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Between Brazil and Bahia: Celebrating Dois de Julho in Nineteenth-Century Salvador

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Abstract. Commemorating the expulsion of Portuguese troops from Salvador, Bahia, on 2 July 1823, the Dois de Julho festival represented Bahian society collectively and marked differences of national origin, class, and race. It challenged the Brazilian state's official patriotism by articulating a regional identity, and through its commemoration of the independence-era popular mobilisation, presented a story of Brazil's origins that contradicted the official patriotism which celebrated Emperor Pedro I as Brazil's founder. Dois de Julho's popularity and durability, moreover, suggest a significant and socially-broad engagement with the imperial state, which cannot be considered a remote and alien entity to the urban population.

Every year, residents of Salvador, Brazil's second largest city under the Empire (1822–89), took several days off in early July to commemorate the expulsion of Portuguese troops in 1823. Dois de Julho – 2 July – was the premier civic holiday in nineteenth-century Bahia (as Salvador was also known, after the province of which it was the capital), overshadowing Brazil's independence day of 7 September and the other imperial holidays that were abolished by the republican regime in 1889. A complex cluster

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of rituals that ranged from the carnivalesque to the didactic, Dois de Julho constituted a collective representation of Bahian society in which residents of the city sorted themselves by national origin, class, and race. The festival defined a Bahian identity against two great others – Portuguese and Africans – but it also marked class and race differences within Bahian society. As an apparently local celebration with widespread popular participation, Dois de Julho had an ambiguous relationship with the Brazilian imperial state. It never became a national holiday, yet Bahian patriots often sought to have the liberation of Salvador recognised as one of Brazil's founding events; their celebration of Bahian independence told a story about Brazil's origins that was at odds with the one expounded by the imperial state. Dois de Julho's remarkable popularity suggests that civic ritual and the 'imagined communities' that it commemorated were central to the experience of nineteenth-century urban Bahians.[2] The state was not a remote and alien construct to the population; rather the popular classes actively celebrated its founding in ways that rejected imperial Brazil's official nationalism.

Dois de Julho commemorated the culmination of eighteen months of conflicts between Bahians and Portuguese in Salvador. In the early hours of 2 July 1823, Portuguese forces evacuated Salvador by sea, allowing the bedraggled patriot besiegers to march peacefully into the city.[3] The events between February 1822, when the patriots had been defeated by Portuguese regulars in three days of street fighting, and July 1823 saw an extensive popular mobilisation that contrasted sharply with the contemporaneous events in Rio de Janeiro, where Pedro I effected a relatively peaceful break with Lisbon. The full dimensions of this mobilisation are still unclear, but it involved broad sectors of Bahian society: students organised battalions to oppose the Portuguese; the black and mulatto militia figured prominently in the fighting of 1822 and 1823, and even slaves were recruited into the patriot forces. Indeed, it has been suggested that the sugar planters of Salvador's hinterland only took charge of the patriot movement and pledged loyalty to the Rio de Janeiro government in mid-1822 to quell the social unrest that they feared would result from the patriotic mobilisation.[4] Thus, Bahia's experience of independence

[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed. (London, 1991).

[3] The events of 2 July 1823 are described in Comandante em Chefe do Exército Pacificador da Bahia to Governo Imperial, Salvador, 6 July 1823, *O Reverbero*, 6 Aug. 1871, p. 2; and *Echo da Pátria*, 19 Aug. 1823, *AAPEBa*, vol. 10 (1923), pp. 86–9.

[4] The popular nature of the independence struggle in Bahia has been emphasised by João José Reis, 'O jogo duro do Dois de Julho: o "Partido Negro" na independência da Bahia', in Reis and Eduardo Silva (eds.), *Negociação e conflito: a resistência negra no Brasil escravista* (São Paulo, 1989), pp. 79–98. Standard narratives of the independence

warfare more resembled that of many parts of Spanish America than that of the rest of Brazil.[5] As a result, Dois de Julho did not fit comfortably into the monarchical imagery of the Brazilian state, the premier national holiday of which – 7 September – commemorated the public break of the future Emperor Pedro I with Portugal. Despite the efforts of Bahians who sought to associate Dois de Julho with Brazilian independence, it was not allowed into the constellation of Brazilian national holidays, and remained a local holiday commemorated with greatest verve in the city of Salvador.[6]

What makes Dois de Julho so difficult to grasp is its mix of elements. It was a civic ritual with extensive popular participation most unlike the highly-structured official Brazilian state rituals, in which participation was carefully regulated and controlled from above, and popular involvement 'simulated', as one scholar has put it.[7] Indeed, if one accepts later accounts

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struggle include Inácio Acioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia*, ed. Braz do Amaral, 6 vols. (Salvador, 1919–40), vols. 3–4; Braz do Amaral, *História da independência na Bahia*, 2nd ed. (Salvador, 1957); Luís Henrique Dias Tavares, *A independência do Brasil na Bahia*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1982); Wanderley [de Araujo] Pinho, 'A Bahia – 1808–1856', *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira* (São Paulo, 1964), tomo 2, vol. 2, pp. 242–311; Zélia Cavalcanti, 'O processo de independência na Bahia', in Carlos Guilherme Mota (ed.), *1822: dimensões* (São Paulo, 1972), pp. 231–50; F. W. O. Morton, 'The Conservative Revolution of Independence: Economy, Society and Politics in Bahia, 1790–1840', unpubl. DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1974. Studies of the broader Luso-Brazilian political context include Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798–1852* (Stanford, 1988); Neill Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798–1834* (Durham, 1986); and José Honório Rodrigues, *Independência: revolução e contra-revolução*, 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1975).

[5] Richard Graham, *Independence in Latin America: A Comparative Perspective*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1994); John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1986); Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998); Jay Kinsbruner, *Independence in Spanish America: Civil Wars, Revolutions, and Underdevelopment* (Albuquerque, 1994).

[6] Modern scholars have paid little attention to Dois de Julho's commemoration; brief studies include Bahia, Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, *Aspectos do 2 de Julho* (Salvador, 1973); Hildegardes Viana, 'Folclore cívico na Bahia', in *Ciclo de conferências sobre o sesquicentenário da independência na Bahia em 1973* (Salvador, 1977), pp. 169–78; José Augusto Laranjeiras Sampaio, 'A festa de Dois de Julho em Salvador e o "lugar" do índio', *Cultura* (Salvador), vol. 1, no. 1 (1988), pp. 153–9; Jocélio Teles dos Santos, *O dono da terra: o caboclo nos candomblés da Bahia* (Salvador, 1995), pp. 31–52; and Wlamyra R. de Albuquerque, 'Santos, deuses, e heróis nas ruas da Bahia: identidade cultural na Primeira República', *Afro-Asia*, vol. 18 (1996), pp. 115–22.

[7] Hercídia Maria Facuri Coelho Lambert, 'Festa e participação popular (São Paulo – início do século XX)', *História* (São Paulo), vol. 13 (1994), p. 123. See also José Murilo de Carvalho, *A formação das almas: o imaginário da república no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1990); and Dulce Maria Pamplona Guimarães, 'Festa de fundação: memória da colonização nas comemorações do IV centenário da cidade de São Paulo', *História* (São Paulo), vol. 13 (1994), pp. 131–42; Circe Maria Fernandes Bittencourt, 'As "tradições nacionais" e o ritual das festas cívicas', in Jaime Pinsky (ed.), *O ensino da história e a criação do fato*

of the first Dois de Julhos, the festival was a civic ritual largely created from below, not mandated by state authorities. Moreover, Dois de Julho quickly escapes the category of civic ritual, merging into something resembling Carnival, with its apparent liberty and licence that nevertheless respects fundamental social boundaries.[8] Dois de Julho also drew on the extensive heritage of colonial religious festivals, in which, during the eighteenth century, Church and crown attempted to regulate public ritual but faced resistance from a vibrant popular culture.[9]

Equally complex was Dois de Julho's message. Dois de Julho defined a Bahian identity within Brazil, but the degree of 'Bahian-ness' and 'Brazilian-ness' in the festival remained the subject of contemporary controversy.[10] Not surprisingly, therefore, Brazilians from outside of Bahia, particularly state authorities, saw nothing national (nor otherwise redeeming) in Dois de Julho, and Bahian patriots found themselves in the peculiar position of having to defend their credentials as Brazilians to uncomprehending compatriots.

A rapidly growing literature on rituals has, in the past decade, drawn attention to the ways in which states and elites use public ceremonial to build legitimacy and construct consent around national symbols and to the manner in which popular rituals play an important part in resistance to state projects. For both elites and popular groups, ritual affirms and

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(São Paulo: Contexto, 1988), pp. 43–72; Carla Siqueira, 'A imprensa comemora a República: memórias em luta no 15 de novembro de 1890', *Estudos Históricos*, vol. 7, no. 14 (1994), pp. 161–81.

[8] On the maintenance of social boundaries in Carnival, see Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, *Carnaval brasileiro – o vivido e o mito* (São Paulo, 1992).

[9] Mary del Priore, *Festas e utopias no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1994); Emanuel [Oliveria de] Araujo, *O teatro dos vícios: transgressão e transigência na sociedade urbana colonial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1993), pp. 130–49; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, 'O sagrado e o profano nas festas do Brasil colonial', in Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos (ed.), *A Festa*, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 159–72; Dulce Maria Pamplona Guimarães, 'Festa do colonizado: aspectos das comemorações brasileiras do século XVIII', in idem, vol. 1, pp. 143–57; Hercídia Maria Facuri Coelho Lambert, 'Festa cívica: a face visível do poder', in idem, vol. 1, pp. 79–91; Cecília Maria Westphalen and Altiva Pilatti Balhana, 'Festas na capitania de São Paulo, 1710–1822', in idem, vol. 1, pp. 95–115; Maria Aparecida Junqueira da Veiga Gaeta, 'O cortejo de deus e a imagem do rei: a procissão de Corpus Cristi na capitania de São Paulo', *História* (São Paulo), vol. 13 (1994), pp. 109–20; Júnia Furtado Ferreira, 'Desfilar: a procissão barroca', *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 17 (1997), pp. 251–79. See also João José Reis, *A morte é uma festa: ritos fúnebres e revolta popular no Brasil do século XIX* (São Paulo, 1991).

[10] A striking parallel to this aspect of Dois de Julho appears in the modern commemoration of 20 September in Rio Grande de Sul, the day on which that province initiated an unsuccessful bid for independence in 1835, the Farroupilha Rebellion, Ruben Oliven, *Tradition Matters: Modern Gaúcho Identity in Brazil*, Carmen Chaves Tesser (trans.) (New York, 1996), pp. 43–44, 58–59.

constructs collective identities, demonstrating to participants and observers alike the fundamental 'truths' embodied in their world view. Inevitably, then, rituals are polyvalent – multiple meanings infuse them – and their significance changes over time.[11] Dois de Julho exemplifies these features of festivals. In a society as deeply divided as was nineteenth-century Bahia, the premier civic ritual assumed distinct meanings for different social groups. In Dois de Julho, Bahians defined themselves as neither Portuguese nor Africans, deliberately excluding these two groups from the festival, and sorted themselves by class, race, and sometimes occupation. Attempts by excluded groups to participate thus constituted claims for public recognition as part of Bahian society, and conflict over participation in Dois de Julho celebrations reflected struggles over the very nature of society.

Dois de Julho repeatedly raised the question of Bahia's relationship to Brazil and posed the problem of how to fit the popular mobilisation of the independence war into the civic ritual of a monarchical state that preferred to commemorate the deeds of the royal family. Parliamentary debates over the establishment of Brazil's national holidays, the failure of attempts to extend its commemoration beyond Bahia, and the paeans to Dois de Julho that so many Bahian newspapers featured on their front pages in early July all reflect these tensions. And they were played out publicly during three major Dois de Julho conflicts, an incident involving President Francisco José de Souza Soares de Andreia in 1846, the so-called Frias Villar incident of 1875 (named after the commander of an army battalion whose men killed an artisan during a Dois de Julho brawl), and the repeated attacks on army bands during the festivities of the 1870s and 1880s. It is

[11] See, for example, William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French (eds.), *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico* (Wilmington, 1994); the articles on colonial Mexico in a special issue of *The Americas*, vol. 52, no. 3 (Jan. 1996); and David E. Lorey, 'The Revolutionary Festival in Mexico: November 20 Celebrations in the 1920s and 1930s', *The Americas*, vol. 54, no. 1 (July 1997), pp. 39–82. For the Luso-Brazilian world, see Santos (ed.), *Festa*. Other notable studies include John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1992); April R. Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian American Through Celebration* (Amherst, 1994); Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Toronto, 1997); Robert A. Schneider, *The Ceremonial City: Toulouse Observed, 1730–1780* (Princeton, 1995); David Cannadine, 'The Transformation of Civic Culture in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast', *Past and Present*, vol. 94 (Feb. 1982), pp. 107–30; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1984); Mona Ozouf, *Festivals in the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, 1988); Holly Beachley Brear, *Inherit the Alamo: Myth and Ritual at an American Shrine* (Austin, 1995); Robert H. Duncan, 'Embracing a Suitable Past: Independence Celebrations under Mexico's Second Empire, 1864–6', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30:2 (May 1998), pp. 249–77.

significant that military men were the target of Bahian patriots in each of these episodes; as a hierarchical institution closely associated with the Brazilian state, the army was the antithesis of voluntaristic Dois de Julho patriotism.

Notwithstanding the conflicts that surrounded Dois de Julho and the efforts to reform it, the festival endured throughout the empire and, indeed, remains the most important civic holiday in contemporary Bahia. The holiday's persistence in the face of repeated reform efforts demonstrates the durability of the popular interpretation of the Brazilian state's origins celebrated year after year on Salvador's streets. Dois de Julho patriots rejected the official story of Brazilian independence, adhering strongly to their version of the state's founding and celebrating it in unconventional ways.

Dois de Julho: patterns of commemoration, 1824–89

Little is known of the earliest Dois de Julho commemorations. The *Grito da Razão* briefly noted official celebrations in 1824 and 1825, consisting of a military parade, *Te Deum*, the performance of a patriotic play at the theatre, and in 1825 the unveiling of Pedro I's portrait at the mint. According to Manoel Raimundo Querino, the first Dois de Julho also contained popular elements. Patriots resolved to mark the restoration of Salvador in 1824 by re-enacting the march into the city. A wagon or gun carriage (captured at the Battle of Pirajá) was decorated with leaves of coffee, tobacco, sugar cane, and especially the yellow and green croton; and an old *mestiço* (a person of mixed race) was placed on it as a living symbol of the Brazilian nation. The improvised float was drawn from Lapinha on the city's outskirts to the largest downtown square, the Terreiro de Jesus, retracing the patriot army's steps. The parade was repeated in 1825 and 1826, when it featured an allegorical float with a statue of an Indian, the *caboclo*, sporting feathers and a quiver and arrows, trampling tyranny, represented by a serpent. To drive home his point, the caboclo ran the snake through with a bamboo spear, while his left hand held the national flag. That year also saw the erection of a stage for patriotic speeches and poetry on the Terreiro de Jesus, which soon became the centre of Dois de Julho activities.[12] Little else is known of the first decade of Dois de Julho's commemoration, save that it was celebrated with gusto. In 1831, the *Nova Sentinella da Liberdade* noted so many activities that it could not report on all of them.[13]

[12] *Grito da Razão*, 5 July 1824, p. 1; 9 July 1825, p. 1; Manoel Raimundo Querino, 'Noticia historica sobre o 2 de Julho de 1823 e sua commemoração na Bahia', *RIGHBa*, vol. 48 (1923), p. 85.

[13] Silva, *Memorias*, vol. 4, p. 59; *Nova Sentinella da Liberdade*, 3 July 1831, p. 91.

By the mid-1830s, commemorations had assumed a form that would be little altered for the next five decades, as popular and official celebrations converged. In 1835, a newly-founded Sociedade Dois de Julho (Dois de Julho Society) took charge of the caboclo.[14] João da Silva Campos's account of the following year's Dois de Julho (based on the *Diário da Bahia*'s coverage) describes ceremonies strikingly similar to those recorded by early-twentieth-century chroniclers and folklorists, who relied on childhood memories or stories that they had heard from parents and grandparents.[15] Much of what they recount can be confirmed in the surviving contemporary press and scattered archival references. Querino records that Dois de Julho began at 4:00 pm on 3 May, with the raising of a maypole on the Terreiro de Jesus to inaugurate the work of the twenty-man committee of citizens which organised the festival (or at least its official aspects).[16] In the last week of June, the town council issued a proclamation inviting residents of Salvador to engage in legitimate patriotic activities. Accompanied by a picket of troops, often an army or police band, and a delegation of town councillors, a designated crier read this proclamation at various points in the city, an event known as the *bando* (proclamation).[17] The celebrations proper began on the night of 1 to 2 July, during which patriots conducted a vigil outside the pavilion in Lapinha where the allegorical floats were housed. The pavilion dated from the early 1860s, when the Sociedade Dois de Julho acquired the building and began to renovate it, but Lapinha had long served as site for the vigil and marshalling ground for the parade.[18]

The centrepiece of the activities on 2 July was the great parade, a reenactment of the peaceful occupation of Salvador. Beginning at Lapinha, the parade wound its way through Salvador's narrow streets to the Terreiro. Participants included civil and military authorities, army battalions and the National Guard. By mid-century, a shifting cast of so-called patriotic battalions joined them, as did as many brass bands as the city could muster, all of which conducted the allegorical floats that

[14] 'O Pavilhão da Lapinha', *O Reverbero*, 6 Aug. 1871, p. 6.

[15] J[oão] da Silva Campos, 'Chronicas bahianas do século XIX', *AAPEBa*, vol. 25 (1937), pp. 295–304; Querino, 'Noticia', passim, a portion of which is reproduced in his *Bahia de outrora* (Salvador, 1955), pp. 46–59; [Alexandre José de] Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares no Brasil*, 3rd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), pp. 124–33. For a contemporary literary account of Dois de Julho, see Xavier Marques, *O feiticeiro: romance* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922), chaps. 25, 27.

[16] Querino, 'Noticia', p. 88. *O Alabama* sometimes noted the maypole, 3 May 1866, p. 1; 7 May 1867, p. 1; 5 May 1868, p. 2.

[17] In 1847 and 1848, the council requested a picket of soldiers, a military band, and a sergeant to read the proclamation, Câmara Municipal to President, Salvador, 16 June 1847; 7 June 1848, APEBa/SACP, m. 1400. Querino reproduces the 1875 proclamation in *Bahia*, pp. 47–8.

[18] 'O Pavilhão da Lapinha', *O Reverbero*, 6 Aug. 1871, p. 6.

symbolised independence. In the late afternoon, authorities and leading citizens attended a *Te Deum* in the cathedral, after which the stage featured the unveiling of portraits of the Emperor, the Empress, and heroes of the independence era. After leading the crowd in collective 'vivas' to these figures, public officials and members of high society repaired to the theatre for an evening of patriotic plays, music, and sometimes poetry readings. The illuminated outdoor stage was given over to amateur poets who, for several evenings, entertained the crowds. The floats remained on display in one of the city's squares during this time and were returned to Lapinha by patriotic battalions on or about 5 July.

No account of the central events can do justice to the penumbra of unofficial activities that surrounded Dois de Julho and that typically lasted well into July and even August (in 1887, Santo Antônio alem do Carmo Parish celebrated Dois de Julho on 28 August). Many of these late celebrations were parish festivals, miniature Dois de Julhos (the word was used in this way to describe any patriotic celebration), complete with music, illumination, poetry readings, patriotic battalions, and allegorical floats. By 1836, according to Campos, the bando had evolved into a 'carnivalesque parade' as crowds of masked individuals followed the crier through the city. Political and social satire figured prominently during the bando. In 1854, the archbishop complained of the great disrespect for the Church shown by a man dressed in clerical garb whose 'highly indecent posture obliged families to turn away from their windows.' In 1867, in the midst of the Paraguayan War (1864–70), a man costumed as a Voluntário da Pátria followed the bando begging for alms in pointed satire of the government's unkept promises to those who had volunteered for the war effort.[19]

Just as Dois de Julho spilled over into the entire month of July, so its activities spread beyond the main parade and the official functions. Before, during, and after the parade, Adolphe d'Assier described 'troops of young people and blacks' who circulated through the streets to the accompaniment of music, bearing flags and torches. These were the so-called patriotic battalions, of which dozens were active during Dois de Julho. The well-established patriotic battalions joined the column that entered the city from Lapinha; others apparently marched independently of it or joined it unofficially. In 1866, a model steamship, *Amazonas*, complete with illuminated portholes representing Brazil's victories over the Paraguayans, 'sailed' through the city; the organisers of this float used

[19] Parte, Pedro Alexandrino Bispo, Encarregado da Música, Sixteenth Infantry, 29 Aug. 1887, APEBa/SACP, m. 3457; Campos, 'Chronicas bahianas', p. 295; Archbishop to Vice-President, Salvador, 4 July 1854, *O Noticiador Catholico*, 8 July 1854, p. 47; *O Alabama*, 2 July 1867, p. 3.

it to solicit donations for the war effort, collecting some 600 milréis (about £60).[20]

Verse was the principal artistic genre of nineteenth-century Dois de Julho, and early twentieth-century chroniclers nostalgically recalled the great amateur poets of bygone days. As early as 1830, the editor of *O Bahiano* solicited the submission of patriotic verse for publication in subsequent issues; later newspapers often carried pages of poetic coverage. Much of this verse is doggerel, difficult for modern readers to appreciate, but catchy lyrics such the Dois de Julho hymn's refrain gained instant popularity:

Nunca mais o despotismo	Never again will despotism
Regerá nossas ações;	Dictate our actions;
Com tiranos não combinam	Brazilian hearts
Brasileiros corações.	Do not submit to tyrants.

As early as 1833, a French traveller recorded an improvisation on it as one of the distinctive sounds of Salvador.[21]

Lasting for several days or more, Dois de Julho amalgamated disparate elements, and it is not surprising that Alexander Marjoribanks, who landed at Salvador on 1 July 1850, thought that Bahians had combined several holidays so as to celebrate them with more pomp.[22] On the one hand, the holiday was a serious civic ritual. *Te Deums*, military parades, salutes to monarchical and national symbols, gala theatre spectacles, speeches, and poetry are standard elements in the repertoire of the nineteenth-century patriotic commemorations that sought to instill loyalty to the state and allowed political elites to express their collective identity as exemplars of the nation. On the other hand, it was a thoroughly popular festival, liberally spiced with carnivalesque elements that sometimes pointedly critiqued the Brazilian state and its official nationalism. The similarity of Dois de Julho to saints' processions is also striking. The Lapinha pavilion resembles a secular shrine and the caboclo a secular saint, to be conducted through the city just as its Catholic counterparts were, with all Bahians expressing their devotion to him. Dois de Julho thus amalgamated the three ways of 'ritualising' discerned in the Brazilian

[20] Adolphe d'Assier, *Le Brésil contemporain: races, moeurs, institutions, paysages* (Paris, 1867), pp. 198, 199. *O Alabama* had fulsome praise for the model of *Amazonas*, 5 July 1866, pp. 1–2, 8. Moraes Filho also mentions the ship, the story of which he had heard from his mother, *Festas*, p. 126.

[21] Querino, *Bahia*, pp. 49–58; Moraes Filho, *Festas*, pp. 128–9, 130–3; Cid Teixeira, *Bahia em tempo de província* (Salvador, 1985), p. 88; *O Bahiano*, 26 June 1830, p. 4; Querino, *Bahia*, p. 101; [C.M.]A. Dugrivel, *Des bords de la Saône à la Baie de San Salvador, ou promenade sentimentale en France et au Brésil* (Paris, 1843), p. 384.

[22] Alexandre Marjoribanks, *Travels in South and North America* (London, 1853), p. 103.

world by Roberto DaMatta: carnivals, military parades, and religious processions.[23]

While the elements of nineteenth-century Dois de Julho can be easily reconstructed, it is more difficult to make sense of them. Adolphe d'Assier, who witnessed Dois de Julho in 1859, found it unlike anything that he had experienced during his travels: 'I have seen plenty of national festivals in old Europe [but] I have never noted such overflowing joy [nor] such uninhibited gaiety'.[24] To analyse the significance of Dois de Julho, the following section examines the festival as a means by which Bahians defined their collective identity and elites struggled to legitimate social differences within their society. We will then turn to the problem that Dois de Julho posed for the Brazilian monarchical state and the Bahian patriots who sought to locate the origins of the Brazilian community in the popular mobilisation of 1822–3.

Defining Bahian Society: between Portugal and Africa

On 2 July, as Bahians publicly re-enacted the foundation of their society, they expressed what it meant to be Bahian and Brazilian. However, much the organisers of official festivities may have called upon Bahians to forget their differences and celebrate the great day in harmony, Dois de Julho also marked social boundaries. These were fundamental issues in nineteenth-century Salvador, a city whose population grew from perhaps 50,000 in the 1810s to well over 150,000 by the 1880s. An estimate for 1835 puts the slave population at just over 40 per cent of the city's 65,500 residents; most of the slaves were Africans. The free and freed population was about equally divided between whites and non-whites, the former including an unspecified number of Portuguese immigrants, the latter including a small number of freed Africans. Over the course of the century, the proportion of slaves declined steadily (especially after the end of the trade in the early 1850s), as did the number of Africans. By abolition in 1888, most of the city's population consisted of free non-whites and more than a few of the city's white elite considered themselves the beleaguered standard-bearers of European civilisation in a city dominated by the descendants of Africans; they struggled with little success to repress the vibrant Afro–Brazilian culture. Moreover, Salvador was a city with an extreme class hierarchy; recent studies have documented the concentration of wealth in the hands of a tiny white elite, the existence of a small and often struggling middle class (which included substantial

[23] Roberto DaMatta, *Carnavals, Rogues, Heroes: An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma*, John Drury (trans.) (Notre Dame, 1991), chap. 1; Sampaio, 'A festa de Dois de Julho', p. 154; see also Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *Bahia, século XIX: uma província no império* (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), p. 395.

[24] Assier, *Brésil*, p. 199.

numbers of non-whites), and a poor majority. At the same time, however, ties of family and patronage spanned class lines, and the Bahian upper-class's willingness to accept selectively non-whites into their number meant that neither class nor race were absolute categories.[25] Flexible and shifting, their signficance was often situational. So too were their manifestations in Dois de Julho.

The symbol of the caboclo was central to Dois de Julho. What did he represent? Caboclo is today a somewhat pejorative term that refers to rural people of mixed race, in particular those with evidence of Indian ancestry; historically, however, caboclo was often synonymous with Indian.[26] The caboclo's use constituted part of the widespread efforts to seek legitimacy for newly-independent nations in an indubitably American but thoroughly idealised indigenous past. Many Brazilian patriots dropped Portuguese surnames in favour of indigenous ones, none more grandiloquently than Francisco Gomes Brandão (the future Viscount of Jequitinonha), who metamorphosed into Francisco Gê Acaiaba de Montezuma, thus linking himself to both Brazilian indigenous groups and the last Aztec emperor.[27] At the same time, however, the caboclo was a thoroughly demotic figure and fits within the little-studied popular efforts to associate the new Brazilian nation with its non-white members. Indeed, Querino's reference to a *mestiço* in the first two parades suggests this dynamic.[28]

Nevertheless, Dois de Julho symbolism was no direct predecessor to the harmonious idealisation of race mixture most closely associated with

[25] On nineteenth-century Salvador, see Mattoso, *Bahia: século XIX*; *Bahia: a cidade de Salvador e seu mercado no século XIX* (São Paulo, 1978); and *Família e sociedade na Bahia do século XIX* (São Paulo, 1988); João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, Arthur Brakel (trans.) (Baltimore, 1993); Hendrik Kraay (ed.), *Afro-Brazilian Culture and Politics: Bahia, 1790s–1990s* (Armonk, 1998); Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians after Abolition in São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick, 1998); Dain Borges, *The Family in Bahia, Brazil, 1870–1945* (Stanford, 1992); Walter Fraga Filho, *Mendigos, moleques e vadios na Bahia do século XIX* (São Paulo, 1996).

[26] On the changing meaning of caboclo, see Luís da Câmara Cascudo, *Dicionário do folclore brasileiro*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1962), vol. 1, p. 156.

[27] See David Brookshaw, *Paradise Betrayed: Brazilian Literature of the Indian* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 34–5; Renata R. Mautner Wasserman, *Exotic Nations: Literature and Cultural Identity in the United States and Brazil, 1830–1930* (Ithaca, 1994); Frederico G. Edelweiss, *A antroponímia patriótica da independência* (Salvador, 1981).

[28] Hints of these efforts are found in Eduardo da Silva, *Prince of the People: The Life and Times of a Brazilian Free Man of Colour*, Moyra Ashford (trans.) (London, 1993), pp. 143–4, 196–7; Stuart B. Schwartz, 'The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil', in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 15, 50; and Matthias Röhrig Assunção, 'Popular Culture and Regional Society in Nineteenth-Century Maranhão, Brazil', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 14, no. 3 (Sep. 1995), pp. 269–70, 282–3.

the work of Gilberto Freyre; rather, an aggressive rejection of Portuguese and Africans dominated the event.[29] In this light, the caboclo was actually a 'safe' choice; Indians did not threaten Bahia in the way that Africans and Portuguese did at this time. The caboclo was neither of the latter and, in stabbing the serpent of Portuguese tyranny, he exemplified the anti-Portuguese nativism that dominated early Dois de Julho celebrations. In 1846, President (Governor) Francisco José de Souza Soares de Andreia, a Portuguese naturalised Brazilian, considered the caboclo offensive to Portuguese and insisted that patriots adopt a more neutral symbol, Catarina Alvares Paraguaçu, the semi-legendary Indian woman who had assisted the first Portuguese settlers in Bahia. Angry patriots refused to abandon their cherished symbol but, on Andreia's insistence, accepted that a cabocla would join the caboclo on 2 July. She never gained the popularity of her companion.[30]

Lusophobic nativism contained important elements of class conflict. Portuguese dominance of the petty retail trade made natives of the former mother country attractive targets for the urban poor, and nativist riots, complete with the looting of Portuguese-owned shops, were a common feature of political unrest. In 1830, organisers of the 'Patriotic Festival' warned the 'foreigners [Portuguese]' who did not share 'Brazilians' Public Spirit... not to cause scandal' by keeping their shops open, a practice that had prompted complaint in previous years. The following year, a radical liberal paper used its 2 July issue to alert readers to the 'treasonous plots of the Portuguese faction' who allegedly planned to recolonise Brazil. In 1824, a priest scandalised the cautious editors of the *Grito da Razão* by furiously preaching against Portuguese after the *Te Deum*.[31]

While it was easy to speak out against Portuguese in the abstract, drawing distinctions between Portuguese and Brazilians was more difficult in practice for many born in Portugal enjoyed Brazilian citizenship; indeed, all those resident in the country before 1822 automatically became citizens, provided that they had not fought against independence. The National Guard's Third Battalion, based in Salvador's commercial district and therefore enrolling large numbers of Portuguese-born shopkeepers

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, Samuel Putnam (trans.) (Berkeley, 1986); Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York, 1974), 190–2.

[30] Querino, 'Noticia', p. 86; Moraes Filho, *Festas*, p. 127; Santos, *Dono*, p. 33.

[31] *O Bahiano*, 26 June 1830, p. 4; Letter to the Editor, *Grito da Razão*, 6 July 1825, p. 2; *Nova Sentinella da Liberdade*, 2 July 1831, p. 89; *Grito da Razão*, 6 July 1824, pp. 1–2. On anti-Portuguese nativism, see Reis, *Slave Rebellion*, pp. 23–8; and Gladys Sabina Ribeiro, '"Pés-de-chumbo" e "Garrafeiros": conflitos e tensões nas ruas do Rio de Janeiro no Primeiro Reinado (1822–1831)', *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 12, no. 23–4 (Sep. 1991–Aug. 1992), pp. 141–65.

and clerks, exemplifies this difficulty. In 1836, well before 2 July, *O Democrata* railed against the commander's assertion that he and his men would parade on the day: 'The celebrations of Dois de Julho are not the government's; they belong especially to the Bahian people, who do not on that DAY want to line up with their oppressors, those rude vandals who did not respect virgins, widows, the elderly, [or] the sanctuaries of religion.' Whether this battalion paraded in 1836 is not known but, the following year, the president ensured that it would not by rearranging the roster of National Guard garrison duties. An impassioned appeal from its lieutenant-colonel, in which he argued for the equality of all Guard battalions and pointed out that there were many natives of Portugal in other units, did not move authorities who thus pandered to nativism or perhaps simply sought to forestall violence.[32]

Over time, the more violent manifestations of lusophobia declined. In 1849, *A Marmota* recommended that patriots invite Portuguese to share in the celebrations. Writing in the 1890s about the 1870s, Bahian novelist Xavier Marques described a character, Paulo Bôto, whose blood had been purged of the desire to take to the streets during Dois de Julho and join in 'barbarous shouts of "kill the [Portuguese] rascals [*marotos*]"'. While he joined in the patriotic enthusiasm, Bôto 'no longer felt obliged to hate and attack the hard-working Portuguese' of the city, and his moderation may reflect his role as a relatively successful businessman. For others, Portuguese-bashing remained a welcome theme on 2 July. In 1868, *O Alabama* reported that some Portuguese islanders had mocked patriotic verse and song but counselled readers not to take notice of the provocation that it had gleefully divulged. Two years later, the paper reciprocated the provocation, marvelling at the ignorance of a Portuguese commander whose corvette had failed to salute on 2 July: surely the man should have known the significance of a day 'so notable in the history of his country!'[33]

In commemorating the expulsion of Portuguese troops, rehearsing anti-Portuguese rhetoric, and occasionally engaging in anti-Portuguese violence, Bahians defined themselves as Brazilians, distinct from their mother country. Needless to say, Portuguese would never find a place in Dôis de Julho. Africans, the other great 'other' in nineteenth-century Brazil, experienced a different trajectory in Dois de Julho. As João José Reis and others have pointed out, the African-led slave revolts that culminated in the 1835 Muslim rebellion prompted crackdowns on

[32] *O Democrata*, 30 April 1836, p. 319; Chefe, Third Battalion, National Guard, to President, Salvador, 21 June 1837, APEBa/SACP, m. 3530.

[33] 'O Dia 2 de Julho', *A Marmota*, 30 June 1849, p. 1009; Marques, *Feiticeiro*, pp. 83–4; *O Alabama*, 2 July 1868, p. 2; 9 July 1870, p. 2.

African and Afro–Brazilian religious and secular culture as elite Bahians defined themselves as members of the European and civilised world.[34] Bahians could not easily distance themselves from their African heritage and, as the African cultures of first-generation slaves evolved into the Afro–Brazilian creole culture after the end of the slave trade in the early 1850s, Dois de Julho gained Afro–Brazilian cultural significance.[35]

In 1868, *O Alabama* lamented that the patriotic wagons had been towed back to Lapinha by 'barefoot black boys [*moleques*] and bedraggled Africans', an unworthy sight. While this complaint demonstrates the editors' rejection of African participation in Dois de Julho, it also suggests that some Africans identified sufficiently with the symbols of Bahia to go to the trouble of dragging them back to the pavilion. This paper also left other clues about the significance of Dois de Julho for Afro–Brazilians. It called on police to put a stop to *batuques* (dances) in the Terreiro de Jesus (the heart of the official celebrations) and remarked on the imprudence of owners who permitted slaves to spend the night away from home: 'During these three days in which all are *free*, there is freedom for everything.'[36] That slaves and free Afro–Brazilians took advantage of the festival to engage in prohibited dances is clear; it was apparently one of the few holidays that they enjoyed. Whether these activities had any deeper cultural or religious significance is more difficult to determine. In 1865, *O Alabama* used one of its stock characters – a semi-literate man – to analyse the contradictions of Dois de Julho. He complained about the 'barbarism of changó' and wondered why Bahians 'put changó on the streets.' Changó (Xangô) is one of the principal deities or *orixás* in the Afro-Brazilian religion of Candomblé, and some of its devotees today venerate the caboclo and the cabocla.[37] *O Alabama*'s remarks are highly significant for two reasons: they exemplify nineteenth-century Bahians' rejection of African participation and African-derived cultural practices in Dois de Julho, a festival that epitomised Bahian-ness; and they indicate that this rejection could not be sustained as some Africans and

[34] Reis, *Slave Rebellion*, pp. 223–30.

[35] For discussions of these Afro-Brazilian cultural developments, see Mieko Nishida, 'Gender, Ethnicity, and Kinship in the Urban African Diaspora: Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888', unpubl. PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1991; Rachel Elizabeth Harding, 'Candomblé and the Alternative Space of Black Being in Nineteenth-Century Bahia, Brazil: A Study of Historical Context and Religious Meaning', unpubl. PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1997.

[36] *O Alabama*, 7 July 1868, p. 1; 9 July 1868, p. 1. On the repression of *batuques*, see Jocélio Teles dos Santos, 'Divertimentos estrondosos: batuques e sambas no século XIX', in Livio Sansone and Santos (eds.), *Ritmos em trânsito: sócio-antropologia da música baiana* (São Paulo, 1998), pp. 17–38.

[37] *O Alabama*, 4 July 1865, p. 3; Santos, *Dono*, pp. 43–51. See also the criticism of this phenomenon in Viana, 'Folclore civico', p. 178.

Afro-Brazilians identified with the symbols of Dois de Julho, incorporating them into the Candomblé world.

The festival also reproduced social hierarchies among Bahians. The separation between official and popular celebrations demonstrated an important cleavage; only members of Salvador's social and political elites attended the *Te Deum* and the gala at the theatre. If Xavier Marques's characters, the Bôto family, are any indication, bourgeois families decorated their houses, received visitors, and viewed patriotic activities from the safety of their balconies (the Bôto residence, located on the Terreiro de Jesus, afforded a first-class view). They ventured out only to attend the *Te Deum* and, during the evenings, join the crowds in the illuminated square to appreciate the respectable poetry readings. In so doing, they carefully maintained the boundaries between the patriarchal order and stability of the house and the disorderly world of the street, a distinction analysed by Roberto DaMatta.[38] The irreverent humour of the 1854 bando that elite families could view from their windows was, according to the archbishop, therefore doubly offensive to propriety; it broke through the boundary between house and street, obliging respectable onlookers to avert their eyes.

Those of the elite who could not view Dois de Julho from their windows distanced themselves from the masses by travelling to the downtown celebration in coaches. In the late 1860s and early 1870s, *O Alabama* repeatedly complained about the numerous horses and carriages that crowded the Terreiro and the narrow downtown streets, trampling pedestrians; it attributed the police's inactivity to the fact that those on foot were 'the people – *a brute mass*' as far as the authorities were concerned. That horsemen and carriages gathered in the Terreiro, along with 'the people', suggests that all classes shared an interest in commemorating Dois de Julho, even if elites determined to maintain social distinctions. Indeed, the great parade and the activities that followed provided an occasion for both elites and other organised groups in Bahian society to display themselves before 'the people', to affirm social hierarchies, to receive popular acclaim, and to construct political legitimacy around the symbols of Dois de Julho.[39] The seven nights of

[38] Marques, *Feiticeiro*, chaps. 27, 27. For another, briefer memoir of an upper-class family's participation in Dois de Julho, see Anna Ribeiro de Goes Bittencourt, *Longos serões do campo*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), vol. 2, pp. 193–7. The house and street imagery has been analysed by Roberto DaMatta, *A casa e a rua: espaço, cidadania, mulher e morte no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1985), chaps. 1–2. See also Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, 1988).

[39] *O Alabama*, 9 July 1868, p. 3; 9 July 1870, p. 1; 6 July 1871, p. 1. On parades, see Mary Ryan, 'The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order', in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 131–53; and

ceremonies held on the stage in 1871 exemplify this. A carefully-planned programme ensured that all of official Salvador's major figures would lead the unveiling of the imperial portraits on one evening: on July 2, the president and chief of police did the honours; they were followed on successive nights by the directors of the Sociedade Veteranos da Independência (Independence Veterans' Society), the municipal council, the commanders of the National Guard and the police corps, the commander of arms and the chief of the naval station, the directors of the Minerva Dois de Julho Patriotic Battalion, and finally the festival's organising committee.[40]

As the pre-eminent vehicles of nineteenth-century Bahian patriotism, the 'patriotic battalions' to which I have alluded exemplify the class distinctions that Bahians publicly acted out during Dois de Julho. Patriotic battalions resembled modern Salvador's Carnival *blocos* or societies in that they were voluntary organisations that came together to parade on one or more days of the festival. They were not open to all. While little is known about the membership of these clubs or their internal organisation, the dress prescribed for some indicates relatively high class barriers to membership. União Brasileira's members sported white waistcoat, jacket, and trousers, a serious dress which they leavened with straw hats festooned with leaves. That some paraded year after year under the same leaders suggests institutional continuity as does the fact that the Caixeiros Nacionais acquired a gold-embroidered flag from Paris in the 1860s or 1870s, spending the substantial sum of 2,000 milréis (about £200) on it.[41]

Their names afford further clues to these battalions' composition. The Caixeiros Nacionais (National [Brazilian] Clerks) enrolled the Brazilian minority employed in commerce and drew on anti-Portuguese nativism. As their advertisements make clear, the Académicos and Lyceistas enrolled students and teachers in Salvador's schools.[42] Other names harked back to the independence conflict (Defensores de Pirajá [Defenders of Pirajá, the location of the patriots' wartime headquarters]) or evoked

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Peter G. Goheen, 'Symbols in the Streets: Parades in Victorian Urban Canada', *Urban History Review*, vol. 18, no. 3 (Feb. 1990), pp. 237–43.

[40] 'Programma dos festejos do immoredouro Dois de Julho neste anno', *O Reverbero*, 6 Aug. 1871, p. 3.

[41] 'Aviso Patriótico', *O Alabama*, 8 July 1865, p. 4; 'Annuncios', *O Alabama*, 4 July 1868, p. 4; Sílio Bocanera Júnior, *Bahia histórica: reminiscências do passado, registo do presente* (Salvador, 1921), p. 294.

[42] Teixeira, *Bahia em tempo*, pp. 53–4; *O Alabama*, 26 June 1869, p. 4.

the values of Dois de Julho: União Brasileira (Brazilian Unity), Boa Ordem (Good Order), and Baiano (Bahian). Still others commemorated contemporary heroes. In 1869, one Francisco d'Azevedo Monteiro invited 'all those Brazilians who recognised the heroic deeds of the brave [commander] of our army' in Paraguay, the Duke of Caxias, to dress in white and gather in Dois de Julho Square at 2:00 pm on 5 July to receive a distinctive ribbon, after which they would accompany the floats back to Lapinha. This battalion may not have been so voluntary after all, and *O Alabama* later attributed its martial air to the levy of boys from the navy apprentices school and the draft of National Guardsmen from the Eighth Battalion that stiffened its ranks. The paper preferred the Argolo Patriotic Battalion which apparently honoured the Bahian Marshals, Alexandre Gomes de Argolo Ferrão père and fils, respectively the Baron of Cajaiba and the Viscount of Itaparica, the former a hero of independence and the latter an officer who had distinguished himself in Paraguay. The organisation of such battalions may have constituted a form of swaggering by political figures who demonstrated their power by putting men in the streets, just as they fielded voters on election days. Such was certainly the case in the rumour that *O Alabama* also reported: the police were organising a battalion 'to support the government'.[43]

Nevertheless, it would be misleading to see patriotic battalions as solely the preserve of men who owned suit and tie or as merely the product of political manipulations. Only the best-organised and wealthiest patriotic battalions could afford to place advertisements in newspapers – the principal source for information about them – and Assier's description of bands of youths and blacks circulating through the city indicates a broader spectrum of patriotic battalions than the press recognised. *O Commercio* implicitly acknowledged the existence of such battalions in 1843, when it disapprovingly noted that some begrudged 'the people', 'crowned with palms and flowers', who entertained themselves by 'circulating through the streets' on 2 July.[44] Although they adopted martial forms, proclaimed themselves to be battalions and, whenever possible, arranged for a brass band to accompany their parade, patriotic battalions evoked the popular mobilisation of the independence era. Indeed, the original patriotic battalions were informally-organised units that had fought on the Brazilian side in 1822 and 1823, and their Dois de Julho successors were the most legitimate and genuine vehicles of Bahian patriotism. Anna Ribeiro de Goes Bittencourt recalled that, in the 1850s, the Acadêmicos

[43] 'Proclamação', *O Alabama*, 2 July 1869, p. 4; 'A Pedido', *ibid.*, 7 July 1869, p. 3; *ibid.*, 23 June 1869, p. 2. On elections, see Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford, 1990), chap. 4.

[44] *O Commercio*, 10 July 1843, p. 1.

and Caixeiros Nacionais (who struggled to outdo each other in patriotism) received more acclaim than did the official cortege of government officials and army troops.[45]

Public recognition on Dois de Julho was reserved only for some groups; others are conspicuous by their absence from the press. With the exception of Querino's passing reference to an Henrique Dias patriotic battalion (named after a black hero of the seventeenth-century wars against the Dutch), there is no evidence of organised black participation in the festivities.[46] Brazilian-born blacks and mulattoes probably constituted a majority of the National Guard and the army rank-and-file and, of course, the men and women who crowded Salvador's streets during the celebrations were mostly black and mulatto (as was Salvador's population as a whole).[47] However, they did not participate in Dois de Julho as blacks and mulattoes, notwithstanding the important role of the black and mulatto colonial militia in the independence war. No doubt the militia participated in the early Dois de Julho celebrations; in 1826, the black battalion sought permission to hold a special mass at Pirajá on November 8, the anniversary of a Brazilian victory over the Portuguese.[48] The increasingly radicalised black militia's participation in the unsuccessful Sabinada Rebellion provided the justification for their massacre in March 1838.[49] In this way, Bahia eliminated the black heroes of independence and purged Dois de Julho of racial content; the Viscount of Pirajá remarked that the unwelcome 'scenes... of blacks killing whites' (possibly enactments of black militiamen's exploits) would not be repeated in 1838's celebrations.[50] Dois de Julho thus presented an ostensibly 'non-racial' Bahia, one whose public sphere was presumed to be 'white'.

Despite this presumption, race sometimes surfaced in Dois de Julho. In 1868, *O Alabama* condemned the Caixeiros Nacionais for requesting that clerks of 'brown [*parda*] colour' not attend the battalion's parade;

[45] Bittencourt, *Longos serões*, vol. 2, pp. 194–5.

[46] Querino, *Bahia*, p. 52. Here I am distinguishing, as contemporaries did, between Africans and those of African descent born in Brazil.

[47] Both Assier and Marjoribanks noted the large numbers of blacks and mulattoes on the streets and in the battalions during Dois de Julho, Assier, *Brésil*, pp. 198–9; Marjoribanks, *Travels*, p. 103.

[48] Governor of Arms to Vice-President, Salvador, 4 Nov. 1826, APEBa/SACP, m. 3366.

[49] On the Sabinada and the repression of the black militia, see Hendrik Kraay, '"As Terrifying as Unexpected": The Bahian Sabinada, 1837–1838', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 72, no. 4 (Nov. 1992), pp. 501–27; and 'The Politics of Race in Independence-Era Bahia: The Black Militia Officers of Salvador, 1790–1840', in Kraay (ed.), *Afro-Brazilian Culture and Politics*, pp. 43–50.

[50] Visconde de Pirajá to Regent, Salvador, 28 June 1838, *Publicações do Archivo do Estado da Bahia: a Revolução de 7 de Novembro de 1837 (Sabinada)*, 5 vols. (Salvador, 1937–48), vol. 4, p. 372.

three years later, it carried a brief report on an allegedly liberal politician overheard complaining about the presence of 'a black [*negro*]' on the stage during poetry recitals.[51] Here the paper targetted those Bahians unwilling to accept 'respectable' non-whites as equals. In the aftermath of the Paraguayan War, during which Bahia had recruited about a thousand men into all-black units (the so-called Zuavos), there are indications of a modest resumption of black participation in Dois de Julho. Marcolino José Dias, a National Guard sergeant who in 1865 organised and commanded one of the Zuavo companies led the Defensor da Liberdade (Defender of Liberty) patriotic battalion in 1880.[52] Dias's movement from mobilising black men for Brazil's war with Paraguay to leading patriots on Dois de Julho may reflect a bid for recognition of blacks' contributions to the Brazilian state, an effort that foreshadows the far more extensive and explicit Afro–Brazilian efforts to claim a place in Bahia's public sphere during the Carnival celebrations of the 1890s and early 1900s.[53]

One final element in Dois de Julho's representation of Bahian society concerns the question of slavery. For much of the nineteenth century, the contradiction between slavery and Dois de Julho's commemoration of Brazil's liberation from 'slavery' to Portugal went unnoticed, even as metaphors of slavery and liberation abounded in Dois de Julho discourse.[54] The recruitment of a significant number of slaves into the patriot forces was quickly forgotten, while the freed soldiers themselves were hastily removed from the province in the mid-1820s.[55] In 1865, *O Alabama* used a fictional speaker to remark on the spectacle of 'captive and fettered men' passing by the 'wooden liberty' that Bahians adored;

[51] 'Leiam! Leiam!' *O Alabama*, 4 July 1868, p. 4; 'A Pedido', ibid., 7 July 1868, p. 3; 'A Pedido', *ibid.*, 15 July 1871, p. 2.

[52] Manoel [Raimundo] Querino, 'Os homens de côr preta na história', *RIGHBa*, vol. 48 (1923), p. 362; 'Despedida', *O Alabama*, 4 May 1865, p. 4; Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding, Sixteenth Infantry, to Commander of Arms, Salvador, 6 July 1880 (copy), APEBa/SACP, m. 3441.

[53] Peter Fry et al., 'Negros e brancos no Carnaval da Velha República', in João José Reis (ed.), *Escravidão e invenção da liberdade: estudos sobre o negro no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1988), pp. 232–63; Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, pp. 175–86; Raphael Rodrigues Vieira Filho, 'Folguedos negros no Carnaval de Salvador (1880–1930), in Sansone and Santos (eds.), *Ritmos em trânsito*, pp. 39–57.

[54] This is, of course, a familiar theme to historians of the independence period in American slave societies. See, for instance, Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson* (Armonk, 1996); Gary B. Nash, *Race and Revolution* (Madison, 1990); F. Nwabueze Okoye, 'Chattel Slavery as the Nightmare of the American Revolutionaries', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., vol. 37, no. 1 (Jan. 1980), pp. 3–28; Silvia C. Mallo, 'La libertad en el discurso del Estado, de amos y esclavos, 1780–1830', *Revista de Historia de America* 112 (July–Dec. 1992), pp. 121–46.

[55] Aydano do Couto Ferraz, 'O escravo negro na revolução da independência da Baía', *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo) vol. 5, no. 56 (April 1939), pp. 195–202; Reis, 'Jogo duro', pp. 96–7.

'what misery', he concluded.[56] In the late 1860s, as Brazil's abolitionist movement gained strength, Bahians finally associated Dois de Julho with abolition and began commemorating the day with public emancipations, just as Mexicans and Colombians had done during their celebrations of independence in the 1820s.[57] According to Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, the 'man of colour' and maths teacher, Francisco Alvares dos Santos, pioneered this practice in the early 1860s, for the first time linking the 'freedom of the homeland' to 'natural liberty'. The earliest notice of a Dois de Julho emancipation that I have located, however, dates from 1869. The slaves so freed were usually children or women, the typically selective manumissions that did not threaten social hierarchies or economic interests in the way that freeing males slaves did. In 1877, a newly-freed child was featured on a float immediately following the caboclo in the main parade, and chroniclers of the late nineteenth-century festival regularly associated it with abolition, as did the abolitionist press. Dois de Julho thus became a festival of liberty in the 1870s and 1880s and, in 1888, a Princess Isabel Patriotic Battalion appeared to commemorate the regent's signing of the legislation that had freed the country's remaining slaves six weeks earlier.[58] Few slaves, however, actually gained their freedom as a result of patriotic largesse. Rather, these manifestations allowed Bahians to live with slavery for a few more years as they articulated a public rhetorical commitment to abolition without upsetting the social order. By representing themselves as abolitionists, they could remain slavocrats for a while longer.

Dois de Julho rituals played a central role in defining Bahians' identity in opposition to Africans and Portuguese. The celebrations publicly defined an 'imagined community', staked out its limits, and marked its internal hierarchical structure. If it is relatively easy to identify the others against which Dois de Julho patriots defined their social and political identity, that Bahian identity's relationship to the Brazilian state remains to be elucidated.

[56] *O Alabama*, 4 July 1865, p. 3.

[57] Michael Costeloe, 'The Junta Patriotica and the Celebration of Independence in Mexico City, 1825–1855', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Winter 1997), pp. 25–6; Marcos Gonzalez Perez, 'El imaginario festivo en Colombia: sociabilidad y fiesta en Bogotá, siglo XIX', in Santos (ed.), *Festa*, pp. 755, 761, 764.

[58] Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo*, facsimile ed. (Recife, 1988), pp. 256–9; see also 'Conclusão', *O Reverbero*, 6 Aug. 1871, p. 7. For Dois de Julho emancipations, see *O Alabama*, 7 July 1869, p. 4; 9 July 1870, p. 4; 15 July 1871, p. 2. Chroniclers who stress the abolitionist nature of Dois de Julho include Querino, 'Noticia', p. 100; and Moraes Filho, *Festas*, 131. For abolitionist Dois de Julho rhetoric and imagery, see *O Guarany* (Cachoeira), 2 July 1885, p. 1; *O Faisca*, 27 June 1886, p. 282; 4 July 1886, pp. 288, 290, 295; 11 July 1886, p. 296. The Princess Isabel battalion is mentioned in Commander of Arms to President, Salvador, 26 June 1888, APEBa/SACP, m. 3464.

Between Brazil and Bahia: regional and popular commemorations in a monarchical state

Up to this point, we have left aside one of the great questions that Dois de Julho poses. To the extent that it was a civic ritual, what was the abstract political entity to which Bahians pledged loyalty? Was it Brazil or was it Bahia? And what does Dois de Julho say about the origins of that community? Roderick J. Barman has recently argued that early nineteenth-century Brazilians' principal loyalty lay to the *pátria*, the local community, city, colonial captaincy, or imperial province, rather than to the fledgling Brazilian state. The 'nation' was forged in a top-down process as local elites and imperial statesmen gradually came to identify with the Brazilian Empire.[59] Certainly Dois de Julho and its early popularity can be fitted into this framework. Bahians commemorated a regional holiday with more verve than the national ones, as a deputy recognised in 1846: 'the patriotic enthusiasm in Bahia is far greater on 2 July than on 7 September in other provinces of Brazil.'[60] Dois de Julho, however, was about more than just Bahia. Bahians had, officially, fought in the name of Pedro I; troops from Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and (belatedly) Minas Gerais had joined the local patriot besiegers of Salvador. Furthermore, the festival presented the siege and liberation of Salvador as the events that founded Brazil and secured its independence. Bahians thus celebrated a popular mobilisation within a monarchical state, even if they had safely purged the more radical elements of that mobilisation, notably the black and mulatto militia, from the holiday. As a result, Dois de Julho exhibited considerable tension between two pairs of poles, between Brazil and Bahia, and between its popular orientation and the monarchical state to which it was linked. At the same time, the enthusiasm with which Dois de Julho was celebrated suggests a broader engagement with the new state than historians have acknowledged.

Brazil's national holidays – essential attributes of new states in the nineteenth century – exemplify an official patriotism that stressed the monarchical origins of the country's independence and, it should be added, an official patriotism that the new state determined to have celebrated throughout its territory.[61] An 1826 law created five holidays, four of which were directly connected to Pedro I: 1 January (his 1822 decision to stay in Brazil); 25 March (the anniversary of Brazil's 1825 oath

[59] Barman, *Brazil*, passim.

[60] Speech of José de Barros Pimentel, 20 July, *ACD* (1846), vol. 2, p. 262.

[61] Assunção has noted the considerable efforts of authorities in Maranhão to ensure that the new institutions of Brazil and the monarchy were commemorated, 'Popular Culture', p. 281.

to the constitution granted by the emperor who had earlier closed the constituent assembly); 7 September (the date of Pedro's so-called *Grito de Ipiranga*, his cry of 'Independence or Death' in 1822, which eventually prevailed over other dates as Brazil's national holiday); 12 October (Pedro's acclamation as emperor in 1822). The fifth holiday, 3 May, the date on which Brazil's first legislature met, was a hasty addition by the chamber of deputies to the four frankly monarchist holidays approved by the senate. Deputies felt that their role in a constitutional monarchy deserved commemoration.[62] Pedro's abdication in 1831 obliged the regency to revise its roster of holidays. In October 1831, a decree eliminated 12 October (Pedro's acclamation), adding 2 December (the young Pedro II's birthday) and 7 April (Pedro I's abdication). The latter was politely described as commemorating the 'Devolution of the Crown to Senhor Dom Pedro'. After all, no monarchy – not even the liberal regency – could publicly celebrate the enforced abdication of its emperor. A month after the acclamation of Pedro II's majority on 23 July 1840, the government added the day to the line-up of civic holidays. Finally, in 1848, the number of national holidays was reduced to three: 25 March, 7 September, and 2 December.[63]

Dois de Julho thus did not figure among the empire's official holidays, which focused on the persons and acts of the royal family. In the late 1820s, however, Bahian patriots briefly placed the day on the national agenda. More than 1,000 'citizens of Bahia' signed a petition, presented to the chamber of deputies in May 1829, in which they requested that 'the day on which Brazilian troops entered the city of Bahia be declared a festive day'. Hedging their bets, the petitioners noted that they would settle for a holiday observed only in Bahia. Dois de Julho did not speak to residents of Rio de Janeiro or the rest of Brazil in the way that it did to Bahians. In 1828, the capital's *Aurora Fluminense* had hailed the efforts to prepare the petition and argued that all that 'tends to remind a people of the first of the civic virtues – love of *Pátria*' – deserved support. In keeping with its federalist sympathies, however, the newspaper recommended that each province establish its own civic holiday. Similarly, the Civil Justice Committee concluded that Dois de Julho should be declared a holiday only in Bahia (but that it should be considered fully equal to the national holidays). After a brief discussion, the bill passed and went back to committee. Not until 1831, however, was 2 July officially sanctioned as

[62] Lei, 9 Sep. 1826, *CLB*. On the addition of 3 May, see the brief debate in *ACD* (1826), vol. 2, p. 36; vol. 3, pp. 262–5; the senate bill's progress can be followed in *Anais do Senado* (1826), vol. 1, p. 85; vol. 2, pp. 100–2; vol. 3, pp. 14–16, 122–9.

[63] Decreto, 25 Oct. 1831; Decreto 146, 26 Aug. 1840; Decreto 501, 19 Aug. 1848, *CLB*.

a 'National Festivity' in Bahia.[64] Similarly, Bahian patriots got less than they requested from the Church: an 1830 petition that the Archbishop of Bahia declare 2 July a holy day fell afoul of the Church's efforts to limit the number of observed saints' days. Patriots had to settle for a dispensed holy day, one in which, as the archbishop hopefully recommended, 'artisans and other less prosperous classes', would return to work after having satisfied the obligation to attend mass.[65]

Efforts to spread Dois de Julho beyond Bahia faced incomprehension, worry about its narrowly regional focus, and concerns about its commemoration of popular mobilisation. Bahian students at the Olinda law school mounted an elaborate Dois de Julho in 1834 that attracted 'many families from the city'. In its commentary, *O Carapuceiro* recognised 2 July as a 'most memorable day for Bahia and, strictly speaking, all of Brazil', but the article's subsequent emphasis on the brotherhood of all Brazilians betrays the editor's misgivings about the students' efforts. Many years later, André Rebouças recalled a speech that he had heard his father, Antônio Pereira Rebouças, give at a Dois de Julho banquet in Rio de Janeiro. The elder Rebouças argued that 'independence and Dois de Julho itself were due to the efforts of all Brazilians and not just Bahians', concluding with a toast to the unity of all Brazilians under the constitution. Bahian poet Antônio Frederico de Castro Alves had more success with his patriotic verse in São Paulo. A student at the law school in 1868, he regularly packed local theatres for readings of his poetry, including his *Ode ao Dois de Julho* (*Ode to Dois de Julho*). Nevertheless, he had to introduce the *Ode* by reminding his audience of the day's significance: 'The seventh of September is brother to the second of July. It is not the glory of a province, but the glory of a people... Brazil is the august heir of these heroes'.[66] Castro Alves had to explain the importance of the day and associate it with Brazilian independence, as did Rebouças, for the poet's São Paulo audience did not make the connections.

Like Rebouças and Castro Alves, other patriotic poets, the journalists who composed the front-page paeans to Dois de Julho that graced so many early-July newspaper issues, and speech-writers all faced the difficulty of striking an appropriate balance between loyalty to Brazil and

[64] Petition of José Lino Coutinho, 14 May, *ACD* (1829), vol. 1, p. 71; Extract from *Aurora Fluminense* (Rio de Janeiro), reprinted in *O Farol*, 3 Oct. 1828, pp. 1–2; *ACD* (1829), vol. 4, p. 106; Resolução, 12 Aug. 1831, *CLB*.

[65] Both the patriots' petition and the archbishop's circular to his parish priests are reproduced in Silva, *Memorias*, vol. 4, pp. 60–2.

[66] 'O Dia 2 de Julho em Olinda', *O Carapuceiro* (Recife), 12 July 1834, pp. 3–4; André Rebouças to Visconde de Taunay, 24 Apr. 1894, in Rebouças, *Diario e notas autobiográficas*, Ana Flora and Inácio José Verissimo (eds.) (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), p. 411; Xavier Marques, *Vida de Castro Alves* (Rio de Janeiro, 1924), p. 128. See also *O Reverbero*, 6 Aug. 1871, pp. 2, 7.

to Bahia, between emphasising the popular origins of Brazilian independence or stressing the actions of Pedro I. These overlapping positions cannot be easily disentangled, but a sampling of Dois de Julho texts reveals the complex meanings that could be attributed to this holiday. In 1843, *O Commercio* heralded the 'Bahian Day', mentioning neither Brazil nor the emperor in its editorial, an unusual emphasis on the holiday's purely local aspects.[67] In the late 1860s and early 1870s, *O Alabama* asserted that 'the people' rose up in response to the Grito de Ipiranga and stressed that Brazil's emancipation from Portugal was only complete after Bahia's restoration. This interpretation conveniently ignored the anti-Portuguese mobilisation of the first half of 1822 in Bahia (which preceded the Grito) but nicely associated Bahian independence with that of Brazil.[68] The identification of the festival with the larger community of Brazilians was a repeated theme in Dois de Julho discourse: In 1845, *O Guaycurú*'s editorial presented Dois de Julho as a popular and Brazilian day, the realisation of independence, but an article declared that 'this great day belongs especially to Bahians'. 'It is not just of Bahia... [but] of all Brazil', insisted the organisers of the Acadêmico Patriotic Battalion in 1874, reminding students that '2 July is a national festival'. Others hoped, largely in vain, that 'patriotic hymns would reverberate... in all the empire' on 2 July.[69]

Even as patriots struggled to associate Dois de Julho with Brazil, the festival also articulated a uniquely Bahian identity, one that emphasised local patriots' struggles in the independence war and stressed local liberties. *O Alabama* took aim at Rio de Janeiro's dominance of Brazil in 1867, calling on Bahians to prevent the capital's 'servile politicians [*manequins da política*]' from trampling their liberty: 'We must remember that it was we who fought, and not Rio; that it was we who died, and not Rio; that it was we who slept under the sun and in the rain, and not Rio; that it was our blood that ran, and not that of Rio; that we are surely Brazilians but not *cariocas* [residents of Rio de Janeiro]!'[70] Such enthusiasm for Bahians' patriotic struggles against Portuguese oppressors slid easily into aggressive calls for change. Santo Amaro's lusophobic *O Abatirá* warned unnamed 'tyrants' that only popular sovereignty, as manifested in

[67] 'O Dia Dous de Julho', *O Commercio*, 3 July 1843, p. 1.

[68] See *O Alabama*, 2 July 1867, pp. 1–3; 2 July 1869, p. 1; 2 July 1870, pp. 1–2; 2 July 1871, p. 1. Other newspapers and poets echoed this interpretation, *Instituto Academico*, 1 July 1874, p. 1; 'Ao vulto do Dous de Julho', *Jornal de Valença* (Valença), 7 July 1877, p. 2; 'Poezia recitada pelo advogado João José Peçanha Júnior...', *A Aurora* (Valença), 12 July 1883, p. 2.

[69] 'Dous de Julho!' and 'O Dia Dous de Julho (Communicado)', *O Guaycurú*, 1 July 1845, pp. 407, 409; 'O Directorio do Batalhão Patriotico Academico aos seus collegas', *Instituto Academico*, 1 July 1874, p. 8; *A Verdade* (Alagoinhas), 2 July 1877, p. 2.

[70] *O Alabama*, 2 July 1867, pp. 2–3.

1851's Dois de Julho, was legitimate. The newspaper looked forward to a new Dois de Julho during which the people would rise up against burdensome taxation, arbitrary impressment, unspecified suffering and misery, and continued Portuguese domination, after which 'Brazil's independence would be real, and no longer fictitious.' In 1870, *O Alabama* enumerated a litany of Brazilian ills, asserting that 'the people are enslaved... lacking all rights; [they] are persecuted... and their suffering is aggravated for it is at the hands of fellow countrymen!!'[71]

Not all shared this view. In 1825, loyalty to Pedro I was the order of the day in the official celebrations; at the theatre, an artillery cadet hailed Pedro in fawning verse as the saviour of Brazil, calling on Bahians to render him homage. The 1875 bando of the city council recognised 2 July as 'the great day of the people' but observed that the imperial 'shout of "Independence or Death" laid the cornerstone of the social edifice' and that the future emperor's declaration had 'wrenched from atrophy' those who were suffering from the lack of liberty, thereby purging independence of its local Bahian antecedents and Dois de Julho of the popular content that some stressed. The Church's *O Noticiador Catholico* stressed in 1854 that only religion could inspire true love of *pátria* and argued that Dois de Julho motivated the most profound gratitude to the 'Lord of Armies' who prepared the victory.[72]

The tensions between Brazil and Bahia and between the popular and monarchical origins of the state were a recurring theme in the two Dois de Julho incidents immortalised by Bahian chroniclers – the near riot at the 1846 gala and the Frias Villar incident of 1875 – as well as the repeated attacks on army bands in the 1870s and 1880s. That these conflicts involved military men (and outsiders) as the target of Bahian patriots' wrath is significant. While patriots saw the army as an important and necessary participant in early Dois de Julho celebrations – in 1843, *O Commercio* lamented the president's failure to supply a detachment of troops to accompany the caboclo[73] – later Dois de Julhos were dominated by an increasingly vocal rejection of the regular military. Two developments underlay this rejection. Until the 1840s, Salvador's garrison was overwhelmingly staffed with Bahian-born officers and soldiers, many themselves veterans of the independence war; such men could not be excluded from Dois de Julho. After mid-century, however, as more and more non-Bahians came to serve in the garrison, the result of Brazil's

[71] *O Abatirá* (Santo Amaro), 15 July 1851, p. 1; 'O Dois de Julho de 1823', *O Alabama*, 2 July 1870, p. 2; see also 'Dous de Julho', *O Guaycurú*, 30 June–2 July 1846, p. 7.

[72] 'Elogio,' *Grito da Razão*, 6 July 1825, pp. 5–6; Querino, *Bahia*, 47–8; 'O Dia 2 de Julho', *O Noticiador Catholico*, 8 July 1854, p. 41. See also *A Verdade* (Alagoinhas), 2 July 1877, p. 1.

[73] 'O Dia Dous de Julho', *O Commercio*, 10 July 1843, p. 1.

construction of a national army, the corporation became an increasingly unwelcome institution to patriots.[74] Furthermore, Dois de Julho patriotism, with its stress on voluntary participation in patriotic battalions, implicitly rejected the army, with its impressed rank and file. Indeed, after the Paraguayan War, during which forced recruitment had touched large sectors of the population, the army's standing in Brazilian society fell considerably.[75] To the extent that Dois de Julho patriotism emphasised popular participation and local liberties, it almost inevitably came to reject the regular army, the embodiment of the central state.

Suspicion of military men combined with radical liberalism and lusophobia in the 1846 incident involving President Francisco José de Souza Soares de Andreia. We have already noted this Portuguese-born officer's attempt to eliminate the caboclo. Andreia, who had gained his principal political experience in suppressing rebellions in Pará and Rio Grande do Sul, was anathema in liberal circles for his alleged failure to respect the law and constitutional precepts, not to mention his Portuguese birth, which made him an easy target.[76] His high-handedness as president did not help; he quarrelled with the provincial legislature, and faced what he described as a 'mutiny' of Salvador's National Guard when he tried to impose an unpopular commander. That he would preside over Dois de Julho's official commemorations in 1845 prompted considerable discussion among patriots, but the year's celebrations apparently passed without incident.[77] Matters came to a head the following year. During the theatre gala, an amateur poet and former provincial civil servant whom Andreia had reportedly tricked into resigning his post with the promise of a better position recited an improvisation on the refrain from the Dois de Julho hymn, gesticulating to the president and making it clear that he was associating Andreia with tyranny. Andreia's son, a major and his father's aide-de-camp, was so offended by this insult that he leaped into the poet's box and struck him with a lash; a brief scuffle ensued during which the poet's wife broke her ivory fan across the major's face.[78]

[74] On this evolution of the army garrison, see Hendrik Kraay, 'Soldiers, Officers, and Society: The Army in Bahia, Brazil, 1808–1889', unpubl. PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1995.

[75] Peter M. Beattie, 'The House, the Street, and the Barracks: Reform and Honorable Masculine Social Space in Brazil, 1864–1945', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 76, no. 3 (August 1996), pp. 439–51.

[76] For an early criticism of Andreia, see *ODemocrata*, 16 April 1836, p. 312. On Andreia's political experience, see speeches of José Ferreira Souto and João José de Oliveira Junqueira, 1 Aug. *ACD* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 382, 386.

[77] Letters to the Editor, *O Guaycurú*, 28 June 1845, p. 2.

[78] Accounts of the incident can be found in Querino, 'Noticia', pp. 87–8; Querino, *Bahia*, pp. 332–3; F. Borges de Barros, 'A margem da história da Bahia', *AAPEBa*, vol. 23 (1934), pp. 375–6; and in speech of Pimentel, 20 July, *ACD* (1846), vol. 2, pp. 262–3, all of whom relied on the extensive anti-Andreia coverage in *O Guaycurú*, 4, 7, 9, and

The deputy who brought this incident to the attention of the legislature as part of a lengthy attack on Andreia's presidency proclaimed it to be an insult directed against 'all the enlightened men of Bahia', doubly so for it took place on 2 July. In the inconclusive debate that followed – the presenter of the original motion offered to withdraw it as soon as he had read his diatribe into the record – legislators took predictable positions. Government deputies invoked the filial obligation to defend fathers and argued that the poet had deliberately set out to insult the first authority of the province. Critics of the younger Andreia retorted that nothing justified such an action on Dois de Julho and worried that it would revive the 'deplorable antagonism' against Portuguese. Antônio Pereira Rebouças condemned this 'unprecedented insult... against all of us Brazilians, on one of the most solemn days in the annals of our history and political independence', thus trying to link Dois de Julho to national sentiment. On the last day that the issue was discussed, one deputy made a telling comparison: had the president been insulted on 2 December (the emperor's birthday), 'a day that we so greatly respect, Major Andreia would not have done what he did. But, because it was the day of Bahia's glory, the day of triumph for Bahian arms, a day that appears not to have been understood by the Andreias', the major felt no need to restrain himself.[79]

Andreia combined a host of qualities that were repugnant to Bahian patriotism. An autocratic officer, Portuguese to boot, he failed to respect Bahians' deeply-felt traditions. In his attempt to rid Dois de Julho of the caboclo, he attacked a symbol that had sunk deep roots in popular culture during the previous two decades. At the gala, his son broke many of the conventions of respectable society, most notably by using a lash on one of its members. And, more fundamentally, the Andreias failed to recognise that Dois de Julho was, like Carnival, a time when patriots enjoyed liberty – not just to carouse and celebrate but also to speak out about the state; indeed, three decades later, 'some patriots' from Valença made exactly this point in their response to complaints about 'excessive patriotism', while a poet retorted in verse in 1869:

Qu'importa que alguem enchergue	What does it matter that some see

11 July 1846. For a more favourable view of the marshal, see José Andréa, *O Marechal Andréa nos relevos da história do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1977), pp. 185–8.

[79] Speeches of Pimentel, 20 July, *ACD* (1846), vol. 2, p. 263; João Maurício Wanderley, 24 July, *ibid.*, p. 313; D. Manoel do Monte Rodrigues de Araújo, 1 Aug., *ibid.*, p. 384; Pimentel, 29 July, *ibid.*, pp. 357, 359; Antônio Pereira Rebouças, 31 July, *ibid.*, p. 368; Junqueira, 1 Aug., *ibid.*, p. 386.

Sedição no enthusiasmo?!	Sedition in the enthusiasm?
O mundo nos olha pasmo,	The world looks at us in astonishment
Dizendo: – patriotismo! –	Saying: 'Patriotism!'[80]

Dois de Julhos in the 1870s and 1880s witnessed frequent conflicts between patriots and Salvador's army garrison. The so-called Frias Villar incident of 1875 set the tone for these episodes, which demonstrate patriots' rejection of national state institutions in the festival. As patriotic and army battalions were gathering on the Terreiro de Jesus on 2 July, a scuffle broke out when the soldiers of the Eighteenth Infantry tried to break through a line formed by the artisans and apprentices of the Liceu de Artes e Oficios Patriotic Battalion. Other patriotic battalions turned on the soldiers of the Eighteenth; in the course of the brawl, a typographer was killed. Tempers exploded. A mob stoned the battalion's quarters in Palma Barracks and fully three thousand people attended the typographer's funeral. Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandre Augusto Frias Villar, the battalion commander, narrowly escaped a lynching when discovered in a sedan chair en route to the docks. Forty-eight hours later, the president had the soldiers embarked in the dead of night.[81]

On one level, the Frias Villar incident was a conflict between Bahians and outsiders, the soldiers of the Eighteenth Infantry. Patriots rejected the soldiers' pretensions to a more prominent place on the Terreiro, just as, in a larger sense, they repudiated the values embodied in the army. Furthermore, class played an important role in the conflict. The respectable patriotic artisans of the Liceu had suffered a grievous assault at the hands of disreputable soldiery. They did not easily forget 1875; five years later, an angry commander of arms complained of a public display on columns in the Terreiro de Jesus: 'two ridiculous effigies of soldiers, with the number 18 on their shakos'. Recalling the attempted murder of Frias Villar but not the killing of the typographer, he called on the president to have the effigies removed. 'Less prudent' officers had complained of this dishonourable display in front of their men which, he feared, would lead to 'dire consequences'.[82] Apparently no such consequences ensued from this incident but the effigies clearly demonstrated that the army was an unwelcome presence on Salvador's streets

[80] Publicações a pedido', *Jornal de Valença* (Valença), 7 July 1877, p. 3; D. Augusto, 'Poesia recitada na noite de 5 de Julho', *O Alabama*, 14 July 1869, p. 5.

[81] For accounts of the incident, see J[oão] da Silva Campos, 'Tradições bahianas', *RIGHBa*, vol. 56 (1930), pp. 458–61; Barros, 'A margem da história', pp. 377–8; and Peter M. Beattie, 'Transforming Enlisted Army Service in Brazil, 1864–1940: Penal Servitude versus Conscription and Changing Conceptions of Honor, Race, and Nation', unpubl. PhD diss., University of Miami, 1994, pp. 175–6.

[82] Commander of Arms to President, Salvador, 3 July 1880, APEBa/SACP, m. 3441.

during Dois de Julho and that it served as a useful 'other' for Bahian patriots.

Indeed, in the 1870s and 1880s, some patriots repeatedly targetted the army bands that were detailed to add lustre to Dois de Julho celebrations. Military musicians were useful to the organisers of patriotic activities for their performances could be obtained for free on application to the provincial president; the commander of arms complained in 1877 of his bandsmen's exhaustion from rushing from patriotic function to patriotic function during the winter months.[83] Nevertheless, army bands were controversial participants in that year's Dois de Julho, as the commander of the Sixteenth Infantry reported: 'Once again, as so often happens, the military musicians were virulently and heinously insulted and stoned' during the festivities. In 1885, a Dois de Julho stoning silenced the Ninth Infantry's band, which had also been involved in 'lamentable events' in 1880. As it passed other patriotic battalions in the narrow streets north of the Terreiro de Jesus, while accompanying the Artistas Nacionais Patriotic Battalion, this band began to play a march from Brazilian composer Carlos Gomes's opera, *O Guaraní*. Amid shouts not to play the march, members of the other battalions attacked the army band. The army musicians drew their swords, but the patriots carried the day, crushing several instruments; one of them effectively silenced the army band by perforating its bass drum with a cane. A few days later, the Sixteenth Infantry's band (disarmed as a precautionary measure) lost several instruments in a brawl and two of its musicians suffered injuries.[84] These musical duels, like the anti-Portuguese disturbances of the early nineteenth century, pitted Bahian patriots against those who could not be included in Bahian society or those who embodied values contrary to Bahian patriotism, whose voluntarism repudiated the hierarchial army, by then associated with the distant imperial state.

Dois de Julho violence produced disquiet in elite circles. The holiday's popularity and its commemoration of a popular mobilisation, the

[83] Commander of Arms to President, Salvador, 31 Aug. 1877, APEBa/SACP, m. 3446. On the popularity of brass bands, see Horst Karl Schwebel, *Bandas filarmônicas e mestres da Bahia* (Salvador, 1987); Campos, 'Tradições bahianas', pp. 42–5, 515–17, 526–7; and Gilberto Freyre, *Order and Progress: Brazil from Monarchy to Republic*, Rod W. Horton (ed. and trans.) (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 70–1.

[84] Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding, Sixteenth Infantry, to Commander of Arms, Salvador, 7 July 1877, APEBa/SACP m. 3446; Commander of Arms to President, Salvador, 1 July 1885, ibid., m. 3447; Commander of Arms to President, Salvador, 3 July 1880; Second Lieutenant Adjutant to Major Fiscal, Ninth Infantry, Salvador, 3 July 1880 (copy), ibid., m. 3441; Commander of Arms to President, Salvador, 6 July 1880, ibid., m. 3463; Parte, Fellisbelo Jose Ferreira da Fonseca, Salvador, 6 July 1880 (copy); Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding, Sixteenth Infantry, to Commander of Arms, Salvador, 6 July 1880; Commander of Arms to President, Salvador, 7 July 1880, ibid., m. 3441.

uncontrollable semi-official and unofficial activities with their potential for violence and carnivalesque elements, and the festival's association with regionalism could not help but worry authorities and observers. The frequency with which newspapers and officials reported that Dois de Julho had taken place peacefully only highlights the latent fears. The British consul noted privately in 1834: 'The great day in Brazilian annals seems to be passing off tranquilly. A thing not altogether anticipated.' In 1838, the arch-conservative Viscount of Pirajá capitalised on the post-Sabinada repression to plan a modest celebration consisting of a *Te Deum*, illumination of the presidential palace, and salutes to the Emperor's portrait: 'no more fun and games [*divertimento*]', as he put it to the regent. Pirajá's efforts had, at best, ephemeral success but his concerns persisted; after the sacrilegious spectacle of the 1854 bando, the archbishop wondered what 'they would think in Europe about the progress of our enlightment and morality?' Other attempts to restrict aspects of the festival were more successful, at least for a time. The practice of holding an overnight vigil at the new Lapinha pavilion on 1 July was banned in 1864 on the grounds that it was the occasion for disorders (police upheld this ban for a few years) but the event was restored in the 1870s. Authorities from outside of Bahia, such as Commander of Arms Hermes Ernesto da Fonseca, were often puzzled by the rituals. In 1880, he considered the bando 'ridiculous', for its ostensible purpose – notifying residents of the upcoming holiday – could be more effectively carried out by newspaper advertisements; worse yet, the bando was often the occasion for insults to the army band sent to accompany it. More tactful than Andreia, however, this officer apparently did not attempt to impose his views on Bahians.[85]

Bahian folklorist and historian Hildegardes Viana has discerned a gradual late nineteenth-century decline in Dois de Julho's popularity and a withdrawal of elites from participation in it. They apparently found the Indianist symbols and popular participation increasingly repugnant and worked to create a symbol of Bahia more in keeping with the 'modern' image that they desired to project.[86] The two-decade-long campaign to erect a monument to Dois de Julho, which began in 1876, exemplifies these efforts. Just as mobile allegories of Marianne were perceived to be

[85] Consul John Parkinson to John Bidwell, Salvador, 7 April 1834 (private), Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office 13, vol. 113, fol. 210; Pirajá to Regent, Salvador, 28 June 1838, *Publicações do Archivo*, vol. 4, pp. 372–3; Archbishop to Vice-President, Salvador, 4 July 1854, *O Noticiador Catholico*, 8 July 1854, p. 47; Querino, *Bahia*, p. 59. *O Alabama* complained of the ban and noted the police enforcement, 6 July 1867, p. 2; 2 July 1869, pp. 2, 3. Fonseca's comments appear in Commander of Arms to President, Salvador, 3 July 1880, APEBa/SACP, m. 3441.

[86] Viana, 'Folclore cívico', p. 175. See also Reis, 'Jogo duro', p. 79; and Albuquerque, 'Santos, deuses e herois', pp. 121–2.

radical symbols in republican France and only fixed allegories (statues) were acceptable to bourgeois liberals, so the Dois de Julho monument belonged to a conservative, elite vision of the festival. From Feira de Santana, *O Motor* railed against the projected statue, 'cold as the stone of which it must be composed', stressing that true patriotism lay in the Bahian people and their participation in the festival. Not until 1895, after the proclamation of the republic in 1889 was the Italian-made monument that still graces Salvador's Campo Grande Square finally unveiled.[87]

Despite these efforts, it is difficult to detect a linear decline in either the popularity of Dois de Julho celebrations or the extent of elite participation, at least on the basis of the evidence that I have for the late Empire. Judging by the two decades that it took to raise the monument, the commitment to reform Dois de Julho was lukewarm at best. *O Faisca* railed against the narrow-minded egoists who sought to put an end to '*patriotadas*' (a neologism that might be translated as 'patriotic nonsense') in the 1880s, and *O Alabama* sometimes noted a lack of enthusiasm in the late 1860s and early 1870s (often attributing it to wartime hardship). This newspaper also condemned town councillors who missed the *Te Deum* or other public functions.[88] The carriages that crowded downtown streets during the 1860s and early 1870s, by contrast, suggest continued elite interest in the festival. The collapse of the National Guard in the early 1870s (and its reduction to a ceremonial institution in 1873) left a large gap in the parades of the early 1870s but may have freed men to join patriotic battalions.[89] The passions aroused by the Frias Villar incident, the proliferation of local and parish Dois de Julhos, and the musical conflicts of the 1870s and 1880s reveal that Dois de Julho was far from dead, even as it faced reform pressures that would gain strength after 1889.[90]

Dois de Julho constitutes a challenge for historical analysis. A local holiday the advocates of which nevertheless claimed to represent all of the nation, it reflects more than just tension between regional and national loyalties in nineteenth-century Brazil. It presented an alternative nationalism that celebrated the popular origins of the Brazilian empire. The men connected to the centralised Brazilian state, the group that, as

[87] 'Memorável Dous de Julho', *O Motor* (Feira de Santana), 30 June 1877, p. 1; 'Monumento, história tambem de lutas', *A Tarde Cultural*, 3 July 1993, p. 5; Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789–1880* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 88.

[88] *O Faísca*, 4 July 1886, pp. 289–90; *O Alabama*, 5 July 1866, p. 1; 6 July 1867, p. 2; 9 July 1870, pp. 1, 5; 6 July 1871, p. 1.

[89] *O Alabama* remarked on the Guard's poor showing in 1871, 6 July 1871, p. 3; and the president later noted that battalions had reported with as few as 30 enlisted men, Bahia, President, *Relatório*, 17 Oct. 1871, p. 30.

[90] On Dois de Julho in the Old Republic, see Albuquerque, 'Santos, deuses e heróis', pp. 117–22.

José Murilo de Carvalho has put it, constructed the Brazilian order, found Dois de Julho difficult to comprehend, although they certainly understood its threat to their project.[91] The festival's celebration of the independence war's popular mobilisation provoked disquiet among those who recognised its challenge to the hierarchical order of the imperial state.

Dois de Julho's popularity, the enthusiasm with which it was celebrated, and the passions that it aroused suggest a significant and socially-broad engagement with the state. The imagined communities of Brazil and Bahia – Dois de Julho ultimately celebrated both – were not remote and alien entities to the urban population. They were, rather, communities in which significant numbers of Bahians participated through patriotic battalions, whether the well-organised ones whose newspaper advertisements left a record for posterity or the more informal ones that we can only occasionally glimpse; through participation in the parades and official celebrations; through hearing, repeating, and elaborating patriotic verse and music; or through attending the parish festivals. Dois de Julho thus served to create and recreate Bahians' political identity as Bahians and Brazilians, with the emphasis constantly shifting between these two points of reference. In so doing, it did much to make nationalism and patriotism 'banal', normal and accepted parts of Bahians' identity.[92]

Finally, the elaborate and exuberant celebration of Dois de Julho, with its proliferation of serious and carnivalesque activities, with its elements drawn from the repertoire of colonial festivals, and with its newly-invented traditions, raises questions about the nature of civic rituals. These are, particularly in Brazil, usually analysed as creations of the state and elites, as might be expected in a hierarchical society with a state that governed in the interests of a narrow class. In this vision of civic ritual, there is little room for the people, except as passive spectators or the orderly rank and file of parading corporations. By contrast, Dois de Julho's origins were popular; identification with state and nation, in other words, came strongly from below, not from above. Unbidden, large sectors of Salvador's urban society celebrated the foundation of these abstract entities. That they did so in unconventional ways is, of course, unsurprising, as are the concerns of those who sought to present a 'civilised' and 'orderly' Bahia. The latter proved, however, singularly unsuccessful in their efforts to reform Dois de Julho. However much it may have excluded certain groups from its representation of Bahia, it commanded loyalty from sufficiently broad strata or urban society to ensure its continuation as a profoundly popular civic holiday. Dois de Julho's popularity, indeed, lay in the critique of the Brazilian state's official nationalism that it expressed.

[91] José Murilo de Carvalho, *A construção da ordem: a elite política imperial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1980). [92] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London, 1995).