

THE PRADO FAMILY , EUROPEAN CULTURE , AND THE REDISCOVERY OF BRAZIL , 1860-1930 (*).

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1. — INTRODUCTION.

Culturally, the nineteenth century in Brazilian history was a period of "re-Europeanization", of "reconquest", or of recolonization in which the three centuries of Portuguese domination were replaced by European influences emanating from Britain and France in particular (1). The arrival of the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro and the opening of Brazilian ports to non-Portuguese trade in 1808 started a new era in Brazil's cultural life. Following the disorders of the independence period and of regional revolts lasting until 1849, Brazil at mid-century stood ready to increase its contacts with Europe. In retrospect it can be seen that Europe played an ambiguous and disquieting role as model and threat, as stimulus and brake to Brazilian nation-

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(1). — Gilberto Freyre, *The Mansions and the Shanties* (New York, 1968), 205-06. Emília Nogueira, "Alguns aspectos da influência francesa em São Paulo na segunda metade do século XIX", *Revista de História* (São Paulo), 4 (n° 16-1953), 340. See also Freyre, *Ingleses no Brasil: aspectos da influência britânica sobre a vida a paisagem e a cultura do Brasil* (Rio, 1948) and Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville, 1958), Chs. 7, 8, 11, 13, 16 and 20.

nal development. This in turn induced a general intellectual and cultural crisis in Brazilian leaders who faced the reality of Europe and its impact on their homeland.

Elite Brazilians of the mid-nineteenth century were suddenly aware how much their nation lagged behind modern Europe (2). They sought throughout the period 1850-1914 to remedy supposed deficiencies by adopting European ideas, machines, and fashions. European culture provided political models for the proto-democrat, social models for the reformer and the abolitionist, capital, labor, and technology for the entrepreneur, advanced schooling for elite sons, Parisian fashions for their sisters, literary styles for the poet and the novelist, and pleasure for the wordly. Pursuit of these and other desiderata implied a need Brazilians felt to step into the modern world, a relatively easy feat for the gifted individual, but a difficult accomplishment for the nation, which lacked in 1850 the conditions for modernization. Returning from Europe, Brazilians often confronted their little-changed country with dismay. Some were driven by the contrast of civilized Europe with what they saw as Brazil's general poverty, ignorance, corruption, underdevelopment, and social inequality to attempt European solutions to Brazilian problems. As these problems persisted or intensified and as even valued Brazilian traditions were eroded by European cultural influences, some Brazilian sought to question Europe's cultural effect on Brazilian society. With the rise of European neocolonialism and especially after World War I shattered the image of Europe as master of its progressive destiny, the re-Europeanization of Brazil gave way to Brazilian nationalism.

The role of European culture in the lives of Brazilian diplomats, politicians, entrepreneurs, and artists is an important historiographical theme of this period (3). Single biographies and autobiographies are limited in chronological scope, however, and may represent idiosyncratic experiences. A broader composite picture emerges from an examination of a whole family's experiences with European culture, a family whose members shared a common social and intellectual background, whose collective experience with Europe spanned the entire 1860-1930 period and reflected the changing patterns of cultural relations between

(2). — For an excellent comparative analysis of the Brazilian and British societies in 1850 see Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, England, 1968), 1-22.

(3). — Among many examples are: Luis Vian a Filho, *A vida do Barão do Rio Branco* (Rio de Janeiro, 1959); André Rebouças, *Diário e notas autobiográficas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938); Joaquim Nabuco, *Minha formação* (Many eds., including Brasília, 1963); Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *Memórias: estas minhas reminiscências* (Rio de Janeiro, 1931); and Renat o Mendonça, *Um diplomata na corte da Inglaterra: o Bario do Penedo e sua época* (São Paulo, 1942).

Brazil and Europe. The d a Silva Prado family of São Paulo served the case well. A leader in the coffee boom of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Prado family also promoted European immigration to replace slave labor and founded and administered export houses, banks, railroads, and industries. Politically, Prados occupied high local, provincial, and national posts. Culturally, they were leading importers of European ideas, customs, and styles. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Prado family was one of perhaps four or five families at the very peak of São Paulo's regional elite, a position achieved and consolidated in part by its unusually comprehensive exposure to European culture (4).

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2. — THE PRADO FAMILY DISCOVERS EUROPE.

The Prados came from what was, in the mid-nineteenth century, one of Brazil's most backward parts, the province of São Paulo. It is capital, São Paulo city, with a relatively impoverished population of 20,000 in 1850, was isolated from the sea, sharing little of the cosmopolitan influences enjoyed by ports such as Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Recife. Antônio Prado (1840-1929), the future Imperial Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Public Works and four-term mayor of São Paulo (1899-1911), remembered the native city of this youth as "backward, dark, ugly, and sad" (5). The São Paulo Law School, one of only two such institutions in Brazil, provided a measure of light in this otherwise dark panorama. Though the law students as a group were more noted for their love of billiards and of mischief than for their scholarship, it was at the law school that Antônio Prado himself was first exposed to such works as Toqueville's *Democracy in America* and Henri Baudrillard's treatises on political economy (6).

In about 1860, São Paulo began to stir from its post-colonial slumbers. In that year, the Casa Garraux, a French firm dealing in books, wines, art objects, and novelties like umbrellas, opened in the

(4). — Sources for the Prado family include: Nazareth Prado, *Antônio Prado no Império e na República* (Rio de Janeiro, 1929); 1^o *centenário do Conselheiro Antônio da Silva Prado* (São Paulo, 1946); and *In Memoriam: Martinho Prado Júnior* (São Paulo, 1944). The best of several poor biographies of Eduardo Prado is Cândido Motta Filho, *A vida de Eduardo Prado* (Rio de Janeiro, 1967). The best genealogy is Frederico de Barros Brotero, *A família Jardim e seus afins...* (São Paulo, 1948), 57-147.

(5). — 1^o *centenário do Conselheiro Antônio da Silva Prado*, 233. See also Maria Paes de Barros, *No tempo de dantes* (São Paulo, 1946), 11.

(6). — Antônio Prado to Veridian A Prado, Paris, 8 Dec. 1862, Barros Archives. Nogueira, "Influência francesa," 333. James C. Fletcher and D. E. Kidder, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (7th ed., Boston, 1867), 361-65.

city (7). Coffee provided the economic stimulus for change. During the years 1856-64, the Prado family's profits from coffee rose greatly, and Antônio Prado's parents, Martinho and Veridiana, were able to provide their children with books from the Casa Garraux, with foreign governesses and dancing masters, and with an imported piano on which their daughters were taught classical music (8).

In mid-1862 Antônio Prado embarked for the European "bath in civilization" that increasingly became standard for elite Brazilian youths after law school. In the fifty letters he sent home from his two-year stay in Europe, one notes neither the complete acceptance of European civilization nor the rejection of all Brazilian values. As he wrote his mother after four months abroad:

"Civilized and enlightened Europe offers the foreigner everything that the imagination can encounter and that can clarify the mind at the same time that it opens for him all the paths of pleasure which many times lead to soundless depths" (9).

Reinforcing this attitude was Antônio's mother's concern that civilized Europe might seduce him away from backwater Brazil. Antônio tried to reassure her by a series of observations: Lisbon's bookstores were "very ordinary", its theatre superior to Rio's, and its commerce and banking houses inferior to those of the Brazilian capital (10); British ignorance of Brazil's independence and of Brazil itself had not dampened his own patriotism (11); Carnival in Versailles did not meet his expectations because he was used to the pre-Lenten festivities of Mogi-Mirim in the Paulista interior (12); the beauty of the Rhine had been much exaggerated by romantic poets (13); and even the Old World cathedrals were not worth the little chapels of the New World (14).

London, where Antônio Prado arrived August 21, 1862, provided his first contact with modern technological culture. He wrote that the Englishman "is rude and antipathetic on the exterior, but when one cultivates relations with him, one appreciates his qualities and admires his character" (15). By early September Antônio had visited the Lon-

(7). — Nogueira, *ibid.*, 322-23.

(8). — Ms account book of Martinho Prado (1856-64), Prado Archive.

(9). — Antônio to Veridiana Prado, Paris, 24 Nov. 1862, Barros Archive.

(10). — Same to same, Lisbon, 28 Jul y 1862, Barros Archive.

(11). — Same to same, London, 8 Sept. and 24 Nov. 1862, Barros Archive.

(12). — Same to same, Paris, 24 Feb. 1863, Barros Archive.

(13). — Same to same, Frankfurt, 3 Aug. 1863, Barros Archive.

(14). — Same to same, Lisbon, 28 Jul y 1862, Barros Archive.

(15). — Same to same, London, 8 Sept. 1862, Barros Archive.

don Exposition several times, marvelling at the Crystal Palace's beauty without understanding its construction and searching for two days for the Brazilian exhibit, lost in the labyrinth of national displays. "A visit to the Exposition of 1862," he wrote home, "is worth five years, of study in books" (16). Antônio visited the exposition daily and confessed himself more and more impressed with "its greatness and the greatness of the idea of the confraternization of industry which it represents and with the varied and stupendous emporium which only the English could undertake." At the exposition, he continued, "one encounters the best and most perfect in all the branches of industry perfected by men and all the marvels created by the human spirit" (17).

Leaving England, Antônio Prado entered the Parisian world in which he would spend most of his two years in Europe. To his surprise, Paris seemed a new, still uncompleted city, and he was dismayed at "the inconceivable mud that covers the principal streets." The Versailles art collection provided a welcome contrast: "it seems a n incredible thing that one single country could produce so many magnificent things in painting in so short a time." On balance there was no doubt in Antônio's mind: "this city is the first of the world" (18).

Within a month of arriving in Paris, however, Antônio read a pamphlet by the French socialist, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, which incidentally ridiculed Dom Pedro II, the Brazilian monarch. Antônio's responses show the effect of his European environment. At first, his patriotism wounded, he intended to respond in the French press. Upon reflection, however, Antônio decided "that what Proudhon says about our Emperor, when he calls him a figure of fantasy, is the pure truth." Antônio professed the "most complete ignorance about Brazilian events," but from what he did know, he thought Brazilian politics the "most abject and ridiculous thing that can be imagined" and he bore it "the most complete indifference, if not aversion." The prophecy of a Brazilian friend about the effect Europe would have on Antônio seemed to be coming true: "in the first place, the forgetting of our politics in São Paulo, as piddling and ridiculous as it is; second, the very modification of ideas to a more elevated and vaster sphere..." (19).

In Paris in the winter of 1862-63 Antônio lived as a student and observer of French customs. He attended classes in comparative law, political economy, and modern French literature. January was the time of great balls in Paris; it was at these festivals, held in the Tuileries,

(16). — *Ibid.*

(17). — Antônio to Veridiana and Martinho Prado, London, 23 Sept. 1862, Prado Archive.

(18). — Antônio to Veridiana, Paris, 23 Oct. 1862, Barros Archive.

(19). — Antônio to Veridiana and Martinho, Paris, 7 Nov. 1862, Prado Archive.

the Hotel de Ville, and the government ministries, where, according to Antônio, the "true world" of Louis Napoleon's France, that is, the aristocratic world, was to be observed. Antônio lamented that as an outsider he could attend only the public balls, but even they were grand by Brazilian standards. He missed the family ties required in France because "it is in the society of [the best] families that good customs are learned, those which we ought to introduce into our country." Not to be transmitted were "the customs of the *demi-monde* of Paris which are those generally carried by our countrymen" (20).

An Italian sojourn soon expanded the experience of Antônio Prado with the varieties of European culture. In April of 1863 he travelled to Rome for Holy Week. Unlike London and Paris, the centers of material progress and of high culture, Rome was not an inspiring place. To Antônio its meaning was clear: Rome, the former "dominator of the world" was in the present "nothing more than the simple capital of the Roman States, whose existence is defined in vassalage to foreign domination" (21). Antônio Prado later revealed that in Rome, "in the midst of the most absurd superstition and fanaticism," he was surprised by his own disbelief and scepticism. He thought of writing on the religious question and announced to his conservative and presumably shocked parents that "my banner will be 'liberty of conscience, religious liberty, a free Church in a free State, death to the temporal power of the Popes'" (22).

Another type of experience awaited Antônio in Switzerland. There he noted the "almost patriarchal life" of the Swiss peasants, whose habits he compared to those of the Brazilian lower class:

"At night, when I passed through a village and saw in each house . . . a family which had spent the day at work seated so tranquil and satisfied at its door, I remembered our *pay sands* [*sic*] who spend the day sleeping and the night dancing the fandango, and I deplore the indolence of our people compared to the active and at the same time happy life of the people I observed" (23).

This image of the contented Swiss peasantry would remain for many years in Antônio's mind when, as a slaveowning planter and poli-

(20). — Antônio to Veridiana, Paris, 23 Dec. 1862, Barros Archive.

(21). — Same to same, Rome, 14 Apr. 1863, Barros Archive.

(22). — Same to same, Paris, 7 June 1863, Prado Archive.

(23). — Same to same, Paris, 24 May 1863, Prado Archive.

tician, he wrestled with the labor problem in Brazil, becoming one of the country's leading advocates of European immigration (24).

The summer of 1863 was a trying time for Antônio Prado. He returned to London during the Christie Affair, an Anglo-Brazilian crisis which resulted in the severance of diplomatic relations in June. He applauded Brazilian resistance to British arrogance, but doubted realistically that the "mantle of patriotism" worn by Brazilian politicians would be exchanged for the "simple uniform of the soldier" to be worn against mighty Britain (25). "Our government," Antônio observed, "has always shown itself indolent in the face of all important questions, ... and this indolence embarrasses her [in London] the very defenders of Brazil" (26). He followed the House of Lords debates on the Christie Affair closely, and the Russell-Palmerston ministry's handling of it destroyed for the time being his initial fascination with Britain: "I liked London, England, and the English," he wrote to his mother in June, 1863, "[but] today after our question, I am antipathetic to everything English" (27).

The Christie Affair was a watershed in Antônio's first European trip, and his traveller's eye grew more critical. From London he went to Scotland, where he observed the suffering of the Scottish poor, victims of the dislocations caused by the emergence of large-scale agriculture and industry there:

"The traveller in Scotland . . . sees the misery of a large part of its inhabitants, represented by almost naked children and shoeless and disfigured women, in whose looks one sees the traces of hunger and cold. From this point of view there is perhaps no more miserable country in Europe. Meanwhile, alongside this pauperism, . . . colossal fortunes are raised which are based above all on large-property agriculture" (28).

The contrasts of prosperity and pauperism which Antônio Prado observed in the British Isles, led him to sense the contest between "civ-

(24). — For the Prados' role in immigration see Paula Beiguelman, "A grande imigração em São Paulo," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, n° 3 (1968), 99-116 and n° 4 (1968), 145-57.

(25). — Antônio to Martinho, Paris, 7 Mar. 1863, Barros Archive. For the Christie Affair see Richard Graham, "Os fundamentos da ruptura de relações diplomáticas entre o Brasil e a Grã-Bretanha em 1863: A Questão Christie," *Revista de História* (São Paulo), 24 (n° 49 — Jan.-Mar. 1962), 117-38 and (n° 50 — Apr.-Jun. 1962), 379-402.

(26). — Antônio to Veridiana, London, 22 June 1863, Barros Archive.

(27). — *Ibid.*

(28). — Same to same, Brussels, 7 Jul. 1863, Barros Archive.

ilization" and backwardness in Europe at large. The conflict crystallized for Antônio in Spain. Madrid's *beau monde* gave little away to that of Paris, but Spain's hotels were uncomfortable, its postal service was unreliable, and Spanish railroads were poorly constructed and dangerous. These contrasts pointed a lesson which Antônio was quick to apply to Brazil:

"I do not want to say that I sympathize with the countries little advanced in civilization, or that I value the more civilized ones less. However, I appreciate the countries [like Spain] that know how to conserve their original character in this great transformation of ideas and of customs which they receive from the more civilized. Unhappily we [Brazilians] must be counted among those who easily deny their grandfathers' customs, to cover ourselves with the ridicule of a servile imitation of Parisian style" (29).

The basic question thus posed to Antônio Prado by his European experiences would occupy his thoughts for many years: How to benefit from European civilization without falling into a servile and ultimately ridiculous imitation?

The letters Antônio Prado sent home and his travels diary were read and reread in the Prado family for generations. Thus introduced to the varieties of European culture, however, members of the family differed widely in their response to it, as two examples will show. Martinico Prado (Martinho Prado, Jr., 1843-1906) rebelled against the example of his older brother, Antônio. Martinico rejected Antônio's suggestion to study medicine or engineering in Paris, and though he read Antônio's European letters with interest, he chided him for their gallicisms (30). In place of the "bath in civilization," Martinico chose to volunteer for the Paraguayan War, despite his parents' opposition. His first direct contact with Europe did not come until 1886, when, at the age of forty-three, he went to Italy to promote immigration. Martinico's early vision of Europe was derived from extensive reading of the leading nineteenth-century political economists, whose works he annotated extensively (31).

Unfortunately, Martinico left no complete personal statement on European culture equivalent to Antônio's letters. What survives in political statements are morality-play visions of Europe. At first, in the 1870's, Martinico Prado pictured European republics as heroes and

(29). — Same to same, Paris, 24 Oct. 1863, Barros Archive.

(30). — Same to same, Paris, 24 Mar. 1864, Barros Archive.

(31). — Interview with Caio Prado, Jr. Martinico's grandson, São Paulo 13 Apr. 1972.

monarchies as villains, a view consistent with his own conversion to republicanism (32). In 1888, following his first European trip, however, he referred to the continent as a place where "principles [are] always at the periphery, force played court to, [and] liberty besieged" (33). Martinico admitted that even in France and Switzerland, his erstwhile republican models, "anachronistic principles, incompatible with liberty, dominate," and he told of Swiss authorities ransacking travellers' bags to confiscate and proscribed books and newspapers (34). By the late 1880's, Martinico saw the inhabitants of the New World as the "only free peoples of the world" and urged America to cut its ties with the Old World, with São Paulo leading the way in Brazil (35). A second morality-play vision was created: America the good versus Europe the bad (36).

Antônio's and Martinico's formidable mother, Veridiana Prado (1825-1910), responded to Europe in quite another manner, and her behavior is a clear exception to Gilberto Freyre's suggestion that European culture had a much stronger effect on Brazilian men than women (37). The letters Veridiana received from Antônio in the 1860's stimulated her restlessness with her own situation. To make her own contact with European culture and less vicarious, Veridiana first had to free herself of the traditional dependent role of the Paulista woman. In 1877 she separated from her husband, ostensibly over the marriage of her eldest daughter, (38), though her discontent ran far deeper. In 1884, at the age of fifty-nine, Veridiana made the first of many trips to Europe. From France Veridiana brought back plans for a French-Renaissance-style palace, the material expression of her need to transplant European culture to São Paulo. The palace was described by

(32). — *In Memoriam: Martinho Prado Júnior*, 313-14. São Paulo, Assembléia Provincial, *Discurso proferido na discussão da fixação da força pública em sessão de 28 de Fevereiro de 1878 por Martinho Prado Júnior* (2a. ed., São Paulo, 1878), 22-23; *Discurso proferido ... em sessão de 19 de Março de 1879 por Martinho Prado Júnior* (São Paulo, 1879), 27-28, 44-46; and *Discurso proferido na sessão de 20 de Março de 1879 por Martinho Prado Júnior* (São Paulo, 1879), 12.

(33). — *In Memoriam: Martinho Prado Júnior*, 257 . .

(34). — São Paulo, Assembléia Legislativa, *OS deputados republicanos na Assembléia Provincial de São Paulo: sessão de 1888* (São Paulo, 1888), 60.

(35). — *Ibid.*

(36). — Martinico's political statements reflected his personal behavior. From Paris in 1897, his sister-in-law wrote that "'Martinico behaves in a horrible, exaggerated way, only abusing the French and especially French women" and that "'Martinico is very impertinent and abuses the French in a horrible way!" Maria Catarina Pinto Prado to Paulo Prado, Paris, 2 July and 10 Sept. 1897, Barros Archive.

(37). — Freyre, *Mansions and Shanties*, 224-25.

(38). — Luiz Prado, "Biografia de D. Veridiana Valéria da Silva Prado," unpub. Ms., Prado Archive, p. 6,

Princess Isabela, daughter of Pedro II, as having a "extremely beautiful exterior and interior... [in] very good taste," and "lawns worthy of England" (39). Veridiana's palace soon became a, if not *the*, focal point of São Paulo's social and intellectual life, breaking the traditional family-circle isolation of the city's cultural life and introducing salon society patterned on the French model (40). Among a host of visitors to Veridiana's weekly soirées were Brazilians such as the writer Afonso Arinos and the mulatto historian-ethnographer Teodoro Sampaio and foreigners such as the North American geologist Orville Derby and the Portuguese writer Ramalho Ortigão. Ortigão saw São Paulo in the late 1880's as a center of progress in contrast to Rio de Janeiro, still retarded by the evil of slavery. His view owed much to the impressions Veridiana and her salon made on him (41). Not silent hostess, Veridiana Prado took a spirited part in the wide-ranging discussions in her salon, supplementing talk with activities designed to shock the yet-traditional elite of São Paulo. In addition to stimulating the exchange of ideas among Brazilians and foreigners, Veridiana's soirées were a rich milieu for the Prado family itself. Especially in the case of her youngest son Eduardo and her grandson Paulo, who achieved their most lasting fame as writers, Veridiana's salon was a valuable introduction to European culture.

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3. — EDUARDO AND PAULO PRADO REDISCOVER BRAZIL.

Though not unaware of more purely cultural aspects of Europe, Antônio and Martinico Prado saw the continent primarily in economic and political terms. For Eduardo Prado (1860-1901) and Paulo Prado (1869-1943), Europe was more clearly a source of customs and of ideas which vied with Brazilian traditions. Eduardo and Paulo matured during the hegemony of European culture in São Paulo. Unlike Antônio and Martinico, born a generation earlier, they were not pioneering coffee planters, nor did either Eduardo or Paulo pursue political careers. Both spent much of their young adulthood travelling abroad, enjoying the more purely social and cultural aspects of life. Ultimately, both criticized aspects of the transference of European culture to Brazil, the uncritical imitation of European norms which they saw as destroying or distorting Brazilian culture.

(39). — Ricardo Gumbleton Daunt, *Diário da Princesa Isabel: excursão dos Condes d'Eu à Província de São Paulo em 1884* (São Paulo, 1957), 37.

(40). — Wanderley Pinho, *Salões e damas do Segundo Reinado* (2a ed., São Paulo, 1942), 103.

(41). — Ramalho Ortigão, "Carta a Eduardo Prado," *Revista Nova*, 1 (Nº 1, 15 Mar. 1931), 9.

The intellectual s and leader s which cam e o f ag e i n Sã o Paul o around 188 0 hav e bee n calle d "revolutionary " i n politic s and cul - ture (42) . Thi s generation regarded Brazilian literature as a coarse joke and, arme d wit h Frenc h and Italia n literar y technique s and informe d by Germa n idealism , attacke d traditiona l Portugues e literar y canons . The innovative works of Eça de Queiroz, such as *Primo Basilio* (1878), found read y audiences . Th e though t o f Claud e Bernard , o f Charle s Darwin, of Herbert Spencer, of the German evolutionist Ernst Haeckel, and of the Frenc h surgeon-anthropologis t Paul Broca entere d the still - traditional la w academy . Caf é s becam e forum s fo r heate d debate s o f August Comte's positivis m and of Ludwig Buchner's materialist work, *Force and Matter* (1870) (43) . Frenc h enjoye d a near-monopol y a s the languag e o f the intellect, and well-stocke d bookstore s carrie d Bri - tish and Germa n work s i n Frenc h translation . Frenc h hairdressers , tailors, ar t and photograph y studios , newspaper s , socia l club s , govern - esse s and teacher s (whos e elit e charge s ofte n learne d mor e o f Frenc h culture than o f Brazilia n) complete d the Frenc h cultural dominance of Sã o Paulo's elite (4) .

Such was the environmen t of the young Eduard o Prado . A con - servative i n revolutionar y times, he avidl y participat e d i n the intellec - tual current s which led man y of his fellow s along mor e radical path s . His receptio n of European ideas was governe d by an eclectic, thought - ful, and independent mind, the dominan t qualit y of which, accordin g to Eça de Queiroz, was "curiosity" (45) . I n his law school days Edu - uardo was known for affecting a pince-nez and for reading Frenc h to the virtual exclusion o f Portuguese . Hi s early journalistic effort s were pat - terned o n Frenc h models, bu t directe d i n defens e o f conservativ e in - terests (46) . Th e chief influence on him i n thes e year s was Ernest Ren - nan, whos e literar y styl e attracte d hi m despit e Renan's religiou s unor - thodoxy (47) . Notwithstandin g the relativ e intellectual richnes s of Sã o Paulo city i n the early 1880's, Eduard o outgre w it, complainin g of the lack o f people with whom to discuss general ideas (48) .

(42). — Tristão de Ataíde (Alceu Amoroso Lima), "Eduardo Prado: sempre vivo", *A Manhã*, 3 1 Aug. 1941 .

(43). — *Ibid.*, citin g article by Gonzaga Duque i n *Revista Contemporânea* o f October, 1900 .

(44). — Nogueira, "Influência francesa," 326-30, 333-34 .

(45). — Eça de Queiroz, *Obras* (3v., Porto, 1958), 3 : 1617 .

(46). — Sebastião Pagano, *Eduardo Prado e sua época* (Sã o Paulo, 195-), 13 Luis Correia de Melo, *Dicionário de autores paulistas* (Sã o Paulo, 1954), 493. João Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaio e estudos (crítica e história)* (3v., Rio de Janeiro, 1931-38), 1 : 339 .

(47). — Motta Filho, *Vida de Eduardo Prado*, 109-114 . Baptist a Pe - reira, "Eduard o Prado : o escriptor, o homem," *O Commercio de São Paulo*, 30 Sept. 1901 .

(48). — João Capistrano de Abreu, *Correspondência* (3 v., Rio, 1954 - 56), 2 : 75 .

Eduardo Prado spent most of the 1880's abroad, visiting other Latin American countries, Europe, the United States, the Middle East, Asia, and the South Pacific. His exposure to the world was broader than that of his older brothers Antônio and Martiniano and provided him with rich experiences upon which he based wide-ranging observations of diverse cultures. Like Antônio, Eduardo was strongly aware of the contest of "civilized" and "backward" cultures, the more so since his travels coincided with a revival of European colonialism. Eduardo protested against Europeans who wished to see Egypt administered like England or France: "Certain tyrannies of the Egyptian government revolt sensitive temperaments, but Western reformers, who have plagued the country for forty years, have not improved the state of the fellah" (49). In Cairo Eduardo found lamentable "the coexistence of the civilized banality of the West with the remains of Oriental life" (50). At the same time, he favored the British presence in Malta, for there local customs had been respected, while the English, on contact with "southern joviality," had lost "the sadness of men of the north" (41). Even in the United States, Eduardo was aware of cultural struggles, siding with the patriarchal Mormons in their resistance to "the Yankee element" (52). Other than his experiences in Mormon Utah, however, Eduardo had little use for the United States. While his carriage bounced over the ruinous pavements of San Francisco he decided that "of the world, [the best is] Europe; of Europe, France; of France, Paris; of Paris all the perimeter of the *pavé du bois!*" (53).

Eduardo's globetrotting was thus a prologue to his fixing a residence in Paris in 1886. His apartment was located in the noisy center of Paris, where he surrounded himself with luxurious furnishings and the marvels of nineteenth-century technology, the telephone, the typewriter, and the phonograph, and was attended by an English manservant said to have worked for Charles Darwin (54). His impressive library became a research center for fellow Brazilians like the Barão do Rio Branco, José Maria de Silva Paranhos Junior, whose studies of Brazilian history and diplomacy were based in part on documents collected by Eduardo. It was in Paris that Eduardo's most famous friendship, with the Portuguese novelist Eça de Queiroz, blossomed.

(49). — Eduardo Prado, *Viagens: a Sicília, Malta, e o Egipto* (2a. ed., São Paulo, 1902), 131-32.

(50). — *Ibid.*, 140.

(51). — *Ibid.*, 65.

(52). — Eduardo Prado, *Viagens: América, Oceania, e Ásia* (São Paulo, 1902), 195-97. Plínio Barreto, "Eduardo Prado e seus amigos (carta sinédicas)," *Revista do Brasil*, 1 (nº 2, Feb. 1916), 187-88.

(53). — Barreto, *ibid.*, 189.

(54). — Clodomir Vianna Moog, *Eça de Queirós e o século XIX* (2a. ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1966), 295-296.

His intellectual circle also included other Portuguese members such as Oliveira Martins and Ramalho Ortigão and Frenchmen such as the economist-historian, Émile Levasseur, and the anarchist and geographer, Elisée Reclus. Eduardo collaborated with these men in scholarly works designed to inform the French about Brazil (55).

Eduardo's long residence in Paris led to discussions of Brazilian affairs with these friends, who often had a more detached view of Brazilian events than he did. In 1888, for example, Eça de Queiroz wrote to Eduardo that he considered Brazil "still a colony — a colony of the *Bouvelard*. Its letters, sciences, customs, institutions: none of this is national." Eça added that what he would like to see was "a natural, spontaneous, genuine Brazil, a national, Brazilian Brazil, and not this Brazil that I see made of old pieces of Europe, brought by steam packet and put together in haste..." (46). These words must have stung Eduardo, whom Eça called his "supercivilized friend," but Eduardo could not have failed to see the point, though he still tended to evaluate Brazil by European standards. Shortly before the military coup of November 15, 1889 ended the Brazilian monarchy, Eduardo wrote an article, "Political Destinies of Brazil," in which he referred to his homeland as "an undisciplined country in which everything is flaccid and disunited," a nation lacking the puritan discipline of Britain and the United States and the military discipline of Germany (57). The 1889 coup changed Eduardo's attitudes toward what he had previously recognized as the failing of Imperial Brazil, and he became a leading monarchist opponent of the new Republic. He continued, however, to receive the opinions of European friends who lacked his faith in the defunct monarchy. Four days after the coup, Ortigão wrote Eduardo a long letter which sympathized with the monarchists' plight while criticizing Pedro II's leadership and saying that the coup was good for Brazil (58). The excesses of the new military-republican regime gave

(55). — Levasseur, author of a history of the working classes and of industry in France as well as of *The American Workman* (Baltimore, 1900), was the editor of *Le Brésil* (2v., Paris, 1890), an extract from *La Grande Encyclopédie* (1886), to which Eduardo contributed essays on Brazilian art and literature. Reclus is best known for his monumental *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* (19v., Paris, 1876-94).

(56). — Queiroz, *Obras*, 2: 1106-08.

(57). — Eduardo Prado, "Destino político do Brasil," *Revista de Portugal*, 1 (1889), 476, 482, 488. Eduardo pointed as well to "the artificiality of education, the yet-chaotic organization of the social economy, and the insubordination of the army..." *Ibid.*, 478.

(58). — Ramalho Ortigão to Eduardo Prado, Lisbon, 19 Nov. 1889, Coleção Jorge Pacheco e Chaves, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo, file 920/P896cp7A1. See also Ortigão, "O quadro social da revolução brasileira," *Revista de Portugal*, 2 (1890) 81-90, and Mónico Barreto's review of Eduardo's *Fastos da ditadura militar no Brasil* (Lisbon, 1890), in *ibid.*, 3 (1890), 763-68.

Eduardo plenty of ammunition in his monarchist crusade, but the criticisms of the Paris community also left doubts in his mind about the general relationship of Brazil to European culture.

Britain as well as France left its mark on Eduardo Prado's intellectual development, and this British influence seems to have increased in the 1890's. Britain's constitutional monarchy was Brazil's model during the Empire, and Eduardo hoped that real constitutional monarchy could be implemented in Brazil (59). In addition, Eduardo acted as intermediary between São Paulo's public and private financial interests and London's money-lords, establishing a close relationship with the Rothschilds. During his student days he had used the pseudonym "Tory," and his view of English society was marked by loyalty to the aristocracy. Despite his recognition of the bourgeoisie's integral role in England, he regarded the middle class as "a execrable variety of the human species" (60). In an article revealing his wide familiarity with English culture written in the mid-1890's, however, he masked his distaste for the middle class and eulogized the English under Victoria as the freest people on earth, that which had raised itself highest in human pre-eminence. He rejected "the false idea that Latins have" that English material prosperity precluded first-rate achievements in art, science, and the humanities, adding that perhaps the greatest factor in English success was that they were a "Godfearing people" (61). Eulogizing Victoria's England, Eduardo Prado was capable of all this, but up close he found English commoners odious.

For all the ease with which Eduardo moved in London and Paris (and indeed around the world), his European experience, combined with his background and with events in Brazil such as the coup of 1889, produced a division of spirit in him. Eça de Queiroz parodied this divided spirit in the novel *As cidades e as serras*, whose main character, "Jacintho," — a *belle époque* dilettante swept up in the Age of the Machine, disrespectful and fearful of Nature, confusing Progress with Civilization — was supposedly based on Eduardo Prado (62). "Jacintho" symbolized the most important aspect of Eduardo's relationship to European culture; he was, as a critic observed, one of the Brazilians who "lived between Brazil and the world, between the *fazenda* and the boulevard" (63). Like Joaquim Nabuco, Eduardo's

(59). — Cônego Manoel Vicente, *Eduardo Prado: oração funebre* (São Paulo, 1901), 11.

(60). — Eduardo Prado, *Sicilia, Malta, e o Egipto*, 91-92.

(61). — Eduardo Prado, "Victoria, R.I.," in his *Collectâneas* (4v., São Paulo, 1904-06), 1: 255-56, 261, 265.

(62). — João Alves das Neves, "Eça e Eduardo Prado," and Luis Martins, "Eduardo Prado: panfletário," both in *O Estado de São Paulo*, Suplemento Literário, 31 Dec. 1960.

(63). — Ataíde, "Eduardo Prado: sempre vivo".

friend and monarchist collaborator, Eduardo experienced the cultural dislocation which Nabuco wrote of as central to his own formation, the duality of Brazilian sentiment and European thought (64).

Eduardo's writings in the 1890's were of two types, the polemical and the historical, which reflected his divided heart and mind (65). His polemical side produced his most famous works, *Fastos da ditadura militar no Brasil* (1890) and *A ilusão americana* (1893), and fixed his reputation as a monarchist pamphleteer. Since the 1880's, however, when Eduardo had contributed articles on Brazilian art and literature to the French Encyclopedia and had written the insightful "Political Destinies of Brazil," he had shown his capacity for disinterested, truly scholarly work. In the late 1890's he devoted himself increasingly to historical research under the inspiration of the Barão do Rio Branco and the tutelage of the historian João Capistrano de Abreu (66). Had he lived longer (Eduardo died prematurely of yellow fever in 1901), perhaps under Capistrano's influence he would have pursued Brazilian history as Capistrano himself did, examining the social, cultural, and psychological roots of Brazilian history (67). The germ of such an approach was evident in Eduardo's address at the conference he organized in 1896 to commemorate the life of the sixteenth-century Jesuit missionary, Joseph de Anchieta. While denouncing European colonialism in Africa, Eduardo attributed the strength of Ibero-American culture to its capacity for race-mixture and came to the unexpected conclusion, given his social origins and affinity with European culture, that the mixed-race *caboclo* was "the true Brazilian" (68). Eduardo's interest in Brazilian history coincided with his dismay at the effects of some aspects of European culture in Brazil. In 1898 he noted that these effects included the dispersion of the Brazilian home and family and the "denationalization of the habits of daily life," symbolized by the exchange of the "solid family silver" for the "vile tableware of Paris" (69).

(64). — Nabuco, *Minha formação*, 39-45.

(65). — Eduardo himself observed, somewhat categorically, that "he who applies himself to the present is moved, almost always, by interest; he who deals with the past is disinterested, and only disinterested nobles, elevates, and dignifies men's aspirations." Eduardo Prado, "Discursos de aniversário do Instituto Histórico de São Paulo," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*, 3 (1898), 526.

(66). — Eduardo's historical effort sar e assesse d by Capistrano in the latter's *Ensaios e estudos*, 1: 339-48.

(67). — Katherine Fringer, "The Contribution of Capistrano de Abreu to Brazilian Historiography," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, 13 (n° 2-April 1971), 258.

(68). — Eduardo Prado, "O Catholicismo, a Companhia de Jesus, e a colonização do Brasil," *III centenário do Venerável Joseph de Anchieta* (Paris, 1900), 55-56.

(69). — Eduardo Prado, "Discursos de aniversário," 527.

The concern which developed late in Eduardo's life for the disruptive effects of European cultural colonialism was transferred in time to his nephew, Paulo Prado. Paulo graduated from the São Paulo law school in 1889 and soon joined Eduardo in Paris. Paulo had been prepared for Europe by long talks with his maternal grandfather which reportedly dwelled on the contrasts separating Brazil from Europe: the work, sacrifice, and simplicity of people and things in Brazil; the leisure, luxury, and refinement of culture in Europe (70). For young Paulo leisure and luxury at first easily won out over sacrifice and simplicity. In 1892 Eça de Queiroz wrote to Oliveira Martins of "genteel Paulo, who is coming here [to Paris] to train his dilettantism" (71). Paulo was given the task of keeping the Prados abreast of French culture by subscription to *Figaro* and *Revue Illustrée* (72). Once ensconced in Paris, Paulo showed little inclination to serious work and his parents were at pains to get him to return to the family businesses in São Paulo (73). In contrast to the more provincial and Spartan days of the mid-nineteenth century, the *belle époque* provided Paulo's generation of Prados with many opportunities for whirlwind automobile tours through Europe, for high-society life patterned on Parisian models, and for conspicuous consumerism (74). After the literary critic Tristão de Ataíde saw Paulo at the Carlsbad spa in 1913, he described him as a type characteristic of a bred-out race: "... neurasthenic to the roots of his hair. Played out. Finding grace in nothing" (75).

Meanwhile, colonialism had tarnished the European image in Brazil. As mentioned, Eduardo Prado had denounced European practices in Africa in the late 1890's. In 1903, a law school valedictorian, Armando Prado, Paulo's mulatto cousin, had drawn a grim picture of a world beset with imperialism and the Western nations' disrespect for law and justice (76). World War I, in part a result of colonial rivalries, further damaged the European image and changed Paulo Prado's outlook and activities. Supposedly a played-out neurasthenic, Paulo saw

(70). — João Fernando de Almeida Prado, "Paulo Prado e a época de sua formação," in: Federação do Comércio do Estado de São Paulo, Instituto de Sociologia e Política, *Sociologia e história: 4 precursores brasileiros, 3 filósofos da história* (São Paulo, 1956), 100.

(71). — Quoted in Gerald Ferraz, "Paulo Prado: centenário: perfil de um homem e de um livro," *Revista do Livro*, 12 (nº 37, 1969), 141-42.

(72). — Maria Catarina Pinto Prado to Paulo, "On board the *La Plata*," 7 Sept. 1893, Barros Archive.

(73). — Same to same, São Paulo, 23 Mar. 1896, Barros Archive.

(74). — See São Paulo "Magazine", 15 Jun. 1906, *passim*, of which about one-third is devoted to the Prados.

(75). — Quoted in Ferraz, "Paulo Prado: centenário," 142.

(76). — Armando Prado, *Discurso proferido no acto da collação de grao aos bacharelados em direito* (São Paulo, 1903), 13-14.

the war as Brazil's opportunity to restructure its commercial and cultural relations with Europe (77).

Changes in Brazil contributed as well to Paulo's intellectual awakening. São Paulo had grown greatly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because of immigration and economic development. It was possible by the 1920's for the confirmed old colonialist Rudyard Kipling to marvel at São Paulo's automobile traffic, its bustling commerce, its railroads, and its immense hydroelectric plants (78). To a significant extent, the nineteenth-century European technological promise had been fulfilled in São Paulo. Associated with modernization, however, was the waning of the dominance of old elite families like the Prados: a relative wrote of attending the theatre in the twenties without seeing anyone she knew, something inconceivable in the nineteenth century (79). Adding to this was increasing political instability and dissatisfaction, culminating in military revolts in 1922 and 1924.

In this changing atmosphere Paulo Prado was one of the discontented São Paulo intellectuals who in 1916 organized the *Revista do Brasil*, a journal devoted to the critical analysis of Brazilian problems. In 1918, like Eduardo Prado earlier, Paulo came under the tutelage of the revisionist historian Capistrano de Abreu, and in Paulo's case Capistrano's modern insights on Brazilian history had full opportunity to develop (80). Paulo's intellectual unrest next led to his participation in São Paulo's *Semana de Arte Moderna* in 1922. According to the modernist leader Mário de Andrade, Paulo was the "true factor" in the realization of the Modern Art Week (81).

In its relation to European culture, Brazilian modernism was a schizophrenic cultural awakening combining both "ferocious nationalism" and "modernist internationalism" (82). *Modernistas* borrowed freely from the European *avant-garde* while the y cautious against European cultural dominance. As a modernist Paulo Prado sought to reinterpret the role of Europe in Brazil's cultural history. He saw the main problem as the "deformation of reality from which we [Brazilians] have not yet liberated ourselves," a distortion caused by foreign n

(77). — Ferraz, *ibid.*

(78). — Rudyard Kipling, *Brazilian Sketches* (New York, 1940), Chs. III, VI.

(79). — Alzira Chaves to Miguel Chaves, São Paulo, 25 Mar. 1923, Miguel Chaves Papers (uncatalogued), Museu Paulista, São Paulo.

(80). — Capistrano's letter to Maria de Abreu and found in the former's *Correspondência*, 2: 386-485.

(81). — Mário de Andrade, *O movimento modernista* (Rio, 1942), 23.

(82). — *Ibid.*

influence which was not only political but extended to language and literature as well. Paulo asserted that only two nineteenth-century writers, Casimiro de Abreu and Catulo Cearense, were truly Brazilian: "the others are Lusitanians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Germans, versifying in a foreign tongue which is the Portuguese of Portugal." While he extolled the influences of Hugo, Flaubert, Baudelaire, and Cezanne, Paulo called for a rejection of sterile patterns from Europe and implored Brazilian writers to become cultural Jacobins, creating a Brazilian equivalent to the American of the United States (83).

The model relationship of Brazilians to European culture was indicated by Paulo in his 1923 preface to a biography of Joaquim Nabuco. Nabuco, along with Rio Branco, Eduardo Prado, and others, had formed a group which had "purified and strengthened its life in Europe by its continuous and religious preoccupation with Brazilian affairs" (84). Such Brazilians had rediscovered Brazil in Europe and Paulo denied the claims of "cheap nationalism" that

"... whoever lived in Europe, and came from there with knowing airs and the light-colored flannels of Poole, ought to read only *The Times* and *Figaro* and scarcely know of the existence of these exotic Brazils which shame the minor pretensions of parvenu dandyism" (85).

This, the internationalist side of Paulo's modernist cultural critique, founded in admiration for a choice group of Brazilian intellectuals who had not forgotten their roots, was a counterpart to the nationalist concerns more characteristic of his work.

In the 1920's, the Nabucos, the Rio Brancos, and the Eduardo Prados — men who had rediscovered Brazil in Europe — were no more. In their place Paulo found a new group of purveyors of European culture, the indifferent "gregarious mass," "the newcomers, the recently-arrived, the cosmopolitans, the rapidly-enriched" who had allied themselves with the Brazilian "descendants of past greatness,... who accept, tolerate, and applaud everything" (86). As a result of this group's activities — indeed, as a result of the very forces which in the

(83). — Paulo Prado, "Poesia Pa u Brasil," (1924) in : Oswald de Andrade, *Poesias Reunidas* (São Paulo, 1966), 59-61.

(84). — Paulo Prado, "Prefácio," in : Henriqu e Coelho, *Joaquim Nabuco: esboço biográfico* (São Paulo, 1923), ii-iii.

(85). — *Id.*, iv-v.

(86). — Paulo Prado, "O momento," *Revista do Brasil*, 8 (n° 89, May 1923), 3.

nineteenth century had been the longed-for remedies to Brazilian backwardness — Brazil in the 1920's possessed a deformed reality, a chaotic and promiscuous culture which Paulo Prado described in these terms:

"Brazil, Brazilians, whites, reds and blacks; landscape so of the most revolting bad taste, skies like the blue of a chapel with little stars of gold, earth of vermilion and purple; . . . electric posts on skeleton-trees, telephone signs in the virgin forest, the red disks of railroad signs surging like moon signs in cocoanut groves, airplanes landing on desert beaches, motorboats honking on the rivers of the backlands; Italian *bandeirantes*, Syrian conquistadors — all the disordered life of a new and rich land, in full and ardent puberty, offering herself to the fecundation of first desire" (87).

In his subsequent books, *Paulistica: história de São Paulo* (1925) and the well-known *Retrato do Brasil: ensaio sobre a tristeza brasileira* (1928), Paulo Prado deepened his search for the origins of the deformed Brazilian reality, tracing them to social, psychological, racial, and sexual factors inherent in Portuguese colonization. These works have been analyzed elsewhere, (88), and here it need only be noted that they broke with the historiographical tradition which saw the Portuguese "civilizing" mission in Brazil as beneficial. Viewed in context with Paulo's earlier essays discussed above, *Paulistica* and *Retrato do Brasil* were part of his disenchantment with the entire process of transferring European culture to Brazil. They were also Paulo Prado's culminating effort to rediscover his homeland.



4. — CONCLUSIONS .

The Prados were mainly interested in European high culture, intellectual trends, styles, ideals, and technological progress. Before concluding it is important to note that a different order of European influences also affected the family, most notably after 1889, when a vast wave of European immigration inundated São Paulo, fundamentally altering its social structure. The Prados, who promoted immigration to replace slave labor, did not anticipate its disruptive effects on traditional Brazilian society, which were not long in developing. In 1892 Antônio Prado's wife wrote of a Brazilian-Italian brawl in São Paulo city

(87). — Paulo Prado, "O momento," *ibid.*, (n.º 100, April 1924), 289-90.

(88). — For example, in João Fernando de Almeida Prado, "Paulo Prado e a época de sua formação," and in Gerald Ferraz, "Prado: centenário," cited in full above.

in which the Brazilian flag was desecrated and deaths resulted (89). Immigrants brought traditions of working-class consciousness and anarcho-syndicalist, socialist, and communist ideas to São Paulo. The second Brazilian Socialist Congress (1902) met in São Paulo, and four years later, Antônio Prado, a mayor of the city and president of the Paulista Railway, confronted a railroad strike which he quelled easily but which marked the beginning of strife in São Paulo between vested interests and an urban proletariat informed by European radicalism (90). At the same time, exceptional immigrant s like the Italian s Francisco Matarazzo and Rudolf o Crespi and the Lebanese Jafet brothers became successful entrepreneurs and caused jealousy among the traditional elite in São Paulo, as Paulo Prado's reference to "Italian bandeirantes and Syrian conquistadors" shows. Native Brazilian and immigrant elites eventually closed ranks, but class-oriented conflict remained as a chief heritage of European influence in Brazil (91).

As active cultural brokers, the Prados encountered the complexities and ambiguities characteristic of the re-Europeanization of Brazil. Antônio Prado's first-hand reporting in the 1860's gave the family a thorough initiation to the varieties of European culture. He was enthusiastic about Europe's technology, its arts, and the refined style of the Parisian elite, but the arrogance of British policy toward Brazil, Roman religious fanaticism, and the demeaned victims of industry and modern agriculture in Scotland disturbed him. Martinico Prado saw the Old World through the lens of republican politics and, other than as a labor source, had little lasting appreciation for Europe. In contrast, Veridiana Prado found in transplanting European culture to São Paulo a mission which met her need to transcend the traditional ascriptive status of Paulista women. The task of reconciling European culture with the Brazilian environment proved most challenging to Eduardo Prado and his nephew Paulo. The result of their European experiences and of their subsequent study of Brazilian history was a re-discovery of Brazil and — tentatively in Eduardo's case, explicitly in Paulo's — a rejection of the mindless imitation of European cultural standards.

European influence and the Prados' attempt to fit it to Brazilian conditions did not stop in 1928 with Paulo Prado's *Retrato do Brasil*.

(89). — Maria Catarina Pinto Prado to Paulo Prado, Santa Veridiana, 7 July 1892, Barros Archive.

(90). — *São Paulo "Magazine"*, 15 June 1906, 38. Morse, *Community to Metropolis*, 209-212. S. Fann y Simon, "Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism in South America," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 36 (n° 1, Feb. 1946), 53-55.

(91). — The emergence and eventual fusion of planter-entrepreneur and immigrant-entrepreneur elite s in São Paulo i s analyze d i n Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945* (Austin and London, 1969), Chs. III-V.

Fábio Prado (1887-1963), one of Martinico's sons, founded the municipal Department of Culture while mayor of São Paulo in the 1930's, an act said to reveal Fabio's commitment to the "democratization of culture" and to link him with Paulo's modernist participation (92). The historian Caio Prado, Jr., Martinico's grandson, has followed the broad pattern established by Eduardo and Paulo, searching for the roots of Brazilian malaise in the nation's history. With the passage of time, the appraisal of the cultural re-Europeanization of Brazil has become more knowledgeable, the historical eye is surer, and Caio Prado, Jr. has applied Marxist diagnosis, yet another European influence, to the symptomatology offered by Eduardo and Paulo Prado. The Prado family's collective experience with European culture was broad, intensive, and complex. A common thread is clear, however: it contributed to a rediscovery of Brazil, a rediscovery that still continues.

(92). — Paulo Duarte, et. al., *Fábio Prado* (São Paulo, 1964), 28.