca. Abu-Al-Dhudut never hesitates to betray old friendships, when, even at the risk of civil war, his interests can be promoted. However, his conflicting portrait as both astute in "O juramento" and as dull-witted in "Sua alteza imperial Jan-Ghothe" weakens Lima's caricature.

Abu-Al-Dhudut was crowned king partially through the

efforts of Ross-Al-Xeiiroso, the patriarch of the state of Al-Sugar. Although Ross-Al-Xeiiroso is emir in a distant state, he prefers to spend his time with his harem in the capital. This dangerous ignorance of local affairs allows Abu-Al-Dhudut's aghá or Minister of War to invade Al-Sugar. Dhudut repeatedly vows loyalty to his old friend and supporter, even while his aghá is being proclaimed the new emir.

"O juramento" follows historical fact rather closely. Ross-Al-Xeiiroso, emir of Al-Sugar is Rosa e Silva of Pernambuco, the sugar state. Although Estácio Coimbra was the governor of Pernambuco, the Rosa e Silva oligarchy firmly controlled the state's politics. Rosa e Silva did, indeed, support Hermes' candidacy and was inclined to spend his time enjoying the capital's amusements. The largely middle class military establishment, who allied themselves temporarily with Pinheiro Machado's conservative state oligarchies, gradually sought to oust the feudal aristocrats. With neither the indecisive Hermes' approval nor his disapproval, Hermes' War Minister, General Dantas Barreto, launched the first salvação, or a military usurpation of a state government. Despite the violence the coup's success spurred additional military actions which only served to weaken support for a President unable to insure the peace.

Bello, however, portrays Hermes as indecisive rather than as treacherous, torn between his loyalty to Pinheiro Machado and his obligations to the military.²⁹ Lima's previous portrayal of Hermes as unintelligent would also seem to

militate against the crediblity of his portrait of Hermes as a cunning Machiavellian politician. Nor would Lima's satire explain why Dhudut or Hermes would wish to usurp a throne already loyal to his interests. Rather than Machiavellian, such actions would be at best rash and never the mark of a clever and shrewd politician.

"A firmeza de Al-Bandeirah" relates satirically the machinations of the coffee oligarchy which so dominated the politics of the Old Republic that E. Bradford Burns called it the era of paulista control.³⁰ Al-Bandeirah, unlike Dhudut's warlike aghá, is a modern capitalist state anxious to exploit Al-Patak. Naturally it is desirable to avoid the usurpation that befell the state of Al-Sugar.

Al-Bandeirah alone, due to its enormous wealth of figs and to its historical position in the independence movement, has not only avoided military interference, but has also obtained favorable treatment from Al-Patak's kings. Yet Dhudut, suspicious of Al-Bandeirah's loyalty, prepared for an invasion. The merchants of Al-Bandeirah, as wise capitalists and not foolish warriors, quickly bribed Dhudut's brother.

The maximalist Lima Barreto was never sympathetic to the interests of the coffee investors. In Os Bruzundangas, Lima Barreto makes several pointed references to São Paulo and the Compact of Taubaté.

O café, ou antes a cultura do café é a base da oligarquia política que domina a nação. A sua árvore é cultivada em grandes latifúndios pertencentes a essa gente que, em geral, mal os conhece, deixando-o entre-

gues a administradores, senhores, nessas vastas terras, 31
de baraco e cutelo, distribuindo soberanamente justiça.

The tale is thinly disguised history. Al-Bandeirah, cradle of Al-Patak's independence and wealthy producer of figs, can only be the bandeirante and coffee state of São Paulo. São Paulo did, indeed, oppose Hermes da Fonseca's candidacy by supporting Rui Barbosa's civilianista campaign, perhaps because they doubted his loyalty to the Compact of Taubaté, signed by the paulista Rodrigues Alves. Such is Lima's interpretation.

Sob o disfarce de auxiliar a lavoura dêsse fruto os membros dessas quatro ou cinco famílias conseguiam dos soberanos privilégios e auxílios pecuniários que engrandeciam as suas indústrias, tornavam sem concorrentes os seus produtos e favoreciam grandes lucros nas suas 32 explorações agrícolas.

São Paulo was not a victim of a salvação largely through the efforts of Fonseca Hermes, brother of the President. In Al-Patak, Al-Bandeirah avoided violence through a bribe to Dhudut's brother.

"O desconto" is, in reality, little more than a hasty postscript to "A firmeza de Al-Bandeirah." Once again, in Contos argelinos the very name of Al-Bandeirah becomes synonymous with criminal deceit.

Cidi Cinsin Ben-Nhato is fearful of Al-Patak's discontinuing its financial support for the fig crops. Therefore, the powerful emir travels to Dhudut's royal court to plead poverty and to demand increased financial aid, which he proposes to finance by a nation-wide tax on the poor. Back in the rich state of Al-Bandeirah, Dhudut's dishonest brother is dumbfounded when he discovers that Cinsin Ben-Nhato is more

dishonest than he. Once assured of King Dhudut's good graces, Al-Bandeirah places a ten percent tax on the brother's bribe.

Al-Patak's support of figs is an obvious reference to Taubaté, which only helped to impoverish the sugar states by taxing them to support paulista coffee. Also, during the general recession of Hermes' administration caused by the fall of Brazilian rubber revenues, enormous loans were arranged to support a weakened Treasury.³³

Cinsin Ben-Nhato clearly refers to Senator Cincinato, São Paulo's leading congressman and representative of the coffee oligarchy. While it would seem likely that surreptitious payments guaranteed continued governmental support of São Paulo's favored position, Lima's portrait surely must be largely conjectural. One cannot easily imagine a low level clerk in official disfavor being privy to confidential pork barrel politics.

"A solidariedade de Al-Bandeirah" continues the lampoon both of São Paulo's coffee oligarchy and the military establishment's salvações. This time the author sympathizes with the African state of Hbaya, the current victim of the aghá's usurpation.

While Abu-Al-Dhudut's devious brother is in rich Al-Bandeirah to receive his bribe, the poor Negro state of Hbaya is unable to purchase Dhudut's protection. As in the case of Al-Sugar, it too becomes the object of a particularly violent political conquest. Even its beautiful capital, with its unprotected good-natured civilian population and

precious historical monuments, is subjected to a cruel naval bombardment. Affluent but indifferent, Cinsin Sen-Nhato of Al-Bandeirah quietly refuses to intercede in Hbaya's favor.

Hbaya is Bahia, which was subjected to a particularly violent salvação directed by a native son, J. J. Seabra, the Minister of Transportation under Hermes da Fonseca. In the fighting, the city of Salvador suffered some damage to its historical monuments.

For an admirer of Lenin's revolution, Lima's uncompromising opposition to the salvacionista's destruction of the conservative patriarchal oligarchies is difficult to comprehend beyond a very personal dislike ~~for~~ the Republic under which his monarchist father suffered the loss of his position as typographer: "Infelizmente, devido às facções que dividiam a gloriosa província, a resistência não pode ser eficaz e foi nula em resultados." ³⁴ Since he remained an admirer of Bahia's loyalty to African traditions, ³⁵ his sympathy may in part be explained by a feeling of solidarity with the Negro population.

A população com o seu gênio vivaz, com a sua queda para a eloquência, com sua ligeireza de espírito, muito concorria para essas divisões e ela é de gênio muito oposto a de Al-Bandeirah, cuja gente é tardia, taciturna, e cheia de um ingênuo orgulho que são os primeiros de Al-Patak. ("A solidariedade de Al-Bandeirah," 265)

Yet, while he might naturally sympathize with Bahia's blacks, only an almost irrational hatred of the Republic could explain "A solidariedade de Al-Bandeirah." For those unfamiliar with the period, after reading the work, it would appear that the masses would have done well to resist the

salvação. In reality, their interests were not involved in the struggle between the aristocracy and the middle class. Similarly when Colonel Franco Rebelo attempted to rescue Ceará from Governor Acioli, Floro Bartolomeu, Padre Cícero's astute political advisor, was able to convert Juazeiro into an armed camp of impoverished sertanejos anxious to fight for the oligarchy.³⁶ Surely a maximalist would applaud such a conflict in which one class debilitated itself in the process of destroying the ruling class. Thus, while there is a strong note of truth present in the portrait of senseless violence, Lima's very emotional satire seems to be both too exaggerated and inconsistent with his political beliefs.

"O reconhecimento" mocks the person of Fonseca Hermes, the congressional leader and brother of the president. In addition to the bitter personal attack, Lima Barreto ridicules the Republic's superficial imitation of North American democracy.

The king's brother, as leader of the diva or Congress, refuses to recognize the election of the ulema or judge Sidi Bem-Forte without a payment of 10,000 piasters. The wise but dishonest judge merely reminds the senator of judicial favors rendered in his behalf. Faced with the publication of the judge's incriminating records, the Senator wisely decides to wave the entrance fee.

Ben-Forte corresponds to the name of Penaforte, undoubtedly an obscure senator from the days of Fonseca Hermes.

Fonseca Hermes' dishonesty symbolizes the general political corruption of a Republic content with a superficial imitation of North American democratic policies. The anglophile Rui Barbosa's dream of a popularly elected Congress whose actions would be moderated both by the Constitution and by the interplay of true political parties hardly corresponded to the reality of political life in the Republic. Congress became little more than an arena where powerful politicians, such as Cincinato Braga of São Paulo and Pinheiro Machado of Rio Grande do Sul, legalized the vested interests of the oligarchies of the richer states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul. Popular democracy was unknown.

Não há quem não queira fazer parte d'êle (o Congresso), não só pelos vencimentos que percebem os seus membros, como também pelos presentes que recebem, graças a influência que possuem, podendo obter dos soberanos tudo 37 o que desejam.

Although published in the same year as the previous Contos argelinos, "O anel de Perdicas" does not deal with King Dhudut. This tale criticizes the undemocratic method by which the Republic would choose the president's successor on the basis of the recommendations of the political machines of the three coffee producing states.

King El-Sulida, now very old, decides to give the question of succession to the Congress. Unfortunately each congressman egotistically favors himself for the nomination, and so Congress remains at an impasse. El-Sulida then decides to pass the crown on to his son-in-law, Prince Sancho.

The plot is so scanty and devoid of information that one cannot establish with certainty the identity of El-Sulida. However, since the story was published in Careta, during the administration of Hermes, the most likely probability is that El-Sulida is a variation of Dhudut. At the time of the question of Hermes' successor, Congress was at an impasse. Supporters of Pinheiro Machado initially favored Campos Salles, who soon thereafter was to die rather unexpectedly, while supporters of São Paulo's interests opposed the gaúcho politician's candidate in favor of Rui Barbosa.³⁸ The gaúcho did not receive the nomination; the obscure vice-president Venceslau Brás was endorsed as the compromise candidate.

Historical details aside, "O anel de Perdicas" faithfully captures the spirit of a Congress deaf to public opinion. The Congress' major political party, the Partido Republicano Federal, led by Francisco Glicério, remained little more than a front for the powerful coffee interests.³⁹ Presidential succession was never a democratic process.

Reunida a tal dieta, não chegaram os seus membros a acordo algum. Todos eram candidatos, de modo que ninguém podia escolher o sucessor de Sulida, a não ser que o sucessor fôsse o próprio eleitor, isto é, o desejo de cada um era votar em si mesmo. 40

"Os Kalogheras," published in Careta in 1920, is a continuation of the Contos argelinos. Written during the presidency of Epitácio Pessoa, it continues to satirize the Republic's propensity for needless violence.

During the reign of Basileus Epitaphio a revolt in the state of Bahia necessitated the employment of a family

of mercenaries, the Kalogheras. This cruel family was even known to Homer. Allies of the fierce Turks, they helped to conquer the Byzantine Empire and to sack Athens.

Basileus Epitaphio is Epitácio Pessoa. During his presidency an electoral dispute in Bahia between salvacionistas loyal to J. J. Seabra and allies of Rui Barbosa led to disturbances in the sertão which, like Padre Cícero's hoardes in Fortaleza, threatened the capital. The civilian Minister of War, João Pandiá Calógeras, sent military units to Bahia to defend J.J. Seabra's claims.

Lima, the unknown intellectual of Todos-os-Santos, might have resented the facile success of the historian Calógeras in his bureaucratic career. Such personal resentment might help explain the violence of the attack on the first civilian to represent the Armed Forces in a President's cabinet. The choice of a civilian by Pessoa irritated the military, but should have pleased the author who supported Rui Barbosa's civilista campaign.

Os Kalogheras, não tendo a quem oferecer os suas aptidões bélicas, puseram-se a serviço dos osmanlis, pelo que os sultões respectivos deram-lhe grandes honras e muitos cequins de ouro...uma raça guerreira dessas, em cujo sangue há certamente muitas gôtas do sangue do turco combativo, não podia deixar de revelar no nosso atual Ministro de Guerra que dela descende, uma capacidade extraordinária e uma forte alegria que mal se faz inteirar na tática, e feroz, na estratégia de uma guerra 41 civil.

"Conservou o fêz" chides the military on their love of costly and ostentatious uniforms. Again Calógeras, the Minister of War, is ridiculed as a dandy.

Ben-Zuff Kalogheras, as aghá, decides, on the basis

of his experience as a geologist, to improve military efficiency. He proposes to effect the change by modifying the uniforms. First he experiments with Arab dress replete with scarfs and camels, then he tries cowboy costumes and finally he considers Mexican charro suits. The king, however, views such outlandish attire as disrespectful and orders the Army back to more traditional dress.

The previous attack on Calógeras painted him as a cruel descendant of Turkish mercenaries. Now Lima contradicts himself by chiding him on Calógeras' lack of military experience. Unless, as previously suggested, Lima's objections to the War Minister under whom he worked were personal, similar to his objections to the successful João do Rio, it would be difficult to understand how a civilista could object to a scholar's appointment to the War Ministry.

"Arte de governar" accuses the administration of Epitácio Pessoa of squandering public funds while the people starve. If placed in historical retrospect, one has to wonder to what extent the work's censures are justified.

Perhaps one might expect Lima Barreto to applaud the industrialization with its attendant growth of an urban proletariat. Yet, as Luís Martins noted, Lima's anarchist politics often simply did not match his more conservative emotional attachment to the values of the "subúrbio."⁴²
⁴³ For example, Lima viewed industrialization with alarm,
⁴⁴ and was simply horrified by the remodeling of the city.

Yet if Lima Barreto seemed to miss the significance of industrialization and modernization for Brazil, he quite

perceptively recognized the essentially fraudulent nature of the Republic's democracy.

Vivia êste (o povo) na mais atroz desgraça. Não tinha casas em que morasse e os gêneros de primeira necessidade andavam pela hora da morte. Segundo propalava, êle iria dar remédio a isso e a fartura havia de reinar nos lares pobres. 45

"Boa medida" is, in reality, little more than a continuation of "Arte de governar." Here, though, bureaucratic ostentation reaches such absurd proportions that the kingdom perishes under the weight of its own oppression.

In "Boa medida" the kingdom of Kambalu is ruled by Abbas I. Cognizant of the terrible famine which was decimating the impoverished population, Abbas called a hasty conference of Kambalu's leaders. The bishop was the first to speak. He spoke, however, in Latin and demanded merely more expensive churches and convents. Then came the magician who demanded electric illumination for the capital. The physician prescribed in a jargon both pompous and verbose utter nonsense and began to recite Keats. The lawyer quite mechanically declaimed the penal code. Wearied by their vain chatter, Abbas himself decided to alleviate the famine by constructing a superb palace financed by excessive taxes. Isolated in his own palace, the foolish king soon died of starvation since there were no more farmers left to cultivate the crops after their conscription for building the palace.

Abbas I most probably is President Epitácio Pessoa, whom Lima Barreto harshly characterized as spendthrift in "Arte de governar." The construction of a palace replete

with magical illumination could only refer to the extensive renovation of the capital in preparation for the centenary.

The brief description of ecclesiastical pomposity is interesting in that Lima Barreto, in his wide satire of Brazilian society, rarely touched on religious matters or religious persons. The physician is a figure quite familiar to anyone acquainted with Lima Barreto's pseudo-intellectuals. While the people suffer disease, the literary physician discusses poetry.

Isto tudo é delírio; é pura paranóia, temperada com psicastemia, frenastenia. Na etiologia da peste há duas fases: primeira: a do aparecimento, dúbio, auroral, das auroras claras de maio, que é imperceptível, depois, manifestação ostensiva, horrível, de um belo horrível que só os médicos conhecem. Keats diz: "Our songs are..." 46

In "Boa medida" the kingdom of Kambalu's catastrophic demise foreshadows the downfall of the Old Republic. In that same year, 1922, soldiers of the Igrejinha Fortress in Copacabana quixotically revolted against the Republic's economic policies; their rebellion led eventually to the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas.

"Hospede ilustre," written in the style of a journalistic article, continues the lampoon of President Pessoa's preparation for the centenary. Although included in the Contos argelinos, the short sketch discusses without recourse to the allegorical pattern a specific presidential administration.

The narrator notes that many exotic characters appear almost magically in Rio de Janeiro to feast at the government's expense. Yet these gentlemen never seem to

appear in the Larousse. Mulay Malek Ben-Balek, for example, arrived in Rio de Janeiro to supervise the continuation of the magnificent Moroccan Pavilion which is to be fabricated from bamboo and camel dung. Since the last substance is not readily available in Brazil, the wise diplomat is having it especially imported for the splendid occasion. The noted Brazilian engineer Carlos Sampaio, with the aid of American engineers, has transformed the Morro da Favela, with its shanties, into a city from the Arabian Nights, in short, into a city fit for such a lavish pavilion. The chronicle ends by stating that this illustrious Arab is, however, prepared to remain permanently in the capital. As in the case of many less notable Arab immigrants, this new guest of the Brazilian government has decided to become a peddler of trinkets.

Although published in 1922 along with Histórias e sonhos, "Hussein Ben-Ali Al-Balec e Miqueias Habacuc" is subtitled a conto argelino. Dedicated to the leading paulista politician representing the coffee lobby in Congress, the tale allegorically satirizes the unfairness of the Compact of Taubaté.

The rather lengthy introduction begins by informing us that one fine day an old Algerian Arab was, by hard labor, able to send his oldest son Ali-Balec Al-Balec to Cairo to study the sacred Koran. Little given to piety, the immoral Al-Balec, apprenticed to crafty Levantine merchants, finally was able to swindle even his masters. During the French

colonial occupation, the perfidious Al-Balec consorted openly with the foreign infidels and practiced their vices forbidden in the Koran. He so ingratiated himself with his people's conquerors that he actually prospered financially by selling his one crop, figs, to the French who particularly enjoyed the exotic fruit. Eventually, though, French palates cooled and profits declined. In order to reduce the competition in a tight market, Al-Balec and his French military companions obliterate a rival's plantation. During this recession, the rich Jewish merchant, Miqueias Habacuc, uncle of Ali-Balec's cunning wife Salisa, offers advice for a considerable fee on how to alleviate the crisis. The sly Habacuc suggests Al-Balec should stimulate the market price artificially by hoarding all the region's figs. Although this strategy partially succeeds for a time, revenues again decline. Later Habacuc returns to propose insuring the fig prices by financing bonds invested in by the area's fig producers. When large interest payments finally became due on the bonds, Al-Balec contacts a distant prince who insures these worthless bonds in exchange for Ali-Balec's support of military conscription. With all the workers off to war, Habacuc, Al-Balec and Salisa flee a now impoverished countryside. Only the wisest of Al-Balec's brothers, a man who feared the Koran and planted many and varied crops, prospers in an otherwise desolate region.

This conto argelino, with its dedication to Cincinato Braga, is obviously directed at the Compact of Taubaté in

which São Paulo, during a crisis caused by coffee overproduction, forced the federal government to support prices with federal revenues. Thus, the poorer Northeastern sugar states were taxed in part in support of São Paulo's threatened affluence. This also is, in essence, Habacuc's unethical strategy for alleviating the recession caused by overproduction of figs. Al-Balec himself, in his arrogance, is symbolic of São Paulo's unequal relation to its sister states.

Era vaidoso, presunçoso, ávido, desprezando os parentes, para os quais era somítico e avaro, desprezando-os como se fôsem animais imundos e tidos em maldição pelas leis do Profeta. Com os franceses, entretanto, era mais pródigo do que o pai e fingia ter as suas maneiras e usos. 47

Beyond the issue of São Paulo, other interesting comments on the Republic are made. The old man conceivably could be Dom Pedro II whose peaceful nature undisturbed by greed would correspond to Lima's own tendency to regard the Monarchy in somewhat idealistic terms.

It is curious to note that the mania for sacrilegious innovation is first born out of foreign domination, and that the end result is a devastating war which kills the workers. Here one is reminded of Lima's sentimental conservatism with regard to the Monarchy, and his denunciations of American imperialism when the Republic was forging an alliance with Washington. Lima believed that economic ties to foreign imperialists necessitated Brazil's entrance into World War I. Although opposition to the Allied cause was considered heretical by many of Brazil's francophile intellectuals, Lima, as a maximalist, vigorously opposed Brazil's participation in the

conflict. Al-Balec begins his corruption of Algerian economics precisely during the period of French occupation. The economic crisis, in the final analysis, is resolved for the Arab only when he enlists the farmers into a suicidal war: "Aceitou sem resistência a dominação francesa, e, com alegria, viu que o seu terreno produzia prodigiosamente." ("Hussein Ben-Ali Al-Balec e Miqueias Habacuc," 90)

There is, however, in the tale a disturbing element which considerably weakens the effect of the satire. Al-Balec's Jewish wife Salisa and her merchant uncle Habacuc are portrayed in anti-semitic terms. Salisa, a renegade Jewess, is dominated by only two emotions, hatred and greed. First she detests her simple Arab neighbors, on whom she would wage a holy war: "Pensa, e não fiques aí a chorar como mulher. Saul chorou? Davi chorou? Só o Deus dos cristãos chorou: Jeová não ama o choro. Ele ama a guerra e o combate até o extermínio." ("Hussein Ben-Ali Al-Balec e Miqueias Habacuc," 92)

Secondly, Salisa cheats her very uncle by offering him false jewels in payment for his advice. Her uncle, let it be said, is no model of virtue either: "O israelita ao ver as jóias, nem olhou mais os cequins. Ficou com os olhinhos fosforescentes de tigre na escuridão. Era como se fôsse dar um salto de felino." ("Hussein Ben-Ali Al-Balec e Miqueias Habacuc," 93)

Such anti-semitism is surprising given Lima's sympathetic understanding of suffering peoples. At no other

time in his prose writings or in his essays do similar comments on Jewish people appear. Yet here they are sufficiently frequent and disturbing to detract from his otherwise forceful satire on the Compact of Taubaté.

"Eficiência militar," subtitled historieta chinesa, was published in Careta in 1922, the same year as the Contos argelinos. Although not a conto argelino, it is little more than a verbose oriental rendition of "Conservou o fêz." Again President Epitácio Pessoa and his civilian Minister of War, João Pandiá Calógeras, are vigorously satirized as moronic incompetents. Beyond the amusing satire of alleged military intellectualism, "Eficiência militar" underlines the chasm separating the populace from the Republican leadership.

Li-Huang-Po, vice-president of a Canton of China, instructs his chief of staff Fu-Shi-To, a former coolie under the British, to reorganize the Imperial Army along German lines. However, when Li-Huang-Po reviews the troops a year later, he is disappointed by their apparent inefficiency. Immediately Marshal Fu-Shi-To suggests a change in uniform from plagiarized German to imitation French as the first step toward improving military efficiency.

"Eficiência militar" is, as we noted, little different from "Conservou o fêz." In both the satirical thrust is directed at João Pandiá Calógeras. In both he appears as a dull-witted incompetent who simplistically imagines that the Kaiser's army is a product of German fashion designers. Calógeras become the first civilian appointed to the position

of Minister of War, thus Lima Barreto's superior, and hence in one satire he appears as an engineer, and in another as a coolie.

Comandava em chefe êsse portentoso exército, o general Fu-Shi-To que tinha começado a sua carreira como puxador de tálburi em Hong Kong...Fu-Shi-To explicava os temas e os detalhes do respectivo desenvolvimento, com a abundância e o saber de quem havia estudo Arte de Guerra entre os varais de um cabriolet. 48

"Eficiencia militar" does add a note absent from "Conservou o fêz." The chronicler of Li-Huang-Po is sensitive to the alienation of the people. Li-Huang-Po is addressed as "Vossa Excelência Reverendíssima, Poderosíssima, Graciosíssima, Altíssima, e Celestial." ("Eficiência militar," 274-275) When confronted with the necessity of raising revenues for the maintenance of the Army, he merely decides to tax the people unmercifully.

...êle se lembrou, ou alguém lhe lembrou, o simples alvitre de duplicar os impostos que pagavam os pescadores, os fabricantes de porcelana e os carregadores de adubo humano. ("Eficiência militar," 275)

In contrast with the poverty of the people, the monarchy lived in a lavish palace: "Vivia refestelado em Pequim, na misteriosa cidade imperial, invisível para o grosso do seu povo e cercado por dezenas de mulheres e centenas de concubinas." ("Eficiência militar," 273)

D. Politicians of the Old Republic

"O falso Dom Henrique V," an "episódio da história da Bruzundanga," gives a fictionalized panorama of the history of an imaginary land which complements Os Bruzundangas, a series of satirical essays published posthumously

in 1923. "O falso Dom Henrique V" offers the reader a microcosm of Lima Barreto's often incongruous political philosophy by presenting, as it were, Lima's own very personal version of the Old Republic. Frequently, seen in retrospect, Lima's history appears to be too biased, too emotionally dedicated to impugning the Republic without impartial consideration of historical fact. His one-sidedness is most apparent in his laudatory description of the Monarchy. Leftist literary critics often feel at a loss when confronted with his admiration for the deposed aristocrat of aristocrats, Dom Pedro II.

Perhaps we had best approach this fictionalized companion to Bello's História da República by scrutinizing in a chronological fashion the salient historical events in the chronicler's history of the Bruzundangas, which parallels Brazilian history.

The narrator, an historian-traveler knowledgeable in Bruzundangan politics, begins first by a tongue in cheek plea for Professor Horrendus' kind indulgence. To avoid the exotic, and not out of linguistic incompetence, he has Brazilianized Bruzundangan nomenclature. Thus Henbe-en-Rhinque appears as Henrique Costa. In the process, of course, Lima Barreto, a devoté of literatura militante, assures himself that even his dullest readers will not miss the social message to be conveyed. Here we are reminded of his theory of mixed genres as an aid to comprehension, and such obvious devices in the Contos argelinos as his dedication of the

satire of the coffee oligarchy to Senator Cincinato Braga.

The old wise king Dom Sajon (Shah-Jehon) whose daughter cannot succeed him because of the salic law is Dom Pedro II. Although such a law did not exist in Imperial Brazil, it was common knowledge that Princess Isabel, married to an unpopular foreign prince, the Count d'Eu, would not be permitted to succeed to the throne. Dom Sajon was stern and, at times, belligerent (the Paraguayan War), yet surprisingly this wise king never maltreated the populace.

Tinha no coração que a sua gente pobre fôsse o menos pobre possível, que no seu império não houvesse fome, que os nobres e os príncipes não esmagassem nem espoliassem os camponeses. Espalhara escolas e academias e, aos que se distinguiam nas letras ou nas ciências, 49 dava as maiores funções do Estado, sem curar-lhe da origem.

In short the narrator somewhat naively asserts that the potentate was a proletarian at heart! A strange view for an admirer of Lenin's revolution which overthrew a monarchy. So proletarian is Sajon that his modest home enrages the grandes dames of the kingdom, who urge his downfall just to have chic soirées in the future. Through informants, the monarch realizes his peril, but, in a true Christian fashion, he pardons his enemies' vanity. Sajon realizes, we are told, that it would be far better to forfeit his crown than to tax the masses.

Qualquer príncipe italiano, cujo principado é menos do que a sua capital, tem residências dez vezes mais magníficas do que êsse bocó de Sanjon.

O imperador ouvia isso da boca dos seus esculcas e espiões, mas não dizia nada. Sabia o sangue e a dor que essas construções opulentas custam aos povos. Sabia quantas vidas, quantas misérias, quanto sofrimento

custo à França Versalhes. ("O falso Dom Henrique V," 263)

As we have seen in the Contos argelinos, Lima was wont to contrast favorably Dom Pedro's alleged austerity with the supposed elegance of the Republic's presidents. Yet it is simply not true to assert that hunger was unknown during the Monarchy. If Dom Pedro did not have his Versailles, he had his Petrópolis, a more modest residence, to be sure. However, a 19th century Bragança king in impoverished Brazil could have hardly attempted to rival the Roi Soleil whether he wished to or not.

Dom Carlos (Kharlithos), Sanjon's nephew, is the only heir. Chaste and melancholy, Dom Carlos is indifferent to pomp and glory.

Dom Carlos não favava assim pois não era dado a blagues, nem a boutades, mas, de quando em quando, ao sair dos rápidos acessos de mutismo e melancolia a que era sujeito, no meio da conversação, dizia como num suspiro:

-No dia em que fôr imperador, o que farei,
meu Deus! ("O falso Dom Henrique V," 264)

In many ways the lethargic infante would correspond to that morbid facet of Dom Pedro's psychology after the Paraguayan War.⁵⁰ After the arduous conflict the debilitated Emperor had so lapsed into a dangerous state of exhaustion and melancholy that he was unable or unwilling to prevent the demise of the monarchy.⁵¹ The Army's easy success on the Campo de Sant'Ana was guaranteed beforehand less by its conspiratorial skill than by the monarchy's abulia. Yet the narrator would regard such indifference as a virtue, as a sure sign of regal austerity, rather than as a paralyzing weakness.

Dom Carlos is assassinated by the Hjalhianes, distant relatives of the Imperial Family, who centuries ago prostituted themselves by trafficking in Malayan slaves. With the pretender's demise, the monarchy in Bruzundanga is doomed to extinction.

Translated into Brazilian terms, the implications are astonishing. Lima Barreto, a staunch advocate of negritude seems not only to lament Dom Pedro's fall but also to exonerate the throne from a grievous moral complicity in African slavery. Questions of the Emperor's personal liberality aside, it is indisputable that the economic basis for the monarchy was slave labor.⁵² Indeed, Dom Pedro desisted at the crucial moment from aiding the Baron of Mauá in his often lonely attempts at expanding the primitive economy beyond the slave latifundia. Slavery was so essential to Dom Pedro that, when the Lei Áurea (1888) finally abolished slavery, the Monarchy became a most fragile institution.

Lima speculated, in essays and in his commentary on Bruzundanga, that the slave owners by the events of 1888, supported the Republican military in order to avenge their losses, while hoping to exert some influence on the new political order.⁵³

It would be more correct historically to assert merely that most largely became indifferent to the monarchy's fate.⁵⁴ Conceivably some of the more flexible and astute of the landed aristocracy surely must have sought to influence the Republican movement. Yet it would be hard to imagine a

stable alliance between the rural oligarchies and the middle class military, as was proved by the violence of the Hermes da Fonseca administration. Nor would we imagine that the emancipation could have come as a shock in 1888 to alert slave owners when slavery had already been outlawed in all other American states. How could Lima Barreto rationally condemn a Republic supported, perhaps, in part by angered gentry counterbalanced by a powerful urban middle-class military establishment while he sang the dubious virtues of a stagnant political anachronism supported principally by slave owners?

O exército era republicano, queria uma república de verdade, na sua ingenuidade e inexperiência política, os Hjalhianes logo perceberam que, por aí, podiam chegar a altas dignidades e muitos deles se fizeram republicanos. ("O falso Dom Henrique V," 265)

Quite unexpectedly the Bruzundangan military, without civilian support, simply announced the extinction of the monarchy. The populace remained indifferent.

O povo, prõpriamente vem assim àquela hora, nas janelas para ver o que se passava; e, no dia seguinte, quando se soube da verdade, um olhava para o outro e ambos ficaram estupidamente mudos. ("O falso Dom Henrique V," 266)

Lima Barreto's personal recollections of November 15th were equally as unenthusiastic.⁵⁵ On this point, most historians would not disagree; the advent of the Old Republic did not have its origin in popular sentiment.

Tetrech, representing a combination of republican presidents, becomes the new military dictator. He brutally ignores the Constitution, remodels the capital in a lavish manner unknown since the frugal days of Sanjon, passes dis-

criminatory protective tariffs and taxes the impoverished nation to insure sugar production.

In historical perspective the Republican policies satirized seem to have been wiser than Lima Barreto depicts them. Peixoto's dictatorial firmness consolidated the fragile confederation. The Republic's renovation of the pestulant capital turned the dismal shanty town into a hygienic capital of international beauty. The Compact of Taubaté guaranteed coffee prices when their collapse would have crippled the nation's fragile economy. While Worcester's optimistic description of Brazil as a world power seems overly ufanista⁵⁶, the nation's first steps toward modernization were attempted not by the perennially sad monarch, but by the leaders of the Old Republic.

Bruzundanga soon after the declaration of the Republic is plagued by rebellions in the interior. Immediately we think of Canudos, Juazeiro and the Contestado. Rather than surviving as victims of Republican neglect, these rural areas suffered violence in their initiation into national politics.⁵⁷ Lima Barreto's assertion that in the cities many sensitive souls took to alcoholism, the refuge of the tormented, seems too much a rationalization of the author's own weakness.

If Lima missed the mark in his view of Dom Pedro, and failed to understand fully the historical and economic significance of the Old Republic, he was certainly accurate in his sharply perceptive criticism of the institution's pretensions to Anglo-Saxon democracy. As important as the

Republican movement was in shifting the power from the hands of the landed aristocracy in the interior to the middle class and industrialists in the city, its democratic façade of a Constitution and elections was not sufficient to hide its disregard for the increasingly restless populace.

Nunca houve tempo em que se inventassem, com tanta perfeição, tantas ladroeias legais.

A fortuna particular de alguns, em menos de dez anos, quase se quintuplicou; mas o Estado, os pequenos burgueses e o povo, pouco a pouco, foram caindo na miséria mais atroz. ("O falso Dom Henrique V," 267)

While Rui Barbosa's Encilhamento made instant fortunes for astute investors, most of the population received little benefit from the economic policies of the coffee barons who controlled the federal government. Coffee revenues invested in industry created the illusion of instant wealth in the mind of the migrant worker. Instead of fortune, he most often found shabby poverty in some dismal shack on the capital's numerous hills.

A Bruzundanga era um sarcófago de mármore, ouro e pedrarias, em cujo seio, porém, o cadáver mal embalsamado do povo apodrecia e fermentava...a vida das cidades era triste, de provocar lágrimas, a indolência dos ricos tinha abandonado as alturas dela, as suas colinas pitorescas, e os pobres, os mais pobres, de mistura em toda espécie de desgraçados crimonosos e vagabundos, ocupavam as eminências urbanas com casebres miseráveis, sujos, frios, feitos de tábuas de caixões de sabão e cobertos com folhas desdobradas de latas em que veio acondicionado o querosene. ("O falso Dom Henrique V," 269)

Into this desolate picture there comes a man whom the narrator calls simply the "Prophet." A sort of political John the Baptist of a new monarchical Jerusalem, he makes ready the way of Dom Henrique. Dom Henrique was murdered

by Tétrech. Yet for the masses he remains a Dom Sebastião ready to return some misty evening.

The "Prophet" is equally mysterious for the reader. In some ways he is a Lima Barreto. The mulatto "prophet" Lopes has some formal education, in this case the seminary. He supports himself humbly as a tutor, and, as a writer, he lampoons the Bruzundangas Republicans. He does not live in the center of things, but rather in a distant fictional province Aurilândia. Such a poetic name would seem to indicate he is to be regarded positively. Like Lima, he is inept as a poet.⁵⁸ Yet he is able to achieve Lima Barreto's goal for the writer, that of moving the populace to political action.

Incredibly, poor and rich men alike are united mystically by Lopes' simple verse. This, combined with the pressures of a war and foreign immigration, unite the people enough to overthrow the military.

Certainly in the history of the Old Republic there was no political prophet who united the country behind some latter day Sebastião. Antônio o Conselheiro could hardly serve as a model of political enlightenment. Nor does Lima indicate in all this what would be the best government for the nation.

Como não tivesse descendência, quano chegou aos sessenta anos, aquêlê sábio príncipe preclamou por sua própria bôca a república, que é ainda a forma de governo da Bruzundanga, mas para a qual, ao que parece, o país não tem nenhuma vocação. Ela espera ainda a sua forma de governo. ("O falso Dom Henrique V," 272)

"O caçador doméstico" illustrates Lima Barreto's re-

visionist theory of the affinity between the Republican military and the slave owners. In his description of the mores of one slaveholding family under the Empire, Lima Barreto seems to contradict the laudatory view of the Empire presented in "O falso Dom Henrique V."

Simões, a modern Simon Legree, was a descendant of the famous slaveholding family Feitas, which was ruined by manumission in 1888. Obtuse, Simões was unable to exploit the family's powerful influence over local politicians. Instead of earning his degree and becoming a deputy, Simões became a Civil Service functionary. Later, thanks to his family's influence and prestige, he even managed to become a Bureau Chief. With such a lofty official position, Simões decided to dedicate himself to the noble sport of hunting. Unfortunately he discovered that Rio de Janeiro's suburbs lack big game and since he was above hunting small birds in some dismal swamp, Simões took to setting his mastiffs on his poorer neighbors' stray chickens and ducks. One day the neighbors, irritated by their moronic neighbor's intransigence, contracted a young mulatto to haunt the house. On the designated night Simões was horror struck at the prospect of being tormented by the souls of his family's slaves. He dashed madly through the yard, where his startled massive guard dogs mauled him severely.

The Lei Áurea literally ruined the important Feitas family. The narrator does not mention how, despite the enormous loss, the Feitas family was able to continue in its

influential position. Nor does he investigate the implications of the family's inhumanity for the Monarchy, which had its most ardent supporters in the slavocracy.

Uma verdadeira fortuna, porque escravo, naquelas épocas, apesar da agitação abolicionista, era mercadoria valorizada. Valia bem um conto de reis a cabeça, portanto, os tais de Feitas perderam cerca ou mais de mil contos. 59

Interestingly enough, the narrator does dedicate a few lines to describing the slave latifundium during the zenith of its power. Before Freyre's Casa grande e senzala, the narrator's first descriptive words direct the reader's attention to inter-racial relations.

Esses Feitas eram célebres pelo sadio tratamento de gado de engorda que davam aos seus escravos e também pela sua teimosia escravagista. ("O caçador doméstico," 248)

In one instance Feitas even selected a brilliant light mulatto, possibly an illegitimate son, to attend medical school. When he was about to receive the degree, the master cruelly ordered his slave home to the plantation as its physician.

The Feitas were invariably violently opposed to manumission despite the exceptionally benevolent treatment given their slaves - their slaves were never tortured. Soon after Abolition the family became Republican. The narrator does not explain how a family ruined by the abolitionists could remain powerful, nor does he explain how the family could ally itself with its victorious enemies.

Be that as it may, the reactionary slaveholders continued to wield influence in the Republic. Simões, totally

devoid of the most minimal intelligence, is promoted illegally to positions of power in the Civil Service because of his family name.

Muito tapado, não soubera aproveitar as relações de família, para formar-se em qualquer coisa e arranjar boas sinecuras, entre as quais a de deputado, para a qual estava a calhar, pois de família do partido escravagista-conservador, tinha o mais lindo estôfo para ser um republicano do mais puro quilate brasileiro. ("O caçador doméstico," 249)

Whereas the description of Simões' demise is amusing enough, "O caçador doméstico," in its brevity, left too many questions unanswered in order to be convincing.

"Congresso pamplanetário" as a fictional work has its foundation in Lima Barreto's "São capazes de tudo." In this essay, published posthumously in Bagatelas, Lima Barreto harshly advises Latin Americans to beware of the United States, a nation whose political philosophy, he warns, is totally materialist and even racist. The United States in Lima Barreto's view is ever ready to dominate by violence and to exploit the racially mixed Latin Americans.⁶⁰ His almost cruel caricature not only of the American political establishment, but also of the American people, whom he described as greedy and philistine, was motivated no doubt by a personal resentment against American discrimination against Negroes.⁶¹ Embarrassingly enough for his superiors in the War Ministry, his diatribe appeared precisely at the time when the Old Republic was forging close and harmonious diplomatic and economic ties to Washington.

Lima Barreto uses the device of allegory in order to teach his readers to distrust American motives. All the

poorer planets in the solar system are cajoled into an inter-planetary conference by Jupiter, the largest and most prosperous planet. The giant planet is so heavily industrialized that it is forced to search for additional markets for its frivolous products. The parley is held on the Earth, the only planet whose government anxiously seeks to please Jupiter. During the dull conference several innocuous platitudes are piously adopted, but to no avail since soon thereafter the hypocritical Jupiter, in search of markets, invades tiny Mercury.

The "Congresso pamplanetário" refers in part to the Pan-American Conference, held in 1906 in Rio de Janeiro. The Congress met, appropriately enough, in the Monroe Palace, the only Latin American edifice dedicated to the American president whose doctrine of mutual hemispheric defense appealed greatly to Brazil's Minister of Foreign Affairs. Brazil is clearly the Earth, the host country of the inter-planetary conference, while the United States is the planetary industrial giant whose prosperity threatens the poorer planets of the same solar system.

Before proceeding to discuss Jupiter, the focal point of the satire, some short observations on the planet Earth would be in order. When Jupiter insists on a conference to promote inter-planetary unity, all the poorer planets with the exception of the Earth are wary of the giant's motives. The uncautious Earth, however, is cursed with a government equally enamored of grandiosity and wealth, and so this

government constructs an enormous horn which blasts all over the solar system the advantages of holding Jupiter's conference on the Earth.

A buzina era indispensável, visto que os caminhos, jardins, e teatros, etc. se destinavam aos extra-terrestres e tinha por fim atraí-los, no pensamento de que os estranhos viessem trazer a segura prosperidade dela à Terra. 62

This note of the government's alienation from its people, expressed in this case by its funding of roads for the benefit of affluent foreigners, is present also in the contrasting psychologies of the "progressive" government and its kind and indolent people: "O seu povo, todos conhecem-no, é uma gente cheia de uma nevoenta poesia, terna, loquaz, um tanto indolente, mas liberal, por ser relaxada, e generosa, por ser liberal." ("Congresso pamplanetário," 67)

Lima Barreto's description of Jupiter incarnates several of his fears regarding the prosperous neighbor to the north. First, on the economic level, he suspected strongly that American foreign policy, beneath its self-righteous rhetoric, aimed solely at the economic exploitation of an underdeveloped market rich in material resources and in potential buyers for American surplus production.

Era preciso, diziam os embaixadores de Júpiter, formar um espírito planetário, em contraposição ao espírito estelar. Com isso, êles escondiam o secreto desejo de vender aos outros planetas farpas aperfeiçoadas, remédios para calos, toneladas de um papel literário de embrulhos e outros produtos similares de sua atividade sem limites não esquecendo o fito de conquistar alguns dêstes últimos ou parte dêles. ("Congresso pamplanetário," 66)

Secondly Lima Barreto, who charged capitalists with

the responsibility of the First World War, believed that American capitalism would readily violate the sovereignty of the militarily weak Latin American states. In a piece of obvious satire, Lima Barreto specifically mentions the American annexation of the Mexican state of Texas.

É muito cediça a manobra de Júpiter, fraternidade, etc. Certa vez, êle declarou guerra a Saturno, para libertar-lhe os povos. Logo, porém, que o venceu, restabeleceu a escravatura que já estava absolvida. Tal o qual a América do Norte fêz com o Texas, província do México, em 1837. ("Congresso pamplanetário," 67)

Lima Barreto's disapproval of the United States, however, goes beyond a traditional economic critique of imperialism. England, at that period of time, certainly exerted more influence over Brazilian economics than the United States. Nor was Brazil likely to suffer Mexico's fate given the enormous distance separating it from the United States and the immensity of Brazil itself. Nor would Lima Barreto speak with such vehemence on the "limitação de idéias e a pobreza de sentimento da massa popular dos Estados Unidos" in Feiras e mafuás.⁶³ if he were angered only by the American government's economic policies. In "Congresso pamplanetário," the government of the Earth is a ready ally of Jupiter. Nevertheless, Earth's inhabitants are described in the most favorable terms imaginable. Yet the people of Jupiter are cold, greedy and totally devoid of artistic sensibility.

Os de Júpiter não são assim, são rígidos, duros, e frios; e tem dois sentimentos dominadores: o do enorme, que é o seu critério de beleza, e o de dourado. ("Congresso pamplanetário," 67)

On one occasion a visitor from Jupiter caused an earthquake when, on seeing the sunset for the first time on the Earth, he failed to notice the natural beauty of the event. Instead he fell down on a mountain with his enormous body while attempting to grasp the golden sky.

Em vendo a côr de ouro, êles saem bufando, com o olhar injectado, em estado de fúria; e estripando a indiferentes, a amigos, a parentes e até aos pais...("Congresso pamplanetário," 67)

Almost certainly Lima Barreto's wrath had its source in the tragic situation in the United States for Negroes. In Jupiter the "cats," a minority species in the solar system inhabited only by animals, are victims of a merciless apartheid.

... a isso juntam um horror pelos gatos, um ódio idiota e histérico, os "gatos" são bons; se velhos, tem a candura de criança; se crianças, uma grácil espontaneidade de encantar. ("Congresso pamplanetário," 67)

Although travelers to Jupiter find the "cats" to be exceptionally timid and kind, despite their unending suffering and humiliation, the inhabitants of Jupiter only find them to be useful to fight their numerous wars. Any "cat" who would dare to look at a woman of Jupiter's ruling caste is immediately hanged.

Por qualquer dá cá aquela palha, os estúpidos jupiterianos se reúnem na praça pública e matam a fogo, a fouce, sem forma de processo alguma, sob o pretexto de que o gato queria casar ou namorava uma filha dêles. Lá se chama banditismo e a cousa é parecida com o linchamento yankee. ("Congresso pamplanetário," 68)

Similar to Rodó in Ariel, Lima Barreto also feared that the new spirit of pragmatism and materialism would destroy the more humanistic traditional culture of Latin

Americans at home in the Latin, Greek and French classics. In a land where financial success determined a man's worth appreciation of the arts would necessarily decline. Thanks to their mass-produced society, with high speed typewriters, Jupiter's writers and philosophers, literally swamped foreign libraries with their "works." Since size determines beauty in Jupiter, one writer penned 68, 922 volumes with 20, 677, 711 pages of which 3, 000, 000 pages, the best, were left blank representing his sleep without dreams! Apparently, Lima Barreto extended his irrational dislike for the United States even to the literature of Poe, Whitman, Hawthorne and Melville. For a glance at the inventory of his personal library, the Limana, reveals his ignorance of such well-known authors, all quite respected in his beloved France.

The epigraph "Urubu pelado não se mete no meio dos coroados" warns Brazilians of the dangers of an alliance with American capitalism. Yet despite the very optimism implicit in such a warning, "Congresso pamplanetário" ends tragically with the importation of American racism to the previously tranquil society.

Se tais produtos não estavam completamente envenenados, foram, no entanto, deletérios. A Terra banalizou-se; Marte perdeu a inteligência; Vênus o amor desinteressado; Neptuno, a bravura generosa; os gatos de todos vieram a gozar dos benefícios das instituições jupiterranos, isto é, foram expulsos da comunhão dos patrícios.
("Congresso pamplanetário," 70)

In "O meu Carnaval," as in "Eficiência militar" and in "Conservou o fêz," Lima Barreto presents the reader with a droll pasquinade directed at military foppery and

and pretension. Beyond the satire of military pomposity, the civilista Lima Barreto points to one of the major foibles of the Old Republic when he suggests that military interference in politics is incompatible with civil rights.

As is often the case, Lima Barreto begins with the narrator recounting to an acquaintance his recollections of a most memorable Carnival. It seems that on the unforgettable day the protagonist, a plumber by profession, was on his way to work in Méier when he was spotted by the military police and was erroneously arrested as a deserter. The narrator's lachrymose protests were to no avail, and he was cruelly sentenced to eight days of hard labor. Soon thereafter he served the sentence. The narrator himself, though, had also become enamored of military pomp and so he paraded about the city in his new uniform. By chance, he happened to encounter a friend who, ignorant of the forced conscription, yelled out a warning to the effect that it was illegal to celebrate Carnival masqueraded in military garb. A passing officer who happened to overhear the warning immediately arrested the narrator once again.

"O meu Carnaval," as in the Contos argelinos, ridicules military pretension to omnipotence based solely on elaborate gaudy uniforms. The arresting soldier, a mere corporal of humble origin, but dressed impressively, easily assumes a supercilious and hostile air. Similar to the buffoon Timbó, Cassi Jones de Azevedo's lackey, the Negro corporal appears to be ludicrous in his vain attempt to ape Caucasian mannerisms.

E que prêto engraçado! Desengonçado, pernas compridas e arqueadas, pés espalhados - era mesmo um macaco. A farda, a blusa e calça, estava tôda pingada; o cinturão subira-lhe quase ao peito...Enfim, era um verdadeiro jagodes, um "Judas." 64

Dazzled by the pompous uniforms, inhibited by their boorish arrogance and intimidated by the brutal prospect of being run through by their sabers, the terrified narrator humbly submits to the will of the clownish Negro. His next tormentor is Capitão Lulu, a strong innately friendly mulatto who, when in official uniform, is no less pretentious than his subordinate. Interestingly enough, the commander is not a Negro, rather he is a fat Italian who barely speaks Portuguese. Normally such a figure would inspire only laughter, but apparently, in his military surroundings he is imposing enough to force the narrator to submit to his punishment meekly.

O comandante recostado na cadeira, acariciou o ventre proeminente com as duas mãos e disse com sotaque italiano: "Que vai êle fare?" ("O meu Carnaval," 245)

Despite the harsh treatment, the narrator himself surprisingly experiences feelings and emotions of superiority when he is allowed to swagger about the capital in his military dress replete with sword. Yet not even a uniform was sufficient to avoid arrest again. He becomes accused of dishonoring the military's delicate sensitivity. Against the background of the euphoria of the Carnival, whose frivolity Lima Barreto so detested, the author accused the military of the most serious dereliction of civil rights. 65

"A sombra do Romariz" is closely related to "O meu

Carnaval" in its implicit caveat to the Brazilian electorate on the folly of militarism with its penchant for violence and authoritarianism. In this case Lima Barreto specifically questions the survival of the right of freedom of the press under a military regime. In addition "A sombra do Romariz," based on Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca's harassment of the monarchist Tribuna Liberal, possibly sheds some light on Lima Barreto's strange sympathy for the Monarchy.

As "A sombra do Romariz" begins, we find ourselves eavesdropping on the nervous conversation of two typographers, Brandão and Barbalho, who are discussing Brandão's strange nyctophobia. Brandão's fear is not symptomatic of a neurotic imbalance, rather it has its origin in the events of 1889. In that year Republican thugs desecrated the offices of the fiercely monarchist Tribuna Liberal, the journal for which Brandão was working. In the process of destroying the presses the hoodlums brutally pummelled to death Romariz, an impoverished typographer. Because of his extreme exhaustion, he was so fast asleep that he was not able to flee his silent assassins.

In our analysis of Lima Barreto's view of Republican history in "O falso Dom Henrique V," we mentioned that Lima Barreto's mystifying sympathy for the slavocrat monarchy, given his radicalism, could perhaps be clarified in part by his singular devotion to his monarchist father. Indeed "A sombra do Romariz" is based essentially on the ordeals experienced by the author's typographer father, João Henriques

de Lima Barreto during the early days of the Republic. João Henriques was during the day a respected and skilled typographer at the National Printing Office. Yet, like Romariz, he moonlighted for the Tribuna Liberal, the organ of Ouro Preto's liberal monarchist party. Although João Henriques did not literally lose his life in the harassment of the journal, he was forced to end his brilliant career as a typographer, a profession to which he never returned despite his talents. It would be impossible to speculate on the possible effects of his early retirement on his mental health, which would be shattered later while working as warden of the asylum on the Ilha do Governador.

During the early days of the Republic the journal's political essayist, Carlos de Laet, was indeed unjustly imprisoned under a new anti-subversion law circumscribing freedom of the press. At that time rumors abounded to the effect that the Tribuna Liberal would indeed be closed by force.

Beyond the biographical and historical notes, Lima Barreto condemns the Republican military under Deodoro da Fonseca for instituting a Jacobin reign of terror. Even thirty years after the chaotic events at the Tribuna Liberal, Brandão still fears for his life during political turmoil, especially when certain anonymous Republican leaders are involved.

Quando vejo tais nomes fico cheio de pavor, meu ânimo se estiola, não tenho coragem para nada, toda a minha personalidade é atingida de seca. Há dias a mulher me pediu que fôsse reconhecer a firma de um papel nece-

ssário a ela, a fim de receber uma pensão. Fui para a oficina, de manhã, hesitei, tive medo, afinal dei 66 uma gorjeta a um aprendiz, para ir ao tabelião.

Lima Barreto depicts the military as not only brutal but also hypocritical in their superficial loyalty to the people. They loudly proclaim the sacred right of freedom of the press, yet they become profoundly annoyed by the essays of one monarchist journal. First they attempted to intimidate the journalists with vague rumors of repression. When their threats proved to be of no avail, apparently the military organized the "spontaneous popular" demonstration so common in totalitarian states conscious of maintaining the false semblance of freedom of the press. The Republicans took to the streets screaming "Morram os sebastianistas! Morra a Tribuna Liberal! Viva o Marechal Deodoro da Fonseca, etc., etc." ("A sombra do Romariz," 214) Apparently the military displayed no great cunning or intelligence in planning the demonstration, since the mob consisted entirely of soldiers masquerading as civilians - some even demonstrated in uniform! So much for military democracy.

"O único assassinato de Cazuza" is provocative on two accounts. First, Lima Barreto supplies the interested reader with a considerable amount of autobiographical detail on his despondent psychological state prior to his untimely death in 1922. Secondly, the description of the interior's violence ("Despesa filantrópica") is connected with the politics of the Old Republic. Lima Barreto's belief, now supported by historians, was that the traumatic cataclysms

which shook the interior of Brazil during the early days of the Old Republic were the product of the region's integration⁶⁷ into and not isolation from national political life.

Hildegardo Brandão, a dejected former civil servant, writer and intellectual, lives sadly in an isolated suburb of Rio de Janeiro. His only confidant in his self-imposed dolorous exile is a scholarly physician little given to his colleagues' pompous pretensions to the lofty title of aesthetes. On Sundays, the custom of Hildegardo (Cazuza) was to pass the time in pleasant intellectual conversation with his sole friend. On the particular day in question, both friends discussed the disturbing violence of rural life. To the doctor's utter amazement, the mild-mannered Brandão chooses this time to confess to murder - as a child Brandão inadvertently stepped on a newly-hatched chick.

The narrator, as in the case of "Despesa filantrópica," is aghast at the brutality of rural existence. Far from being a bucolic land of fauns and nymphs, the narrator depicts the sertão as an infernal place.

Mata-se à toa por dá cá aquela palha. As paixões, mesquinhas paixões políticas, exaltam os ânimos de tal modo, que uma facção não teme eliminar o adversário por meio do assassinato, às vezes o revistindo da forma mais cruel. O predomínio, a chefia da política local é o único fim visado nesses homicídios, quando não são questões de família, de herança, de terras, e, às vezes, causas menores. 68

Brandão readily recognizes the falsity of the then popular racist theories which pessimistically condemned the region's Negroid inhabitants to oblivion. The violence of the interior, Brandão reasoned, merely magnified the inherent

brutality of Republican politics whose fierceness was masked by the social amenities of the big city. For the exiled writer, congressmen, senators and even the president of the Republic, were, through a chain of political chicanery, as morally guilty of murder as Aluísio, the jagunço of "Despesa filantrópica": "Já houve quem dissesse que, quem não mandou um mortal dêste para o outro mundo, não faz carreira política no Rio de Janeiro." ("O último assassinato de Cazuza," 180)

The narrator, who compares his complicity to that of Raskolnikov, reveals the influence of Dostoevsky's Father Zossima in his acute moral sense of the sinfulness of human nature. Yet Brandão, a "failure" despite his "crime," obviously senses that his transgression hardly competes in immorality with the rapacity of his affluent colleagues in the administration of the Republic. Violence, ruthlessness, and cunning are vices magically transformed into political virtues by the successful in a corrupt land. The price of success, Brandão reasons, is sin, a price he stoically refuses to acquiesce to.

Tudo tentara e em tudo mais ou menos falhara. Tentara formar-se, foi reprovado; tentara o funcionalismo, foi sempre preterido por colegas inferiores em tudo a êle, mesmo no burocracismo; fizera literatura e se, de tudo, não falhara, foi devido à audácia...por essas e outras, êle se aborreceu e resolveu retirar-se da liça. Com alguma renda, tendo uma pequena casa, num subúrbio afastado, afundou-se nela, aos quarenta e cinco anos para nunca mais ver o mundo, como o herói de Jules Verne, no seu "Nautilus." ("O último assassinato de Cazuza," 177)

Somehow, though, it strikes us that the explanation

of Brandão's failure might be too facile, too self-evident. For a meek individual, apprehensive of competition, sensitive to injury, a general indictment of the Republic would conveniently help the individual to rationalize his failure. Beyond the personal level, though, where all conclusions are little more than conjecture, "O único assassinato de Cazuza" perceptively links together political turmoil with unrest in the interior.

E. Glimpses of Republican Society

In their efforts to satirize society both "Um que vendeu a sua alma"⁶⁹, and "O pecado"⁷⁰ employ supernatural events. In the first short story, the Faust legend provides a ready vehicle for condemning society's prosperous literati to hell. Their success, it appears, is quite literally sinful.

The hero is a skeptical, literary sort of individual, without a saving faith in philosophic or scientific verities. Despondent, our alienated intellectual feels defeated by the turbulent life of the capital to which he has been denied entrance. He senses that suicide is an equally unacceptable alternative to a life without success. A true literary scholar, the hero remembers the Faust legend and invokes the Devil's name. In that very instant, a well-dressed gentleman, whose features are vaguely familiar, appears and identifies himself as Satan. The Devil comically rejects the overpriced request for 500 contos for the narrator's soul. With all the offers he has received in Rio de

Janeiro, he can hardly pay more than a mere 20 mil-reis. Anxious to be as successful as others, the narrator readily accepts the over-worked demon's offer.

"Uma noite no Lírico" focuses Stendhal's mirror on carioca high society. The mirror, however, proves to be convex, so that, in a typical Lima Barretian fashion, the exalted are humbled.⁷¹

The anonymous narrator recalls his naive youth when, as an admirer of the theater's haut monde, he would interminably contemplate in awe the capital's chic elite. One evening, however, a wealthy but cynical acquaintance by the name of Alfredo Costa cruelly analyzed the vices and hypocrisies of the paragons of virtue and taste. For Costa, the theater was little more than a museum of social pathology. Behind the pretension, the elegant dress and the noble titles, the ostentatious spectators hid their often criminal natures. Fair ladies proved to be rapacious whores, affluent businessmen shameless rogues, and valiant generals timorous soldiers. Their success, as in "Um que vendeu a sua alma" reflects their innate immorality and not their moral virtues or intellectual talents.

"A indústria da caridade," similar to "Uma noite no Lírico" in its humiliation of society's best, completes "Adélia" and "Despesa filantrópica" in its rejection of public charity as hypocritical.⁷² In part, its focus on official graft in public charities presents Lima Barreto an opportunity to pay homage to his warden father's maligned character.

Two brutally sarcastic friends enjoy spending hours in Rio's most elegant confeitarias analyzing high society's tartufferies. The current victim is Major Almério, a noted philanthropist. Once an impoverished resident of a dismal suburb, the now wealthy major negotiated shrewd political bargains which guaranteed him the appointment as director of the local poorhouse's generous finances. Needless to say, Almério soon enjoyed the capital's dolce vita.

As in the case of "Uma noite no Lírico," the anonymous narrator nostalgically recalls his youthful gullibility. At that time, something of a socialite, he, at the expense of foreign "dignitaries," frequented the best confeitarias where Rio de Janeiro's elite congregated. A protégé of a "noble" Hungarian, the narrator dined nightly with beautiful foreign prostitutes. One day, however, his aristocratic benefactor was ignobly extradicted to Chile as a common thief. With the unexpected arrest both the narrator's naive admiration for the Hungarian and his dissipated life suddenly vanished in the final puff of his last expensive cigar.

"O feiticeiro e o deputado" examines briefly the exaggerated power of an influential Republican politician over his constituency's "notables." ⁷³ At the same time it illustrates Lima Barreto's theory of the almost magical power of the professional diploma, which transforms ugliness into beauty, and stupidity into genius. The local "magician" in question is a mysterious recluse, who is considered to be a dangerous fanatic in the cruel opinion of the local "notables,"

namely the pretentious clerk Almada and the pompous physician Doctor Chupadinho. In their ill-informed opinion, the innocent hermit should be condemned unmercifully to an insane asylum. The only local "notable" to defend the man is the somewhat humbler innkeeper Bitú. However, when the powerful deputy Braga, on a governmental inspection of the district, recognizes the "magician" as a beloved colleague and alumnus of the Faculty of Law, the village's servile intellectuals hypocritically compete with one another in praising the politician's bacharel friend.

F. Conclusion

Viewed in historical retrospect, certain aspects of Lima Barreto's often all too passionate study of the Old Republic now appear to have been overly biased. In general, Lima Barreto failed to adapt himself emotionally to the sometimes traumatic changes necessitated by Brazil's first attempts at modernization. Thus we have the paradox of an author who is both intellectually radical and emotionally conservative. Historically, therefore, Lima Barreto was prone to portray a functionary's peccadilloes as gross iniquities. From a literary point of view such distortion seems more admissible in the light of the very nature of satire. Yet at times Lima's political satires seem to be too personally vengeful, and too negative in order to achieve a comic effect.

However, despite these limitations in the portrayal of Republican society, Lima Barreto's political short stories are notable. First, one cannot fail to be deeply impressed

by the tremendous courage with which Lima Barreto, the civil servant, catalogued his military superiors' foibles. From a literary point of view Lima Barreto's political short stories introduced serious proletarian literature into a literature often dominated by frivolity, pomposity and a general sense of alienation from the national reality. In an era when the turgid style of Coelho Neto dominated tastes, Lima Barreto's works foreshadowed the Northeastern novelists of the 1930's. Secondly, from an historical perspective, we must admit that, despite the distortions, Lima Barreto perceived, as few in the Brazil of his time did, the fraudulent nature of the Old Republic's pretensions to democracy. Although there were others such as Graça Aranha, Euclides da Cunha and Monteiro Lobato were not blind to society's malaise, only Lima Barreto attempted at all times to analyze, from the point of view of the oppressed, the political structures which perpetrated the numerous social injustices.

1. Tomás Antônio Gonzaga's Cartas chilenas, directed at Governor Cunha Meneses, is also a possible source for the Contos argelinos.
2. Barbosa, p. 117.
3. Burns, p. 202.
4. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 52.
5. Burns, pp. 846-848.
6. Brandão, p. 34.
7. Burns, p. 205.
8. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, p. 110.
9. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 293.
10. Donald E. Worcester. Brazil: From Colony to World Power. (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1973), p. 76.
11. Bello, p. 76.
12. Worster, pp. 140-141.
13. Burns, pp. 220-221.
14. Bello, pp. 156-157.
15. Rollie Poppino. Brazil: The Land and the People. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 223-224.
16. Bello, p. 167.
17. Ibid., pp. 182-183.
18. Vicente Tapajós. História do Brasil. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1967), pp. 454-456.
19. Bello, pp. 197-209.
20. Burns, pp. 247-248.
21. Bello, p. 241.
22. Ibid., p. 213.
23. Burns, pp. 252-254.
24. Ibid., p. 272.

25. Brandão, p. 134.
26. Lima Barreto, "Sua alteza imperial Jan-Ghothe,"
Histórias e sonhos, p. 253.
27. Lima Barreto, "El-Kazenadji," Histórias e sonhos, p.
257.
28. Bello, p. 218.
29. Ibid., pp. 216-229.
30. Burns, p. 247.
31. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, pp. 70-71.
32. Ibid., p. 222.
33. Bello, p. 227.
34. Lima Barreto, "A solidariedade de Al-Bandeirah,"
Histórias e sonhos, p. 266. (Future references to
the story will be indicated in the text by the title
and page number.)
35. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 267.
36. Ralph Della Cava. Miracle at Joaseiro. (New York:
Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 157-161.
37. Lima Barreto, "O reconhecimento," Histórias e sonhos,
p. 267.
38. Bello, p. 226.
39. Ibid., p. 106.
40. Lima Barreto, "O anel de Perdicas," Histórias e sonhos,
p. 270.
41. Lima Barreto, "Os Kalogheras," Histórias e sonhos, pp.
271-272.
42. Martins, Homens e livros, pp. 25-30.
43. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 184.
44. Martins, Homens e livros, pp. 24-30.
45. Lima Barreto, "Arte de governar," Histórias e sonhos,
p. 275.
46. Lima Barreto, "Boa medida," Histórias e sonhos, p. 278.

47. Lima Barreto, "Hussein Ben-Ali Al-Balec," Histórias e sonhos, p. 90. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
48. Lima Barreto, "Eficiência militar," Histórias e sonhos, pp. 274-275.
49. Lima Barreto, "O falso Dom Henrique V," Gonzaga de Sá, p. 262. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
50. Bello, p. 28.
51. Ibid., pp. 26-31.
52. Ibid., p. 11.
53. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, p. 110.
54. Bello, pp. 33-45.
55. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 48.
56. Worster, pp. 1-2.
57. Jovelino P. Ramos. "Interpretando o fenômeno Canudos" Luso-Brazilian Review. II (Summer, 1974), pp. 65-83.
58. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, p. 251.
59. Lima Barreto, "O caçador doméstico," Histórias e sonhos, p. 248. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
60. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, pp. 151-157.
61. Lima Barreto's political beliefs prejudiced him against American political or economic intervention.
62. Lima Barreto, "Congresso pamplanetário," Histórias e sonhos, p. 67. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
63. Lima Barreto, Feiras e mafuás, p. 209.
64. Lima Barreto, "O meu Carnaval," Gonzaga de Sá, p. 243. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
65. Lima Barreto, Feiras e mafuás, p. 209.
66. Lima Barreto, "A sombra do Romariz," Gonzaga de Sá,

pp. 258-259.

67. Della Cava, pp. 4-6.
68. Lima Barreto, "O último assassinato de Cazuza," Gonzaga de Sá, p. 179. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and the page number.)
69. Lima Barreto, "Um que vendeu a sua alma," Gonzaga de Sá, pp. 281-284.
70. Lima Barreto, "O pecado," Gonzaga de Sá, pp. 277-279.
71. Lima Barreto, "Uma noite no Lírico," Histórias e sonhos, pp. 125-130.
72. Lima Barreto, "A indústria da caridade," Histórias e sonhos, pp. 233-236.
73. Lima Barreto, "O feiticeiro e o deputado," Histórias e sonhos, pp. 119-124.

CHAPTER V

A. Women in the Short Stories of Lima Barreto

Lima Barreto's first area of concern with regard to the role of women in society is the problem of prostitution. Lima Barreto's sensitive prostitutes are generally greatly spiritualized. They are almost without exception poor suffering girls whose honor was lost precisely because of their innocence and their purity. An overly romantic upbringing, which filled their naive minds with absurd notions of love and which did not prepare them for the harsh reality¹ of life of the poorer classes, often caused their disgrace. At times, in a manner reminiscent of Álvares de Azevedo, these girls are viewed neo-romantically as rebels against an unjust social system.² They are partially modeled after Dostoevsky's Sonia, whose self-sacrificing religiosity regenerates the disturbed intellectual Raskolnikov.³

"Uma vagabunda" presents the reader with a putain respectueuse who rescues an alcoholic writer. "Na janela" criticizes, as does "Clara dos Anjos," the overly idealistic upbringing given naive poor girls. "Adélia" presents the tribulations of a young girl, indifferent to material wealth, whose poverty drives her to prostitution and, eventually, to her death. "Um e outro" offers a more traditional portrait of the prostitute as a jaded perverse creature in the tradition of Zola's Nana. Here the prostitute is a foreigner, devoid of virtue, whose materialism only serves to corrupt

Brazilian political life. The difference in perspective would seem to result from Lima Barreto's possible xenophobia.

Lima Barreto also dedicated a small number of short stories to examining the role of women in the institution of marriage. Here Lima Barreto's position ranges from inconsistent and ambivalent to openly contradictory. During the first phase of the author's writings, love and marriage were often regarded as pernicious to the intellectual who consequently would be burdened with the financial responsibilities of providing for a family; the intellectuals of the Bruzundangas suffer under such a burden. During the second phase, Lima Barreto presented the reader with female protagonists, such as Olga in Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma and Edgarda in Numa e a ⁴ninfa, who were very clearly idealized, intelligent heroines. In his short stories, Lima Barreto's general position is one of great sympathy and understanding for these superior women trapped in marriages to mediocre men. At times, however, Lima Barreto reverted to misogyny even as late as 1921. In that year Lima Barreto published his "A amanuense" and "A poliantéia das burocratas" which questioned female intellectuality.

"Numa e a ninfa" criticizes the academic instruction given girls of superior academic ability, which inculcates in them the desire to choose husbands on the basis of financial prosperity rather than intellectual ability. In this case adultery, and not prostitution, is the means by which the frustrated heroine revolts against the intellectu-

ally stifling environment of her "advantageous" marriage. "Livia" similarly illustrates the plight of a sensitive, spiritual girl married to a dull functionary.

"O tal negócio de prestações," "Quase ela deu o sim, mas....," "A cartomante," and "A mulher do Anacleto" are all amusing but superficial vignettes of married life. The first illustrates feminine frivolity and lack of intellectuality. The last three offer an opposing view of women as superior creatures.

B. The Prostitute

Lima Barreto's singular penchant for reversing moral appearances is indicated ironically in the very title "Uma vagabunda." Alzira, the harlot, seems to incarnate both a sense of charity with a spirit of rebellion. Aggressive yet kind, Alzira gives testimony to a firmness of character lacking in the intellectualized protagonist of Lima Barreto.

In "Uma vagabunda" Lima Barreto avails himself of the already familiar structural device of a simple narration embedded in a conversation. As usual, the conversation takes place in a café in downtown Rio de Janeiro. The figure of the alcoholic novelist and narrator reveals quite clearly an autobiographical element. Frederico, despite his literary successes, has been betrayed by society. He leads an alcoholic and impoverished existence. He gratefully remembers his companion in misfortune, Alzira. Although they had once enjoyed a close friendship, theirs had always been a platonic relationship. Never had there been romantic overtones, or

hints of such. Frederico merely served as her confidant in whom she could safely confide the heart-rending troubles of a social outcast. Frederico would spend long hours listening compassionately to Alzira's accounts of the tricks she used to play on high society. For the timid intellectual, Alzira was a source of unlimited information about a social world closed to a poor writer. Some time before Alzira had borrowed five mil-réis from Frederico, who had just received his pay check. When she is refused a second loan, Alzira pridefully throws the money in Frederico's face. A short time later, Frederico, now totally down on his luck, needs compassion. Alzira happens to pass by, sees her sickly alcoholic friend and pays his fare home. This small act of charity on the part of a "whore" has ever since remained locked in the mind of the narrator.

The narrator perhaps sympathizes with the unfortunate plight of Alzira because of her status as a pariah and a mal-content. Although the question of race never appears, one remembers Lima Barreto's deep personal anguish over the fate of his sister Evangelina and indeed for all poor Negro women, whom he regarded as prey for the immoral. Although the narrator supplies little detail, it is most probable that poverty and its attendant misery and suffering lead Alzira to moral degradation: "(Alzira estava) batida pela sorte, pelo infortúnio e pela maldade dos homens."⁵

When the inferior position of women in society, and poor or Negro women in particular, is considered, prostitution

becomes an almost noble profession to the extent that it gives solace to the lonely. At one point Lima Barreto confessed to his diary that prostitution seemed one of the most noble professions.⁶

The rebellious prostitute who avenges her poverty by squandering the wealth of the affluent is a traditional figure in romantic literature.⁷ Alzira, perhaps in this spirit of rebellion, once frivolously wasted large sums of money supplied her generous lovers. These, we are told, were often distinguished Republican officials, who denied her no luxury. Since she had known poverty from birth, Alzira enjoyed spending the rich man's money freely. Rather than drowning in remorse, she was wont to regard and to recall her most successful era of anti-social exploits with some degree of nostalgia.

Ela não parecia ter dor em recordar os belos dias passados, parecia antes ter prazer...gostava até da emoção que ela sentia, narrando o seu triunfo, quando, trepada no alto dos carros de Carnaval, era aclamada pelas famílias, nas ruas apinhadas por onde passava... ("Uma vagabunda," 194)

Although Frederico attempts to appear strong by flaunting bourgeois morality with his so-called proezas, his motto "O burguês bebe champanha, o herói bebe aguardente" ("Uma vagabunda," 195) only helps to underline his tendency to alcoholism. As in the case of all of Lima Barreto's introspective protagonists, society is ultimately the victor. Frederico, unable to obtain even the royalties which are his due, takes no "revenge" on society.

Frederico's chronic alcoholism eventually reaches suicidal proportions. Precisely when Frederico is weakest, Alzira returns in the role of the good Samaritan.

...o meu aspecto era da mais completa miséria. Minha roupa estava sebosa, meu chapéu de palha muito sujo, cabeludo, barba velha, e, além de tudo, sobreviera-me uma fraqueza de pálpebras que me obrigava a usar uns sinistros óculos escuros de mendigo semi-cego. ("Uma vagabunda," 196)

In Clara dos Anjos Dona Castorina, although also uneducated, is able to prevent her Bohemian intellectual husband Leonardo from self-destruction through alcoholism by her understanding and kindness. It is also quite possible that the weaker Frederico desired this type of relationship but was too timid to express himself. Alzira could have been his source of strength. Despite her lack of higher education, she has become his spiritual guide: "Ela me contava as histórias de aventuras passadas, quer as de jogo, quer as de amor, eu as ouvia para aprender a vida com aquela mulher." ("Uma vagabunda," 194) One is reminded of the author's own shyness in the presence of women and his chaste admiration for Cecília, a Portuguese prostitute "married" to a friend.

"Na janela," an unpretentious short story of a mere three pages in length, aims at illustrating the innocence of poor unwilling girls forced into prostitution. As in "Clara dos Anjos," Lima criticizes parents who fail to educate their daughters to the cold and harsh realities of life in the "subúrbio."

"Na janela" records the naive conversation of two

childishly simple prostitutes looking out of the window of a city brothel. These unfortunates amuse one another by recounting their fall from social grace through the treachery of deceitful men. One, a newly-wedded country girl, was left abandoned in the big city without financial support by her previously devoted husband. The other credulous girl, the more loquacious of the two, foolishly allowed herself to be compromised by flirting with too many men. One indiscretion proved enough to cause her disgrace. In the last paragraph the omniscient narrator appears to contrast the girls' lack of culpability with the cupidity of the onlookers in the street.

"Na janela" does not condone the behavior of the two girls. Rather it leaves aside the questions of social determinism raised in "Uma vagabunda" in order to criticize the environment in which the unfortunates were raised. Their seclusion, their excessively idealistic notions of romantic love, and their lack of a formal and rigorous academic training have left them quite naive. Rather than insuring their moral behavior, such preparation left them in their ignorance easy and likely prey to unscrupulous men.

After her first "affair" the only education the more vivacious of the girls had received was parental beatings. Innocent in her isolation, she could not resist certain little liberties. For a loving and extroverted person by nature, such behavior hardly seemed evil. Before long, however, despite constant physical punishment, she lost her virginity.

Now she regrets not having been more sly or sovina since she has learned to suspect all men as scoundrels or malandros. She laments not knowing then what she knows now in her humiliating life of a prostitute: "Fui assi: pediam-me beijos, abraços, cabelos, e eu dava por pena, unicamente. Se eu tivesse sido mais sovina, não estava nesta vida."⁹

The narrator seems to reject Brazil's traditional double standard in sexual matters. Once the girl's virginity was lost, prostitution was her only recourse, sad as it was. Her only true "love," and platonic at that, was for a noted intellectual who soon became embarrassed by the girl's very presence although he himself seems to have led a less than exemplary life. "Na janela" aims at making people aware of such tragedies.

"Adélia" is closely related thematically to "Uma vagabunda" and "Clara dos Anjos." Here Lima Barreto reinforces the almost romantic image of the prostitute as a sensitive being whose physical degradation is caused less by an act of her free will than by the inherent immorality of society itself.¹⁰

"Adélia" records the conversation of two friends who discuss in a café the hypocrisy of public charity,¹¹ declared "espúria e perversa." Such spurious charity only exists, the narrator concludes, because public institutions of charity afford wealthy individuals and physicians the opportunity to display their "benevolence" openly. Also, public charity offers religious sects the opportunity to

proselytize. In neither instance, however, is the material welfare of the sons and daughters of the poor provided for beyond the most insignificant and trivial assistance.

Adélia's case is cited by the indignant narrator as an all too frequent example of society's perversity. Adélia was the daughter of an impoverished working family. Her Italian father lived in a state of concubinage with her Portuguese mother. Adélia would have hardly survived her traumatic birth without the medical attentions of the poor-house physician, the noted Dr. Castrioto. The narrator's sarcastic tone clearly indicates that the learned physician's skillful attention was motivated more out of a sense of professional pride than one of compassion. With the birth of the sickly infant, Dr. Castrioto's alleged charity ends. Adélia, still quite weak and sickly, barely survives her pitiful existence in a tenement slum. She marries young, as do most girls of her economic class who are lucky enough to marry. It is only a year after her wedding that her beloved husband contracts tuberculosis; the needy Adélia is then lead by an unscrupulous man into prostitution. She enjoys a short period of relative prosperity, but by the age of thirty, she becomes sickly. Shortly thereafter she dies in a charitable institution similar to the one in which she was born.

With few exceptions Lima Barreto does not present the reader with the prostitute as an immoral, lascivious creature. On the contrary she is, despite the apparent immorality of

her life, childishly innocent and deeply sensitive.

Despite Adélia's fragile physical constitution, from birth her eyes consistently revealed a deep gentleness. The eyes, it is to be remembered, were consistently used by Lima¹² Barreto to denote virtue and sensitivity.

...a criança era um só olhar. As pernas lhe eram uns palitos, os braços descarnados, esqueléticos, moviam-se nas convulsões de choro sinistramente. Com tais membros e o ventre ressequido e a boca umedecida de uma baba viçosa, a criança parecia premida por tôdas as forças universais, físicas, e espirituais. O seu olhar, entretanto, era calmo. Era azul-turqueza, doce e vago. No meio da desgraça do seu corpo, a placidez do seu olhar tinha um tom zombeiteiro. ("Adélia," 116)

Unlike Clara dos Anjos, Adélia is unable to resist the gigolo who takes advantage of the domestic tragedy. As in the guerras conjugais of Dalton Trevisan, her marriage leads to a catastrophe. In this instance it is her tubercular husband. The charitable institution which aided in Adélia's birth now refuses assistance, and so Adélia becomes a prostitute. Unlike Clara, she is not seduced by notions of romantic love, but she quite simply needs money for medical bills for her husband. The suburbs are filled with types like Cassi Jones de Azevedo (Clara dos Anjos), always ready to make a "loan."

Again like Clara, Adélia is poorly educated and unable to comprehend the wider moral implications of her degrading act. Thus, her "immoral" life does not belie her characterization as innocent: "Foi, e foi muitas vezes, mas sempre sem pesar, sem compreender bem o que fazia..." ("Adélia," 117)

Adélia possesses an almost religious sense of life.

The narrator assures us that her vague distant glance never noticed the lascivious men and the gaudy material possessions which surrounded her.

Teve carros. Frequentou teatros e bailes duvidosos, mas o seu olhar sempre saía dêles procurando coisas longínquas e indefinidas. Recebeu jóias. Olhava-as. Tudo lhe interessou e nada disso amou. ("Adélia," 118)

As in the case of all of Lima Barreto's somewhat spiritualized protagonists, Adélia is highly sensitive to nature. "Uma vagabunda" ended with a similar almost pantheistic note reminiscent of the prostitute Sonia's spiritual regeneration of Raskolnikov in Siberia. One night on Leme Beach, Adélia experiences an almost mystical union with nature, an experience not unknown to Lima Barreto himself.

A curva suave da praia e a imensa tristeza do oceano prendiam-na. Defronte do mar, animava-se, dizia coisas altas que passavam pelas cabeças das companheiras, cheias de mistério, como o voo longo das patas selvagens, à hora crepuscular. ("Adélia," 118)

As in the case of all good people in Lima Barreto's fictional world, spirituality leads only to oppression. Adélia dies, prematurely, in the same sort of poorhouse which saw her come into the world.

At first glance in "Um e outro" Lima Barreto surprisingly seems to have adopted a radically contradictory position on prostitutes in view of his more lenient views expressed in "Uma vagabunda," "Adélia," and "Na janela." His position is not, however, altogether inconsistent. In "Um e outro" the prostitute is the traditional jaded figure of Brazilian literature; she is moral corruption personified.

Lola, the prostitute analyzed, is different from the other prostitutes in Lima Barreto's fiction in that she is a foreigner. The economic changes brought about by the Republic favored mass immigration from southern Europe to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Lima Barreto questioned the advisability of immigration for a nation with a vast reserve of unskilled impoverished Negro labor and xenophobically doubted the loyalty of the new labor force to Brazil. The foreign harlot, given her accessibility to leading politicians, represented, for Lima Barreto, a potential threat to Brazil.¹³

Lola is an affluent but aging Spanish whore maintained by a social climbing Brazilian businessman named Freitas. The omniscient narrator reveals Lola's thoughts which show her to be so captivated by vice as to be devoid of virtue.

Lola's sole beauty is entirely physical; at fifty she is still more attractive than most of her younger competitors. Her obvious financial success has made Lola a veritable grande dame imitated by younger and poorer Brazilian girls. Only two thoughts darken and disturb her existence. The first is death. Her necrophobia is based on fearful visions of the corruption of her physical beauty. The second fear is the masses, whose commonness and poverty painfully remind her of her humble birth. Although the bourgeois Freitas is her bountiful "sugar-daddy," Lola compounds her immorality by betraying him for a limousine chauffeur whom she showers with expensive gifts. The egotistical harlot does not love the chauffeur; it is the luxurious limousine that she adores. To her primitive mind, the machine sym-

bolizes her power over the masses. When she discovers that her driver-lover has abandoned the limousine service for the life of a common cabbie, Lola is shocked.

The narrator leaves no doubt that Lola, although once poor in her native Spain, is the very antithesis of Lima Barreto's Adélia. Lola stands in the same relation to the economic class of her birth as did Cassi Jones de Azevedo's Negro lackey Timbó. Despite environmental factors which favored her choice of "profession," in "Um e outro" Lima Barreto does not seem to be deterministic. Lola, unlike Adélia, is enamored of lust.

In the words of the narrator Lola was promiscuous by natural inclination. Beyond prostitution dictated by poverty, Lola preferred to surround herself with influential lovers. Whereas Adélia's indifference is mystical, which is to say that Adélia seems unable to consider this life anything but a dream, Lola's indifference is egotistical. Lola regards her lovers as too numerous and too banal, in her opinion, to be remembered.

Quantos a provaram? Ela não podia sequer avaliar o número aproximado. Passava por sua lembrança numerosas fisionomias. Muitas ela não fixara bem na memória e surgiram-lhe à recordação como coisas 14 vagas, sombras, pareciam espíritos...

A test of the spirituality of any Lima Barretian protagonist is his or her reaction to the natural beauties of Guanabara Bay. Lola is totally blind in this regard.

A Lola, porém, não se demorou em olhar o mar, nem o horizonte, a natureza lhe era completamente indiferente e não fêz nenhuma reflexão sobre o trecho que a via passar. ("Um e outro," 251)

Lola's cold indifference to Rio de Janeiro's charms explains the particularly vengeful glee with which the omniscient narrator catalogues her vices. Her indifference stands for a larger ignorance of Brazilian traditions. A foreigner, Lola spreads her moral corruption to Brazil, her adopted country which she can never understand nor love. Her immorality, therefore, takes on wider political considerations.

The foreign prostitute feels herself alienated from her Brazilian colleagues. Once poor herself, she has rejected her class to assume the airs of European nobility, which she can easily do in the Brazil of her day. She is a duquesa, superior to common workers.

Que as vagabundas comuns morressem, vá! Que as criadas morressem, vá! Ela, porém, ela que tivera tantos amantes ricos, ela que causara rixas, suicídios, e assassinatos, morrer era uma iniquidade sem nome. ("Um e outro, 248)

Lola refuses to perform manual labor of any kind. On the bonde she shirks from any contact with others. She feels no solidarity with her former class.

Considerou dessa vez os vizinhos. Todos lhe pareciam destestáveis. Tinham um ar de pouco dinheiro e regularidade sexual abominável. Que gente! ("Um e outro, 251)

Although Lima portrayed racism as a major issue in Brazil "Um e outro" seems to soften the portrait of racial prejudice. Rita is a mulatto and a prostitute reminiscent of Azevedo's Rita Baiana (O cortiço). Despite her race, her favors are courted openly by many. Even Freitas, the bourgeois businessman lover of Lola, desires her charms. Although Rita is clearly marked as a mulata and has, as such,

the narrator assures us, implicit social limits to her success, she is admired as beautiful. Lola rejects Rita with a racist epithet uttered with a violence embarrassing to the Brazilian Freitas. For Lola, Rita is a mere negra presumptuous enough to dress well. All Negro women, she thinks, should dress in rags, a dress more appropriate for scrubbing bathroom floors. Lola ultimately does not feel threatened since high society will never permit a Negress to succeed. Yet Lola's violent racism adds a disturbing foreign note to the more tranquil Brazilian racial scene.

Lola's most pernicious influence is on Brazilian economic life. In Numa e a ninfa the foreign harlot Arlete similarly corrupts Brazilian political life. Lola, also a devotée of the Rua do Catete, has succeeded in controlling Freitas, an up-and-coming businessman with a large, prestigious firm. Freitas is a serious and rather dull bourgeois whose future would seem to hold promise. His only weakness is Lola, on whom he shamelessly squanders money. To this extent, Lola already controls Freitas and conceivably enough, through him and his firm, a small degree of Brazilian economic life.

"O cemitério" is a short work of a mere page and a half which is more a crônica, given its plotless nature, than a short story. Its general theme, that of ubi sunt would hardly be worthy of note if it did not appear to follow Lola to the grave.

The narrator merely recounts how one brief episode

left a lasting impression on his life. One day, in the graveyard, he chanced upon a tomb where, judging from the photograph, one of the belles of the Rua do Ouvidor lay buried. The narrator then proceeds to meditate morbidly on the repugnant decomposition of her once beautiful flesh. One cannot help feeling that Lima Barreto here has had his final revenge on the chic whore.

C. Married Life

"Numa e a ninfa" is closely related to the novel of the same name. It may be considered also a satire of both Brazilian political and intellectual life in the Old Republic and of the institution of matrimony. The center of interest, the "nymph" of the title, is a young intelligent girl named Gilberta (Edgarda in the novel) whose unhappy marriage to an intellectual non-entity, Deputy Numa Pompílio de Castro, has hindered her academic development. In the previously studied works, Lima questioned the efficacy of the domestic upbringing given poor girls. In "Numa e a ninfa" he has switched his attention from the poor uneducated girl trapped in a life of prostitution to the wealthy girl of intellectual ability superficially educated in convent schools. Despite her advantages, this type of gifted girl is trapped similarly by society in politically expedient marriages to affluent men of inferior intellectual ability.¹⁵ Adultery, not prostitution, is the means of rebellion for this type of woman.

When Gilberta and Deputy Numa Pompílio de Castro walk down the Rua do Ouvidor, there is not a soul who does not regard them as living proof of the wisdom of the institution of marriage. The omniscient narrator then proceeds to undermine this note of middle-class complacency by investigating the sordid details of their personal lives. Numa is a brilliant orator who one day in Congress breaks his hitherto long silence to debate wisely a major issue. This day of eloquence gives birth to rumors that persist about a possible presidential nomination for Dr. Castro. Behind this brilliant façade, however, lies a well-hidden secret; the congressman owes his oratorical skills to two ghost writers, his wife Gilberta and her poet lover. Numa is fully aware of the second deceit. He first painfully discovered his wife's adultery on the eve of a major political debate but since then he has chosen to swallow his pride rather than to jeopardize his promising political career.

At first glance "Numa e a ninfa" would appear to be a study of immorality, more specifically of political and marital hypocrisy. Such a thesis would damn Numa and Gilberta who is to be pitied as a victim of her environment. Similar to Adélia, Gilberta's upbringing "prostituted" her long before her act of adultery. First there is her very influential father, Senator Neves Cogominho. He is the chief politico of the powerful dynasty that controls the imaginary Brazilian state of Sernambi as one big latifundium. Her family has literally made and destroyed all the political

and personal fortunes of the population of an entire state. In the midst of such affluence, Gilberta should be expected to suffer none of the tragic misfortunes so common to Lima Barreto's indigent prostitutes. Although Gilberta was freed from economic privation, she was no more content than her sisters struggling in poverty. Her parents enrolled her in a rather exclusive convent school located in Petrópolis. This noble institution of learning taught her to regard herself as an aristocrat whose happiness would depend on an advantageous marriage. Her intelligence, only later to be revealed to herself during Numa's political crisis, was never stimulated or challenged. It simply lay dormant. A true education would have developed, needless to say, her many talents and gifts. Freed from economic considerations in marriage, she should have happily married a man of letters like her cousin. For them marriage, rather than being a hinderance to their intellectual development, would have become a utopia, an ideal state. However, like the prostitute in "Na janela" who laments her youthful ignorance of the world, Gilberta, partially because of her education in Petrópolis, married foolishly. Just as Clara had dreamt absurdly romantic notions of love, Gilberta in the isolated and lonely environment of her father's house dreamt of marriage as an escape. Her marriage to Numa, seen in this light of escapism, was her one truly immoral act. Her act of adultery becomes her liberation in the mind of the sympathetic narrator. By marrying for money, she, in igno -

rance, prostituted herself.

As intelligent as she is, she quickly becomes deceived with her husband. The narrator does not make us wonder why. Numa Pompílio de Castro shows himself to be a greedy buffoon in the tradition of Lima's bacharéis. Numa, as with most students at the Escola Politécnica in Lima Barreto's opinion, considered a university education an unpleasant trial that one suffered through in order to seize later a lucrative bureaucratic position in the new government. Never did he regard the university as an opportunity for intellectual growth. Numa, in reality, passionately detested his legal studies in the law school in Recife. He despised books in general and during his five-year career, surprisingly, he was able to pass without opening a single volume. He invariably managed to pass with distinction by memorizing faithfully but without comprehension trots especially prepared for each course. On one occasion, Numa stupidly wrote in an examination that 17 grams of arsenic were fatal when the true answer was a mere 17/100 of a milligram. This incredible error, due to a misreading of an almost illegible trot, cost him a medal at graduation. Similar to most of Lima's prosperous "intellectuals," Numa owes his initial academic success to plagiarism. A general lack of critical intelligence combined with mental sloth and general moral dishonesty made true intellectual labors too arduous for Numa. Righteous action, even when he became cognizant of his wife's adultery, was never his forte.

Se o fizesse, vinha a coisa a público, todos, saberiam do segredo da sua inteligência e adeus câmara, ministério, e quem sabe a presidência da República.

O que é que se jogava ali? Sua honra? Era pouco. O que se jogava ali eram a sua inteligência, a sua carreira, era tudo! Não, pensou êle de si para si, lá vou deitar-me.

A typical carpetbagger in reverse, Numa heads south to conquer the capital. This unscrupulous graduate, through political patronage, is appointed judge in Sernambi where he promptly renders all legal decisions in favor of Senator Neves Cogominho's vested interests. Through proper connections in journalism and through an advantageous marriage to the daughter of the local political boss, Numa dishonestly promotes his career. After his marriage of expedience, he uses Gilberta as he had once used trots in order to appear brilliant. Totally without virtue, Numa becomes a personification of ignorance and immorality.

Such is Gilberta's oppressive environment. A victim of an empty and foolish education, of a narrow home environment and a tragic marriage, Gilberta is a prisoner. Once enlightened, she detests her intellectually unequal partner and her unfortunate, immoral marriage. Yet in the conservative society in which she is forced to exist, her hidden and obscure role of speech writer becomes her only creative outlet. Here, despite Lima Barreto's opposition to Nilo Peçanha's introduction of women into the bureaucracy, Lima seems to support a professional role for women beyond the then traditional role of wife and mother.

Robert D. Herron pointed out the fundamental

misreading of Numa e a ninfa which regarded Edgarda as immoral as her husband.¹⁷ Although Gilberta is instrumental in perpetrating a fraud, her actions must be judged within the limiting circumstances of her unintellectual environment, as in the case of Lima's prostitutes. Here it would be good to remember Lima Barreto's interest in environmental determinism and his criticisms of Machado's lack of concern for environmental detail.¹⁸ As in the case of the suffering prostitute, Gilberta's beautiful eyes glow in loving radiance. Originally aggressive, she too is now indifferent to her hidden political successes after her painful marital deception. She is often given to sad meditation. Gilberta merely stares pensively into the distance when, almost reduced to tears, her frantic husband begs her for assistance. Although the narrator does not touch on her spirituality, such brief references to her pensive nature seem to indicate a tendency to other worldliness.

Ela sorriu indefinadamente com os seus grandes olhos claros, apanhou com uma das mãos os cabelos que lhe caíram sôbre a testa; e depois de ter estendido molemente o braço, meio nu sôbre a cama, respondeu...
 ("Numa e a ninfa," 287)

In "Uma vagabunda" the prostitute playfully takes revenge on the cruel society that caused her disgrace. This she does by squandering the wealth of the Republic's politicians. Gilberta's revenge takes the form of an equally radical adultery. Once again, when we consider Lima conservative moral philosophy regarding female sexuality, it becomes doubtful that Lima Barreto intended to condone

adultery as such. If we concede the impossibility of divorce in Catholic Brazil, adultery becomes, despite its unpleasantness, a radical means by which an intellectually gifted woman such as Gilberta may take revenge on the institution which denies her fulfillment. Once she realizes the true nature of marital love, her happiness would be assured by marriage to her more intellectual cousin. It would seem, then, that the narrator would favor divorce in such cases, a solution no less radical than adultery, even for many Brazilians today.

Her lover is an interesting type. In Lima Barreto's early phase he seemed to feel that marriage should be avoided by intellectuals given the general ignorance of intellectual matters by Brazilian women in the early 1900's and the responsibilities of family life.¹⁹ Gilberta's lover, the Bohemian poet, symbolizes a more moderate position on the author's part. Together Gilberta and her poet lover form a truly ideal couple where one inspires and supports the other in their interests. It would be this type of marriage that Gonzaga de Sá recommends for Machado. Such marriages on the basis of intellectuality rather than economics clearly, however, remain a distant ideal as long as intelligent women receive an "education" which trains them to choose wealthy husbands. Bohemian poets would rarely, if ever, classify.

Lima Barreto uses the indirect-discourse method of narration in "Lívia" to penetrate the surface thoughts of a typical lower middle-class suburban girl. Lívia is at once

an individual and a symbol. She is a Clara, or an Adélia, an Emma Bovary of the suburbs. At home she is dominated by over-zealous parents who force her in frustration to spend her days dreaming escapist romantic dreams of knights in shining armor who will gloriously rescue her some day from her dull domestic chores. In Livia's simple mind marriage represents liberation; it becomes her only goal in life, her humble life's sole ambition. She wildly and constantly daydreams of marriage. The only note of realism permitted into Livia's fantasy world is her concern of marrying well, and this meant marriage to a university graduate, if at all possible. But she rejects this last dream since her godfather is just a poor railroad employee. Her dream is just to get away from home by marrying as soon as possible.

Behind the narrator's understanding rendition of a simple girl's fantasies lies Lima Barreto's censure of the upbringing that produced good but naive girls such as Livia. With her absurdly romantic notions of love, Livia could be easy prey for any unscrupulous Don Juan.

Livia is a lower middle-class suburban girl who spends her day working and dreaming naively about impossible loves. At home she is responsible for tending to most of the domestic chores and drudgery. As an escape from her monotonous life Livia longs for a man who will take her away. The simple tale ends when her mother harshly interrupts her romantic dreams with some new household duties.

Livia's main problem is her domestic education which has kept her ignorant of the real world beyond her home. She

has been taught to desire marriage above even personal growth and development. This has caused her to live in a world of fantasy. At home she becomes little more than a maid. Her brother-in-law hurries off daily to downtown Rio de Janeiro, but Livia invariably remains behind in the drab suburb. Her ignorance of city life, therefore, enhances Rio de Janeiro as a fascinating, unreal place similar to Emma Bovary's Paris.

Representaram-se-lhe os teatros de luxo, os bailes de tom, a rua da moda onde triunfavam as belezas. Ao considerar isso, viu-se ali também, ela sim!, ela, que não era feia, tendo o seu porte flexível e longo, envolvido de rendas, a desprender custosas essências e aquêles seus dedos de unhas de nácar, ornados de ouro e pérolas, escolhendo na mais chic loja, cassas baptistes, voiles... 20

From her earliest childhood Livia has been encouraged to think only about marriage, her summum bonum. She has been taught that a good marriage depends not upon the moral or intellectual qualities of the man but rather on his profession. A bacharel would be most desirable, especially since Livia dreams wildly of traveling to Paris. Her first love is Godofredo, but he is only a mere employee of the railroad. Siqueira, a future pharmacist, might well be able to afford a trip to Europe: "Numa galopada de sonhos, supôs maiores cousas e lembrando-se do que lhe contara a madrinha (oh! como era rica!) - imaginou a Europa." ("Livia," 153)

Because of her seclusion and lack of a formal education, Livia remains absurdly naive. As in the case of one of the prostitutes previously studied, Livia, who is affectionate by nature, allows her many suitors certain

liberties. In her naiveté, she is totally unaware of the risk she runs.

Um levará-lhe beijos, outro abraços, outro uma e outra coisa; e sempre, esperando casar-se, isto é, libertar-se, ela ia, lânguidamente, passivamente deixando.
("Lívia," 155)

At times Lívia is given to thought, to questioning her existence, to meditating. Such endeavors surely would seem to denote an intelligence superior to the goals set for her by a marriage conscious society, yet without a formal education, she is unable to order her thoughts logically.

Ao lhe chegar essa interrogação metafísica, para o seu entendimento, ela se perdeu no próprio pensamento, as idéias se baralhavam, turbaram-se, e, depois, fatigada, foi passando vagarosamente a mão esquerda pela testa...("Lívia," 155)

Here one is reminded of the author's personal dilemma. As a black intellectual from the poorer suburbs, Lima would have had to marry out of his race and economic class if he wished to marry at his intellectual level, or he would have had to marry within his class and race by accepting a girl whose education could hardly have been superior to Lívia's. Although the narrator gives us little concrete information, it is possible that Lima Barreto intended to illustrate in "Lívia" not only the weakness of the upbringing given poor girls, but also the impossibility of marriage for the poor intellectual.

Despite the pleasant readability of "O número da sepultura," it is a flawed work. Its defect lies ultimately with Lima Barreto's seemingly contradictory roles as a

misogynist and as a feminist. Behind a general satire of the bureaucracy, "O número da sepultura" lampoons middle-class marriage whose spiritually deadening effects take their toll on the vivacious heroine, Zilda.

Lima Barreto's surprisingly reactionary opposition to Nilo Peçanha's introduction of women into the civil service in his article "A amanuense" and his skepticism regarding women's intelligence conflict with his more liberal pro-feminist opinions.

As mulheres têm muita aptidão para a retenção e para a repetição, sobretudo nas primeiras idades, mas não filtram os conhecimentos através do seu temperamento, não as incorporam à inteligência, ficam sempre como estáticos a elas, não as renovam em si. Daí, a sua pouca capacidade de invenção e criação, mas daí também os seus sucessos nos exames e nos concursos. 21

Such anti-feminism clashes strangely with Gonzaga's laments

about never having married,²² and with Lima Barreto's own frustration over the lack of female intellectuals in Brazil,²³ a lack more liberally attributed at times to environmental²⁴ rather than to genetic factors.

Yet even in "O número da sepultura," with its certain negative note, Lima Barreto's general position with regard to the intellectual and spiritual aspirations of women is one of great sympathy. Zilda is, to a greater or lesser extent, a Gilberta ("Numa e a ninfa") in her superiority to her mediocre husband.

Yet we remain unsure as to the extent with which we are to sympathize with Zilda as a typical heroine unjustly oppressed by a hostile world. The narrator himself

seems to have resolved the issue. Zilda is portrayed both as intelligent and foolish, both as a victim of bourgeois mediocrity and as a typical Brazilian housewife, which is to say, innately unintellectual in Lima Barreto's view. Such thematic obfuscation necessarily weakens "O número da sepultura." On a personal level Lima, as an experienced functionary, might have resented personally the facile success of these female newcomers to the civil service. Yet one wonders why Lima, on an intellectual level, did not extend consistently to women the same warm comprehension and understanding extended to Negroes, who fail intellectually under adverse conditions.

Zilda is the young and charmingly vivacious wife of the dull bureaucrat Augusto Serpa de Castro. She married, under parental pressure, more out of romantic curiosity than out of love. Zilda is vaguely disappointed with her marriage since the magic world of romance promised young girls has failed to materialize. With marriage she has merely passed from the authoritarian discipline of her bureaucrat father to that of her husband. In a gesture of frustration and, perhaps of revolt against her deadly dull marriage, Zilda childishly plays the lottery with the mortgage money. Her inspiration was a dream in which her deceased grandmother lovingly indicated the winning number. Although Zilda wins a fortune, the very next month her husband assumes total control over domestic finances.

The narrator's position concerning Zilda's degree of

intelligence is not altogether coherent. It is easy to determine that Zilda is intended to be the heroine since she is portrayed in such glowing terms. Again in describing her Lima Barreto makes the eyes of great significance.

Era de uma grande vivacidade de fisionomia, muito móbil e vária, embora o seu olhar castanho claro tivesse, em geral, uma forte expressão de melancolia e sonho interior. 25

Despite her childish behavior, it would appear, from her description and from additional information supplied later on, that, if Zilda is not to be taken as overly intelligent, neither is she to be taken as dull-witted. Her very disenchantment with the spiritual vacuum of her marriage argues favorably for her. She is, as in the case of most of Lima Barreto's spiritualized and suffering female protagonists, given to dreaming, to living in a world free from material concerns.

Zilda appears to be generally superior to the environment which dulls her luster. At this point it would be well to remember that, despite her lack of formal instruction and her disciplinarian upbringing, Zilda is far superior to her well-educated husband. He is a complete intellectual non-entity who only serves to frustrate her individuality.

Augusto, Zilda's bureaucrat husband, is the biggest obstacle to her self-fulfillment. Augusto is an important social climbing functionary whose most transcendental concern is efficiency in his paper work. In his devotion to detail he is a Xisto Rodrigues ("Três gênios de secretaria"), and

in his vicious drive to succeed he is a Numa Pompílio de Castro ("Numa e a ninfa"). The narrator's warm description of Zilda's lively eyes contrasts with the almost bitter portrait of Augusto: "Seus olhos eram negros e grandes, com muita pouca luz, mortícios e pobres de expressão, sobretudo de alegria." ("O número da sepultura," 191) Whereas Zilda is capable of independent thought and action, Augusto lives more a machine-like existence than the life of a thinking and educated man. His clichéd opinions are blatantly plagiarized from journals.

Em compensação, não possuía menhuma proeminência de inteligência ou de ação. Era e sempre seria uma boa peça de máquina bem ajustada, bem polida e lubrificada convenientemente, não diminuiria o rendimento daquela mas que sempre precisava da iniciativa estranha para se pôr em movimento. ("O número da sepultura," 191)

Zilda's upbringing has ill prepared her for Augusto's paternalistic mediocrity. She has first of all been taken in by the romantic notions of love taught young girls. Zilda becomes a romantic idealist in the spirit of Stendhal's Mathilde de la Mole. Unfortunately, her cautious bureaucrat "lover" is no Julien Sorel: "Contudo, esperava no casamento alguma coisa inédito até ali, na sua existência de mulher: uma exuberante e contínua satisfação de viver." ("O número da sepultura," 186)

At one point the narrator even openly states for the reader's edification that Zilda's childishness is to attributed to her petit bourgeois upbringing aggravated by little formal instruction. In short, she labors under the very same environmental pressures that hindered Gilberta's

happiness. Through her upbringing Zilda is: "como tôdas as mulheres, de fraca curiosidade intelectual." ("O número da sepultura," 191)

"O número da sepultura," if it is to be more than a meaningless anecdote, would seem to demand, in the tradition of Lima's socially committed didactic literature, an examination of society's adverse effects on Zilda's behavior. The narrator soon returns to the theme of her upbringing which was repressive, to say the least.

A mulher era quase passiva e tendo sido educada na disciplina ultra-regada es esmerilhadora de seu pai, velho funcionário, obediente aos chefes, aos ministros, aos secretários destes e mais bajuladores, às leis e regulamentos, não tinha assomos nem caprichos, nem fortes vontades. Refugiava-se no sonho e, desde que não fôsse multado, estava por tudo. ("O número da sepultura," 188)

In view of her harsh and rather Spartan upbringing plus the sterile intellectuality of her life with Augusto Serpa de Castro, Zilda's vivacity becomes a mark of superiority. Again, one can only wonder what kind of person Zilda would have become had she enjoyed the educational privileges of her husband. As long as young girls are raised in this traditional manner, intellectuals such as Gonzaga de Sá will remain frustrated in their attempts to find suitable feminine companionship.

In "O tal negócio de 'prestapções'" Lima Barreto ridicules feminine frivolity which costs an industrious minor clerk his domestic tranquility and financial security.²⁶ Here one is reminded of Lima's first objection to marriage

on the grounds that the burden of supporting a family detracts a scholar too much from intellectual affairs. "O tal negócio de 'prestações'" comically relates the misadventures of José de Andrade, a hard working, frugal functionary barely able to purchase a modest home for his large family in the equally modest suburb of Inhaúma. Apparently José finds himself cursed and not blessed with several daughters. Dona Conceição, his wife and Vivi, Lolo, Ceci and Lili, his daughters, are industrious but silly, inane creatures. The young girls are truly light-headed and are unable to resist silly purchases of unnecessary clothing and gaudy jewelry from the numerous Arab loan sharks and peddlers. These merchants infest the poorer suburbs with their "bargains" on easy credit. The girls calculate their limited resources earned by sewing and make their purchases accordingly. But Vivi becomes sick, expenses increase while income decreases and their primitive domestic economy collapses. Poor José one fine morning is confronted by five miserly Arabs demanding fifty-nine mil-réis. Because of the short anecdotal nature of "O tal negócio de 'prestações'," it becomes impossible to ascertain clearly what environmental factors Lima Barreto believed to have caused such behavior. Taken at face value, Lima Barreto here seems closer to his misogynist "A polian-téia das burocratas" than in any other fictional work.

The next tale is also a light-hearted vignette of the world of love and marriage. It underlines Lima's sympathy for suburban women of superior moral fiber. In "Quase ela

deu o 'sim', mas..." Lima Barreto returns to the theme of the suburban gigolo best symbolized by his unscrupulous Romeo, Cassi Jones de Azevedo (Clara dos Anjos). João Cazu is a perennially unemployed worker who wastes his time playing soccer and chasing women. A kindly aunt and generous friends supply the indolent cafajeste with sufficient funds. Now Cazu needs a wife who will mother him.

Contudo ainda não estava satisfeito. Restava-lhe a grave preocupação de encontrar quem lhe lavasse e engomasse a roupa, remendasse as calças e outras peças do vestuário, cerzisse as meias, etc., etc., ao seu 27
jeito descansado.

His intended victim is the young widow Ermelinda. Despite attempts by crafty lawyers to repossess her home, she manages well financially through a combination of hard work and shrewd intelligence. Older than Clara Ermelinda evidently is like Gilberta in her wise mistrust of the naive romanticism which led to Clara's downfall. Ermelinda, before considering Cazu's sly offer of marriage, wisely tests his good faith with an expensive shopping list. Needless to say, frightened by the prospect of providing for a family, Cazu flees. Ermelinda was saved from her Cassi by wisdom and experience. Clearly the note of skepticism regarding female sagacity is lacking here.

"A cartomante" is similar to the preceeding tale. Once again, it is the wife whose intelligence and diligence 28
contrast sharply with the sloth of her husband. The husband, in this case, has been unemployed for five years. What little funds he does possess, he borrows shamelessly from

his prematurely aged spouse, who supports him in his selfish style by her continual labors. As irrational as Zilda, he finally concludes his unemployment can only be the result of a voodoo curse. Instead of searching for employment, he searches out a fortune teller who would discover the cause of his misfortune. To his shock, he discovers that the palmist is his wife! Apparently the frivolity of "O tal negócio de 'prestadoes'" is not limited to women.

Oscar Pimentel considered Lima Barreto as a moralist whose neo-Christian sympathy for the Sermon's "poor in spirit" became a guiding aesthetic principle.²⁹ "A mulher do Anacleto" is a simple parable with parallels apparent to any reader of the New Testament.³⁰ It continues "Na janela" with its innocent prostitute, abandoned by her immoral husband, by avenging the poor girl's shame. Anacleto is a civil servant who abuses his meek, suffering wife so brutally that one day, broken psychologically, she flees in panic from the home. An uneducated poor girl, she is naturally unable to support herself, except by one profession, prostitution. The work so degrades her that soon after becoming a prostitute the poor girl dies in the most abject poverty. Anacleto cruelly refuses her the dignity of a Christian burial, and so she is buried by city officials in an anonymous grave. Years later Anacleto has the extraordinary opportunity to marry into wealth, but he is unable to do so legally since no death certificate for his wife exists. In this instance, justice, although belatedly,

finally triumphs.

D. Conclusion

As in his novels, Lima Barreto in his short stories focuses little attention on the role of women in society. Essentially his position is one of great understanding for the plight of the opposite sex, whom he portrays sympathetically as victim of cruel social injustice. Yet at times Lima Barreto confused this issue by questioning the innate intelligence of women. Such ambivalence only serves to distract the reader's attention from the author's bitter exposé of the numerous social injustices under which women, especially poor women, labor. This lack of clarity and the general superficiality with which Lima Barreto portrayed marital problems diminish the value of his short stories about women.

His first preoccupation is the problem of prostitution. Almost always the prostitute is an impoverished young girl whose very childish innocence caused her perdition. Her cloistered upbringing and her naive notions of romantic love in no way prepared the poor girl for the harsh realities of life in the suburbs. She invariably suffers deeply but her humiliation transforms her until she is similar to Dostoevsky's Sonia, whose profound spirituality can regenerate even intellectual nihilists. The prostitute even appears very briefly as a neo-romantic rebel who vengefully squanders the oppressors' wealth. Lima Barreto xenophobically departs from this sympathetic

portrait only when the prostitute is a foreigner greedy for wealth and indifferent to Brazil. Lima Barreto certainly did not condone female sexual promiscuity; he merely commiserated with the poor girls' plight. Perhaps in their suffering, he saw an image of his beloved sister Evangelina for whom he deeply feared the same tragic ending.

Perhaps because he never married, Lima Barreto dedicated few short stories to the role of women in marriage. As a poor Negro intellectual, he obviously felt restricted in his choice of a mate. A girl of his own race and economic class would have offered little intellectual support whereas an educated girl would not have been able to adapt herself to the humble life of the suburbs.

Yet here too the wife is most often the victim. Middle-class marriage, with its emphasis on financial success, frustrates the superior woman's intellectual abilities when it teaches naive young girls to marry for money alone. As long as girls are taught in the better convent schools to regard money as the sole criterion for marriage, poorer intellectuals can have no hope for intellectual companionship with women. When the intelligent girl realizes her mistake, there is no socially acceptable means of escape. Adultery, rather than prostitution, becomes the middle-class woman's method of escape from her intellectually dull marriage.

1. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp. 683-690.
2. Ibid., p. 692.
3. Please consult pages 253, 259 and 274-275 for examples of this type of character.
4. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 688.
5. Lima Barreto, "Uma vagabunda," Histórias e sonhos, p. 194. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and page number.)
6. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 129.
7. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp. 690-692.
8. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 127.
9. Lima Barreto, "Na janela," Histórias e sonhos, p. 243.
10. Lima Barreto, Diário íntimo, p. 129.
11. Lima Barreto, "Adélia," Histórias e sonhos, p. 115. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and page number.)
12. Cavalcânti Proença, "Prefácio," Impressões de leitura, pp. 29-30.
13. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp. 692-693.
14. Lima Barreto, "Um e outro," Clara dos Anjos, p. 248. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and page number.)
15. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," pp. 687-690.
16. Lima Barreto, "Numa e a ninfa," Marginália, p. 290. (Future references to the story will be indicated in the text by the title and page number.)
17. Herron, "The Individual, Society and Nature," p. 688.
18. Lima Barreto, Impressões de leitura, pp. 250-251.
19. Lima Barreto, Os Bruzundangas, p. 115.

20. Lima Barreto, "Lívia," Histórias e sonhos, p. 153.
(Future references to the story will be indicated
in the text by the title and page number.)
21. Lima Barreto, Coisas do reino do Jambon, p. 65.
22. Lima Barreto, Gonzaga de Sá, p. 150.
23. Lima Barreto, Vida urbana, pp. 49-52.
24. Lima Barreto, Bagatelas, p. 173.
25. Lima Barreto, "O número da sepultura," Gonzaga de Sá,
p. 191. (Future reference to the story will be
indicated in the text by the title and page number.)
26. Lima Barreto, "O tal negócio de 'prestações'," Gon-
zaga de Sá, p. 239.
27. Lima Barreto, "Quase ela deu o 'sim' mas...", Gonzaga
de Sá, pp. 217-218.
28. Lima Barreto, "A cartomante," Histórias e sonhos, p.
240.
29. Oscar Pimentel. "Préfacio," Os Bruzundangas. (São
Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961), pp. 9-16.
30. Lima Barreto, "A mulher do Anacleto," Histórias e
sonhos, p. 220.

CONCLUSION

Despite Lima Barreto's passionate early commitment to negrismo in Brazilian literature, autobiographically he restricted himself to a rather narrow portrayal of Negro life. Yet, within this framework, Lima Barreto depicted with great sympathy and understanding the plight of the Negro. In contrast to the popular Brazilian myth of racial harmony, Lima Barreto's depiction of Negro life is exceedingly bitter. Negro women invariably run the peril of seduction by shameless white gigolos eager to lead the too innocent girls into a life of degradation. Ambitious Negro men, no matter how intelligent, are never allowed to succeed without some humiliating degree of capitulation to a society lacking the concept of brotherhood. The Negro worker does not directly appear, rather Lima Barreto simply blends his characterization into that of the poor in general. Essentially, Lima Barreto foreshadows both Jorge Amado's inter-racial vision of the people united by poverty and by suffering and Gilberto Freyre's broad concept of inter-racial cultural heritage.

The delineation of the tragic character of the true intellectual idealistically and disinterestedly dedicated to the noble pursuit of knowledge is often replete with autobiographical elements favorably presented, as is often the case with the short stories dedicated to the Negro. Essentially the intellectual is, like the Negro, an object of

compassion, a victim of society's malfeasance who fatalistically succumbs to the envy of pundits ever ready to plagiarize and to denigrate. In both his novels and in his short stories, Lima Barreto divided intellectuals into two archetypal poles. The intellectual may be either a quixotic dreamer, a Policarpo Quaresma more given to hasty action than to calm meditation. He may be, on the other hand, a contemplative, a Gonzaga de Sá, dejectedly incapable of righting the numerous social and psychological wrongs which trouble his sensitive soul. Lima Barreto apparently never resolved the tension between the two images of the intellectual as observer and as participant. Neither his novels nor his short stories present the reader with an intellectual whose social effectiveness is not diminished by some flaw such as an almost morbid sensitivity. This indecision reflects perhaps on a personal level the author's often confessed sensitivity to insult and his fears of intellectual and artistic inadequacy and on a social level Lima Barreto's bitter disenchantment with the Old Republic's intelligentsia. During his most pessimistic moments he seemed even to despair of changing society through literature without recourse to violence.

The successful academician is invariably a roguish bacharel or law graduate whose insatiable greed and gaudy ostentation know no bounds. In contrast to their impoverished intellectual colleagues' misery, the pseudo-intellectual doutor invariably succeeds by means of an enormous criminal

hoax. For Lima Barreto the whole fabric of Brazilian intellectual life was little more than a whited sepulcher. Guile and not wit leads to academic recognition for Lima Barreto's academic scoundrels.

For those who lack both true intelligence and a diabolic skill for deception, scholarly endeavors still offer some hope for a residence in chic Botafogo. The first alternative, popular with those who lack even the most minimal intelligence but who possess "connections," is the bureaucracy. The second, popular with Lima Barreto's affected physicians, is to become a dilettantish grammarian able to camouflage intellectual mediocrity behind a screen of turgid gradiloquence and lexicographical archaisms brazenly pirated from Portuguese authors of the most diverse periods. Stylistic flatulence and bombastic rhetoric signal literary fame for Lima Barreto's pompous academicians. Modelled after the era's florid masters of prose, Coelho Neto and Rui Barbosa, both of whom Lima Barreto detested quite openly, the writers' knowledge of Brazilian realities ended with the historical chroniclers of Portugal's Renaissance.

Although the political short story contains less autobiographical material than works on the Negro or the pseudo-intellectual, the image of the Old Republic is paradoxically the most distorted by personal emotion. One senses that Lima Barreto never forgave the Republic for its dismissal of João Henriques de Lima Barreto from the position of typographer for the Imprensa Nacional. This bias becomes evident in

Lima Barreto's sympathetic treatment of the Monarchy despite his socialist beliefs.

Many of the political tales are scantily disguised allegories, first published courageously while Lima Barreto was a clerk at the Ministry of War. President Hermes da Fonseca appears as a contemptible fool, swift to murder and to plunder in order to further his ignoble goals. Matters of style aside, Lima Barreto's cruel treatment at the hands of critics might in part be explained by his embarrassingly anti-ufanista stance, a stance which often ridiculed sacred tenets of a nationalist's political creed. In a country which prides itself on racial and political harmony, Lima Barreto presents the reader with a sordid and bloody history of the Old Republic. Even less controversial figures such as President Epitácio Pessoa and his Minister of War, João Pandiá Calógeras, appear as wild spendthrifts eager to waste the impoverished populace's tax revenues on vain monuments for politicians, and on gaudy uniforms for the military. As if these accusations were not serious enough, Lima Barreto further accuses the Old Republic of selling the suffering nation to the interests of the paulista coffee oligarchy and American capitalists and imperialists. Despite Lima Barreto's radical politics, it would seem that he often remained too emotionally attached to the seemingly idyllic existence of Imperial Rio de Janeiro and thus was irritated by some necessary transformations as society moved from a primitive to a more sophisticated economy. Never-

theless, Lima Barreto quite perceptively exposed the hypocrisy of the government's claims to democracy.

Women, as in the case of Negroes and of dedicated intellectuals, generally receive sympathetic treatment in Lima Barreto's short stories, in which they are also portrayed as innocent victims of a crass society. Poverty, allied with an absurdly romantic upbringing, facilitated the naive and sensitive girls' disgrace. Their degradation, however, is physical only. Their suffering, in union with their purity of spirit, dignifies them. Lima Barreto's suffering, angelic prostitutes are clearly modelled in a romantic fashion and not after the naturalist Zola's *Nana*. Rather they resemble Dostoevsky's mystical whores, whose deep spirituality often regenerates the souls of rash men.

In his descriptions of the tribulations of married life, Lima Barreto generally sympathizes with married women, although he was not above occasional misogyny in both his fiction and in his essays. Lima Barreto condemns society for teaching educated girls to prefer marriages which are economically expedient. Although generally conservative in his approach to female sexuality, Lima Barreto condoned adultery as an extraordinary means of rebellion for girls trapped in spiritually deadening marriages. Yet, at times Lima Barreto seemed to question the very intelligence of women and their fitness as intellectual partners for men. In general terms, however, Lima Barreto viewed the plight of women with the same affection and understanding he extended to all of society's victims.

In an era of Brazilian literature noted for its alienation from the tragic realities of national life, Lima Barreto stands out for his singular devotion to a socially committed literature. The oppressed, Negroes, intellectuals and women, are portrayed sympathetically as unfortunate victims of the Old Republic's shameful immorality. Crafty politicians, imperious military officers and prosperous academicians, on the other hand, are unmercifully satirized in the hope that satire will transform society without violence. Although Lima Barreto's social philosophy is not always logically consistent, especially in the case of his views on the Monarchy and on the role of women in society, no other pre-modernist anticipated so fully the honest social realism of the Northeastern writers of the 1930's.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Editions of works by Lima Barreto used in connection with this study.

Lima Barreto, Afonso Henriques de. Bagatelas. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Os Bruzundangas. São Paulo, 1961.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. O cemitério dos vivos. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Clara dos Anjos. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Coisas do reino do Jambon. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Correspondência ativa e passiva. vol. 1 São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Correspondência ativa e passiva. vol. II São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Diário íntimo. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Feiras e mafuás. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Histórias e sonhos. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Impressões de leitura. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Recordações do escrivão Isaías Caminha. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1970.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Marginália. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Numa e a ninfa. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1970.

Lima Barreto, Afonso Henriques de. Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1970.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Vida e morte de M. J. Gonzaga de Sá. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

_____, Afonso Henriques de. Vida urbana. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

11. Works consulted on Lima Barreto

Amoroso Lima, Alceu. "Prefácio," Vida e morte de M. J. Gonzaga de Sá. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

Barbosa, Francisco de Assis. "Prefácio," Recordações do escrívão Isaiás Caminha. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1970.

_____, Francisco de Assis. A vida de Lima Barreto. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1964.

Bosi, Alfredo. O pré-modernismo. São Paulo: Editora Cultrix, 1969.

Brandão, Octávio. Os intelectuais progressistas. Rio de Janeiro: Organização Simões, 1956.

Cavalcânti Proença, M. "Prefácio," Impressões de leitura. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

Coutinho, Carlos Nelson. "O significado de Lima Barreto na literatura brasileira," Realismo e anti-realismo na literatura brasileira. ed. Carlos Nelson Coutinho, Luiz Sérgio N. Henriques, Leandro Konder, Gilvan Ribeiro, José Paulo Neto. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1974.

Figueiredo, Jackson de. "Prefácio," Feiras e mafuás. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

Freyre, Gilberto. "Prefácio," Diário íntimo. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

Gicovate, Moisés. Lima Barreto: uma vida atormentada. São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1952.

Gomes, Eugênio. Aspectos do romance brasileiro. Salvador: Livraria Progresso, 1958.

_____, Eugênio. "Prefácio," Cemitério dos vivos. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.

_____, Eugênio. "Lima Barreto" in A literatura no Brasil. ed. Afrânio Coutinho vol. III. Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Sul-Americana, 1969.

Grieco, Agrippino. "Prefácio," Marginália. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.

_____, Agrippino. Vivos e mortos. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1947.

- Herron, Robert Deupree. "The Individual, Society and Nature in the Novels of Lima Barreto" Diss. University of Wisconsin, 1968.
- _____, Robert Deupree. "Lima Barreto's Isaias Caminha as a Psychological Novel" Luso-Brazilian Review. VIII (Winter, 1971), 26-38.
- Holanda, Sérgio Buarque de. "Prefácio," Clara dos Anjos. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.
- Houaiss, Antônio. "Prefácio," Vida urbana. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.
- Hulet, Claude. "Lima Barreto" in Brazilian Literature. vol. II Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1975.
- Martins, Luís. Homens e livros. São Paulo: Editora Conselho Estadual do Livro, 1962.
- Martins, Wilson. "Lima Barreto ou o falso boêmio" Província de São Pedro. XX (Porto Alegre, 1955), p. 118.
- Moises, Massaud. "Lima Barreto" in Dicionário de literatura. ed. Jacinto do Prado Coelho Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, 1969.
- _____, Massaud. "Prefácio," Vida urbana. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.
- Montenegro, Olívio. "Prefácio," Coisas do reino do Jambon. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.
- Oliveira Lima, M. "Prefácio," Triste fim de Policarpo Quaresma. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1970.
- Pereira, Astrojildo. "Prefácio," Bagatelas. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1956.
- Pereira, Lúcia Miguel. "Prefácio," Histórias e sonhos. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.
- _____, Lúcia Miguel. Prosa de ficção. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1950.
- Pimentel, Oscar. "Prefácio," Os Bruzundangas. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.
- Quadros, B. "Prefácio," Correspondência ativa e passiva. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1961.
- Rabassa, Gregory. "The Negro in Brazilian Fiction since

1888" Diss. Columbia University, 1954.

Ribeiro, João. "Prefácio," Numa e a ninfa. São Paulo:
Editora Brasiliense, 1970.

III. General works consulted.

- Amado, Gilberto. História da minha infância. Rio de Janeiro: n.p., 1954.
- Bello, José Maria. A History of Modern Brazil. trans. James L. Taylor. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- Bradford Burns, E. A History of Brazil. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- Carone, Edgar. A república velha. São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1971.
- Cavalcheiro, Edgard. Evolução do conto brasileiro. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1954.
- Coutinho, Afrânio. "Definição e caracteres da literatura brasileira" in A literatura no Brasil. vol. I ed. Afrânio Coutinho. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Sul-Americana, 1971.
- Della Cava, Ralph. Miracle at Joazeiro. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- Falcão, Luís Aníbal. El cuento en la literatura brasileña. trans. Alarcón Fernández. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1944.
- Forster, E. M. Aspects of the Novel. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1955.
- Gallagher, D.P. Modern Latin American Literature. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Graça Aranha, José Pereira da. Canãa. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Briqueiet, 1939.
- Herring, Hubert. A History of Latin America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.
- Lima, Hermann. O conto. Salvador: Publicações da Universidade da Bahia, 1958.
- _____, Hermann. "Evolução do conto" in A literatura no Brasil. vol. VI ed. Afrânio Coutinho. Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Sul-Americana, 1971.
- _____, Hermann. Variações sobre o conto. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, s.d.
- Lins do Rêgo, José. O moleque Ricardo. Rio de Janeiro:

José Olympio Editora, 1936.

Moisés, Massaud. A criação literária. São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, s.d.

Montello, Josué. O conto brasileiro. Rio de Janeiro: Tecnoprint Gráfica, 1967.

Poppino, Rollie. Brazil: The Land and People. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Ramos, Jovelino. "Interpretando o fenômeno Canudos" Luso-Brazilian Review. II (Summer, 1974), pp. 65-83.

Rodrigues, José Antônio. The Brazilians: Their Character and Aspirations. trans. Ralph Dimmick Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969.

Rolmes Barbosa, Almiro. Obras-primas do conto brasileiro. São Paulo: Editora Martins, 1962.

Sayers, Raymond. The Negro in Brazilian Literature. New York: Hispanic Institute, 1956.

Tapajós, Vicente. História do Brasil. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1967.

Tobias, José Antônio. O ensino da filosofia nas universidades brasileiras. Washington, D.C.: União Pan-Americana, 1968.

Werneck Sodré, Nelson. História da literatura brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização brasileira, 1964.

Worcester, Donald E. Brazil: From Colony to World Power. New York: Schribner's Sons, 1973.