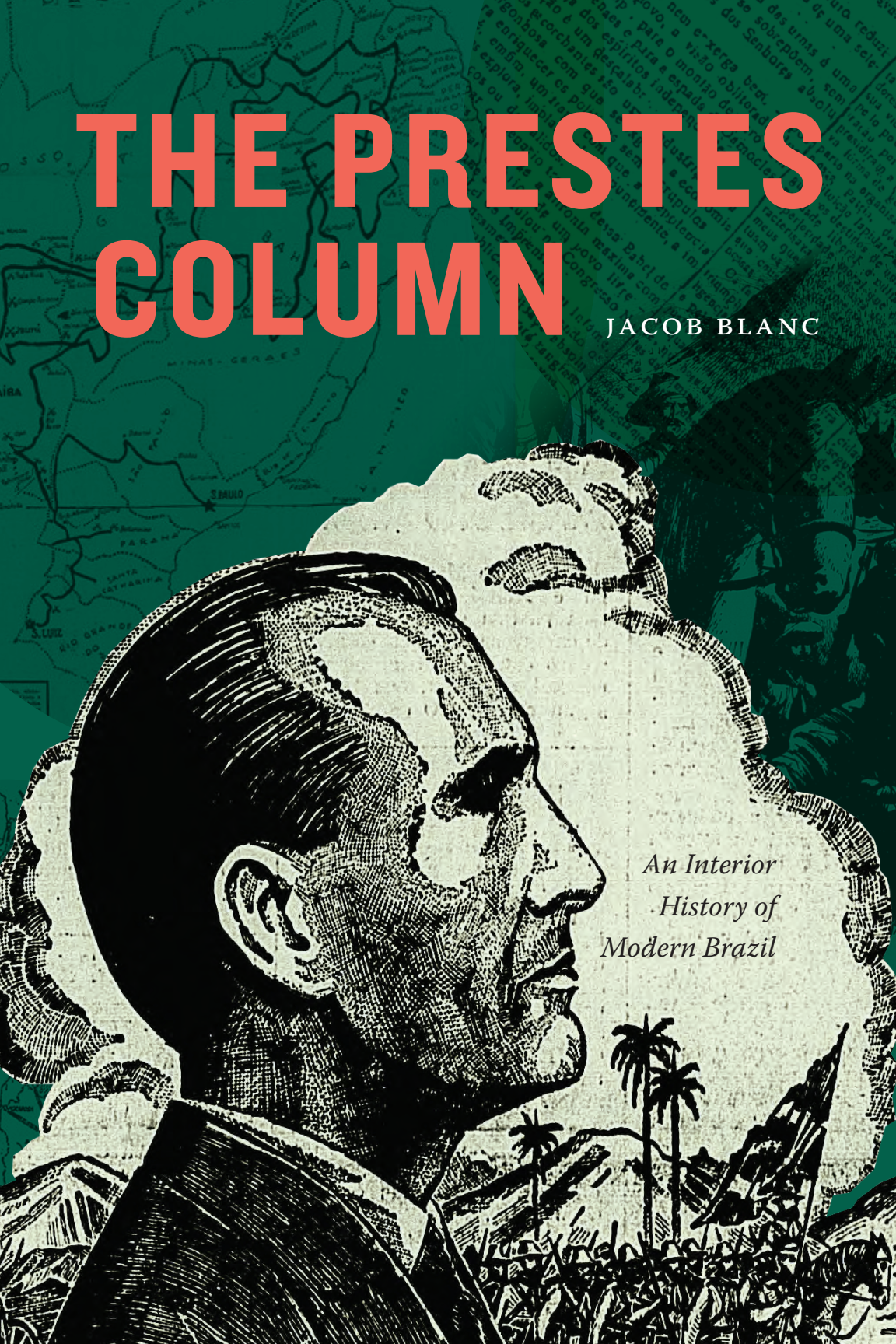
THE PRESTES COLUMN

JACOB BLANC

An Interior History of Modern Brazil



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CONTENTS

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

As explained in the book, there are a variety of terms associated with the spaces and historical figures of Brazil's interior regions. These include:

SERTÃO: originally a reference to the unmappable expanses of Brazil's non-coastal areas, *sertão* has become a term most commonly associated with the semiarid regions of the northeastern interior.

CORONEL (plural: *coronéis*): the rural oligarchs and large landowners who held great power in the interior, often buttressed by connections to elected officials in state capitals.

JAGUNÇO: contracted fighters, often hired by coronéis.

BATALHÃO PATRIÓTICA: local militias organized by the coronéis to hunt down the Prestes Column.

CANGACEIRO (noun form as a process/historical phenomenon: *cangaço*): bandits and outlaws who roamed the interior. Brazil's most famous cangaceiro was Lampião, who makes an appearance in chapter 4 of this book.

TENENTISMO: the umbrella term for the loose coalition of opposition groups who organized against the presidents and allied power brokers of the Old Republic. Those who belonged to this movement came to be known as *tenentes* (lieutenants).

REBELDES, REVOLTOSOS, or SEDICIOSOS: the most commonly used phrases at the time to describe the tenentes who took up arms against the government. In this book, I often translate *rebeldes*, *revoltosos*, and *sediciosos* as *rebels*.

GAÚCHO: a term for people from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. Of note, *gaucho* (with an unaccented *u*) refers more specifically to the rural/ranch culture of Rio Grande do Sul, often as a term for cowboys from the southern frontier.

For consistency, I choose to spell Prestes's first name as Luís Carlos, although it is sometimes spelled with a *z*—Luiz Carlos. And, although I capitalize "Prestes Column" when referring to its formal name, I use the lowercase "column" when I don't include "Prestes."

I refer to the tenente leaders by the names most commonly associated with them. For example, Miguel Costa is referred to by his full name; Lourenço Moreira Lima is referred to as Moreira Lima; and João Alberto Lins de Barros is referred to as João Alberto.

Except in noted instances when a translation is courtesy of Laiz Ferguson, all translations are my own.

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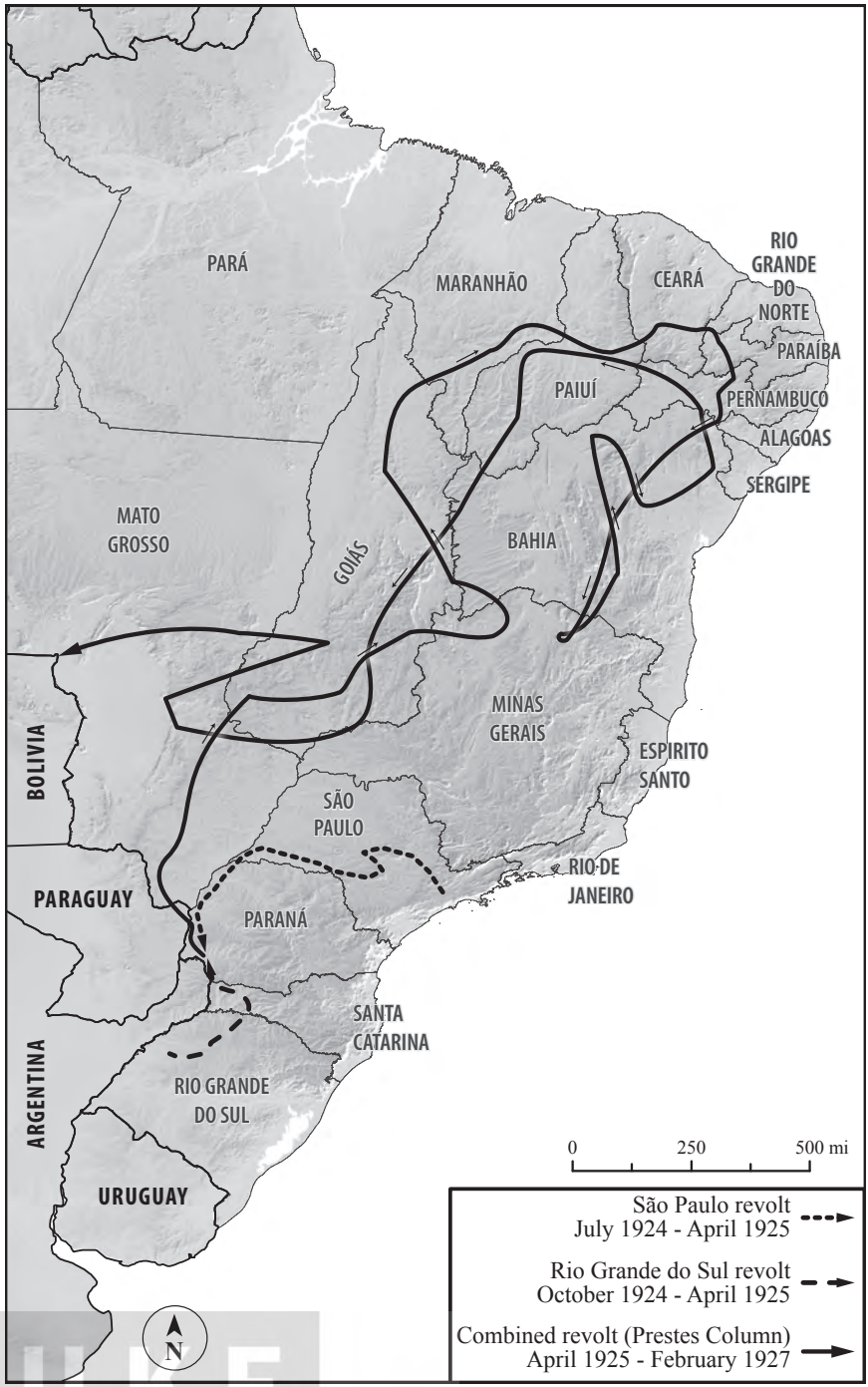
Something wonderous happened toward the end of writing this book: I became a father. Jonah, if you are reading this one day, I hope it brings you even a fraction of the joy that you get from your current favorite books: *Baby Koala*, *Where's Spot?*, and *The Bunny Rabbit Show!*



MAP 1.1. Prestes Column, 1924–27. Created by Gabe Moss, made with Natural Earth.

INTRODUCTION

The Prestes Column is one of the most famous events in modern Brazilian history. What started out as an unsuccessful rebellion soon morphed into a roving expedition that crisscrossed the country for almost three years. From 1924 to 1927, a group of roughly one thousand army officers and soldiers marched fifteen thousand miles through the vast interior regions of Brazil (map I.1). This is the equivalent of marching from Los Angeles to New York and back again three times. The column began as an uprising in the city of São Paulo in July 1924 that sought to overthrow President Artur Bernardes (1922–26), and it evolved into a circuitous clockwise journey across thirteen states—nearly two-thirds of the twenty states that made up the entire country at the time. Beginning in the South, the rebels (later referred to as *tenentes*, or lieutenants) then wound their way up and around the central plains and traversed the northeastern *sertão* before turning around and retracing their steps. They eventually went into exile in Bolivia in February 1927.

The Prestes Column took its name from Luís Carlos Prestes, an army captain from Rio Grande do Sul who, midway through the march, became the column's unofficial leader. In total, the column fought over 150 battles against

much larger and better-supplied forces of the federal army, state troops, and local militias. The rebellion failed to achieve its original goal of toppling President Bernardes; neither were any of its reformist demands met, including the secret ballot, a balance of power among the three branches of government, and universal primary-school education. But, after fighting and evading federal and local troops for two and a half years, the rebellion came to be known as the Undefeated Column. Prestes became the leading symbol of the march across Brazil and was lauded as the Knight of Hope.

Although the tenente rebellion had not originally aimed to march across the country—it only did so when its route to Rio de Janeiro was blocked—it brought mainstream attention to far-flung regions of the country. The unplanned march into the "backlands" occurred at a pivotal moment in the formation of modern Brazil: three decades after the end of the Brazilian empire in 1889, and three years before the Revolution of 1930 that overthrew the oligarchic First Republic, the Prestes Column took place as new regional elites began to challenge the political control held by the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. At a moment when notions of regional power and the boundaries of nationalism grew more important, the column traced a symbolic and literal path across the nation. In doing so, it helped to set into motion the Revolution of 1930 that brought Getúlio Vargas to power. Under Vargas, and in the decades to come, many of the rebel leaders became key political figures. On the right, several former rebels served as ministers in the dictatorships under Vargas (1937–45) and the Cold War military regime (1964–85). And, on the left, some tenentes embraced radical politics—most famously, Luís Carlos Prestes, who became a Marxist and eventually assumed the leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party. In the lore of Prestes's rise as one of Latin America's most famous Communists, his march through Brazil's interior became a much-celebrated, if often-exaggerated, story of political awakening, a precursor of sorts to Che Guevara's *The Motorcycle Diaries*.

In the aftermath of the column, the rebellion was widely commemorated and romanticized. Oscar Niemeyer, Brazil's most celebrated architect, designed several monuments to it; Jorge Amado, Brazil's most celebrated writer, wrote a biography of Prestes; and, in the past century, a series of novels, poems, movies, and musical ballads have amplified the adventures of the young army officers who defied the government, braved dangerous frontiers, and, in the words of one observer, brought "the lantern of liberty to Brazil's deepest interior."[1] The Prestes Column and its leaders quickly attained a mythical status, especially among leftist leaders, writers, and scholars, as

well as conservative Brazilians who wanted to stake a claim to what became an origin story for modern Brazil. However, like all legends, especially those connected to ideas of nationhood, there is a deeper story.

The column's place in the pantheon of Brazilian heroes raises two fundamental questions. Given that it failed to overthrow the government, why did the column become so famous? And, despite the fact that the rebels did almost nothing to help communities in the interior—if anything, they tended to treat locals with either indifference, contempt, or outright violence—how did the column come to symbolize an inclusionary vision of national progress? To answer these questions and to explore the broader meanings of space and nation, my book reinterprets the Prestes Column from the perspective of Brazil's interior. Whereas the prevailing narrative of and almost all scholarship on the column has focused on the highly mythologized details of the rebellion itself, I explore the meanings attached to where the column actually went: the interior.

Interior History

In Brazil, as across Latin America and elsewhere, *interior* is a complex term. In its most literal meaning, it implies a clear geographic dichotomy: the coast versus the interior. This spatial distinction has engendered a social contrast between a civilized coast and a backward interior. Moreover, the term is misleading. Whereas *the coast* has a more straightforward definition (nearness to the ocean), the interior has come to represent a general sense of not-the-coast. But, rather than a single interior, as the term implies, Brazil's interior regions represent an immense range of landscapes and communities.

The Prestes Column is an ideal case study for charting an interior history of modern Brazil, as it exemplifies how interior regions and their populations have long been seen by coastal elites as simultaneously backward (in relation to the more modern coast) and dormant, a space of untapped potential waiting to be brought into the nation. This dual narrative about the interior long predated the Prestes Column. At one end lies the stigmatized view of the interior as dangerous and uncivilized—a view that served to glorify southern and coastal Brazilians who ventured inland, whether in search of people to enslave or natural resources to extract. Yet interior spaces and populations have often been far more dynamic than the stigmas of the backlands would suggest.[2] The interior has been the cradle of some of Brazil's most important developments, including the establishment of *quilombos* (maroon societies composed of former enslaved people), the intellectual and cultural centers

sparked by the Minas Gerais gold rush in the eighteenth century, the new inland capital of Brasília in the twentieth century, and the technological advances that made tropical agribusiness the center of Brazilian capitalism. The constructed duality of Brazil's interior—not only a space of barbarism but also the true locus of national authenticity—so transfixed writers and scholars that, according to the sociologist Nísia Trindade Lima, it formed the very basis of Brazilian social science and intellectual thought.[3] Within this prism of converging representations, the interior became a powerful space in which to envision and debate the country's past, present, and future.

In calling my book an "interior history" of modern Brazil, I hope to offer a new framework for scholars working on similar topics in Brazil, across Latin America, and globally. There already exist a number of historically—and historiographically—important terms used to describe interior spaces, such as *frontier*, *rural*, *border*, *borderland*, and *hinterland*, in addition to country-specific words, such as we will see with the term *sertão* in Brazil. My analysis of Brazil's interior offers many parallels to Greg Grandin's study of the US frontier, which Grandin describes as "a state of mind, a cultural zone, a sociological term of comparison, a type of society, an adjective, a noun, a national myth, a disciplining mechanism, an abstraction, and an aspiration."[4] In dialogue with these various ideas and categories, interior history has a wide purview: it is a way to understand an interior space as both a physical landscape comprising a wide range of topographies and populations, and also as an imaginative landscape adaptable to a range of different perspectives. Interior history can include studies about interior spaces and their inhabitants (stories set in the interior), and it can encompass the narratives and symbolisms that circulate in relation to the interior (discourses that emerge and predominate elsewhere, most often among lettered coastal society). Part of what makes the Prestes Column such a compelling example of interior history is that it combines both of the above elements: as the column zigzagged across Brazil, it drew on and aided in expanding the various meanings attached to the spaces through which the rebels traced their long march. An interior history of the Prestes Column helps explain the column's initial rise to fame and also its enduring legacy across the twentieth century.

The column's legend remained tethered to a long-standing coastal fascination with the backlands. Ever since the arrival of European colonists, Brazil's interior loomed as an enticing, if challenging, space. In 1627, the Franciscan friar Vicente do Salvador famously criticized the Portuguese for neglecting the interior of their new colony, saying that the colonists were content to remain "clinging to the coastline, like crabs."[5] The dangers, both

real and imagined, of the interior were part of the reason that mainstream society lived along the coast, but it was precisely the lack of a sustained presence in the interior that made it so appealing. Over the centuries, Portuguese elites, and their Brazilian inheritors after independence in 1822, looked inland with what Mary Louise Pratt calls "imperial eyes": a coastal gaze of sorts intended to create a sense of order and make their readers feel connected to far-off lands.[6] Visions of Brazil's interior took shape in the chronicles of inland explorations such as the *bandeirante* slaving raids of the seventeenth century, the gold prospectors of the eighteenth century, the scientific expeditions of the nineteenth century, and the military campaigns at the turn of the twentieth century, most notably the Canudos War in the 1890s as chronicled by Euclides da Cunha's newspaper reports and bestselling book *Os Sertões*. Shaped by these earlier interior expeditions and given new depth by the circumstances of how the column's narrative was constructed—largely via mass-market newspapers in Rio de Janeiro—the Prestes Column greatly influenced the way mainstream audiences perceived the spaces of the interior. What has gotten lost in the established history of the column is not so much the encounter between the tenentes and the interior, but, rather, how rebels and locals alike depicted the inland march, what that implied for competing visions of the backlands, and how the enduring symbolism of the column either perpetuated or changed the prevailing views of the interior.

Given that the column marched across much of the national map—an unprecedented linkage of almost the entire country, minus the Amazon basin—it offers an especially rich case study for exploring what Tongchai Winichakul calls the "geo-body" of a nation: the territories, practices, and values that get created through spatial discourses and mapping.[7] The column covered so much national space and garnered so much media attention that it expanded public awareness of Brazil's territorial expanses, helping to shift the contours of the Brazilian geo-body. A newspaper column in January 1927, for example, written less than a month before the column crossed into exile, praised Prestes and his men for making Brazilians more acquainted with the spaces of their country: "The Prestes Column without a doubt updated our map. . . . The rebels carried weapons in their hands, and as it turns out, these weapons were actually tools for map-making."[8] Whether in the media, popular culture, or the proclamations of former tenente leaders, the spatial symbolism of the column's march served as the core of its legend. But, as historian Raymond Craib has observed in his cartographic study of Mexico, "space does not merely display itself to the world, as if it were somehow ontologically prior to the cultural and semiotic codes through which its existence is expressed.

Such myths of mimesis turn the historical into the natural, concealing its social, cultural, and political underpinnings."[9] Revealing these coded layers requires close analysis of the particular meanings that have come to define particular spaces.

In Brazil, as in most countries, the question of space is closely linked to that of nation. As exemplified by the notion of *ufanismo* (a pride in abundance of land and natural resources), Brazilian nationalism has consistently depended on the goal of opening up the interior.[10] The question of modernizing the interior forms the crux of the Prestes Column's prevailing narrative. Would-be-modernizers would invoke the column as part of a variety of campaigns across the twentieth century, ranging from government infrastructure and commercial projects to radical movements for organizing and empowering peasant communities. If one could claim to modernize the backlands, it would not only expand the nation; it would also prove the legitimacy of whichever group had done the expanding.

In the half-century after the column, two main groups, each offering a competing path for modernizing Brazil, consistently engaged the legacy of the long march: the army and the Brazilian Communist Party. For centrist and conservative Brazilians in the army, the column represented a wake-up call for mainstream society in which the tenentes saw poverty in the backlands and were inspired to bring the fruits of the nation to new regions. Oswaldo Cordeiro de Farias, a rebel commander who later served as a regional planning minister for the military dictatorship of the 1960s, said that his motivation to modernize Brazil's interior came from his experience in the Prestes Column: "For two and a half years, I lived in contact with the suffering Brazil, with its people, who had no schools, no healthcare, no roads, no police, no justice, no anything, very poor and without hope. This image of our people and their problems has never left me."[11] Brazilian leftists, on the other hand, tended to offer a refracted version of that same story, portraying the column as a tale of mutual discovery for both the rebels and the interior populations. In his biography of Prestes, the famed novelist and Communist Jorge Amado wrote that the interior "turned inside out, with its hardship on full display, discovers itself in this man, and he, Luís Carlos Prestes, discovers Brazil in its nakedness."[12] Even if retrospective and at times ahistorical, these depictions of the column's march through the Brazilian geo-body became a means to comment on interior development and, thus, the future of the nation.

It should be noted that the narrative of liberation in the backlands first emerged in force during the rebels' exile in Bolivia, when supporters recast

the column in patriotic language to argue that the tenentes should receive amnesty and be allowed to return to Brazil. The newspaper, *A Manhã*, for example, wrote in 1927 that "the Prestes Column woke up the people of the interior, [freeing them] from the tyranny of local political chiefs. All corners of our immense nation are calling for the repatriation of these glorious exiles."[13] No such liberation occurred, but at a moment when the exiled rebels were seen to be languishing in an even more sinister interior of a foreign country—the eastern borderlands of Bolivia—tales of awakening became a political tool for amnesty. In the years and decades to come, long after the rebels had returned to Brazil, this language would become firmly implanted as the core of the column's dominant legend.

Although stories about the column emerged primarily among southern coastal society, interior communities also developed their own views about the rebel march. As literary scholar Zita Nunes has observed in her analysis of Blackness in the Americas, narratives like those articulated by interior communities defy simple categorization: they are neither entirely antagonistic nor assimilative toward dominant national narratives. To borrow Nunes's term, the goal is to understand the diverse and place-specific views of "resistant remainders," such as those who lived along the column's path.[14] Many in the interior considered Prestes a symbol of unity and justice, a legacy evident in the cordel poems of the Northeast, among other cultural and political products that saw the column as part of an inclusionary vision of the nation. But, in places where the column had inflicted violence, local communities have also depicted the rebels as murderous invaders; these memories are found in oral histories collected over the years by journalists and in the monuments built to those who died fighting against the column. While much of my book focuses on storytelling about the interior—a reflection of how the standard history of the column took shape—wherever possible I explore the perspectives of communities within the interior in order to properly situate the various visions of the Brazilian nation that circulated in relation to the Prestes Column.

The question of discourse, and who controlled the narrative of what supposedly took place in the interior, became one of most contested aspects of the column's history. During the rebellion, as both the column and the federal government sought to position themselves as the legitimate protectors of the Brazilian nation, the battle for public opinion often devolved into dueling accusations of "going native" in the interior. Centered on the trope of backland violence, both sides accused the other of being the real bandits, seeking, in turn, to present themselves as the true civilizing force. Although the

column did not constitute a war per se, the public spotlight that followed its battles against army and militia forces is reflective of Javier Uriarte's analysis of how war in Latin America has served to incorporate interior landscapes into the nation, a process through which "deserts"—such as the Brazilian sertão, Argentinian Patagonia, or the Paraguayan countryside—are transformed from isolated, primordial voids into more legible voids ripe for modernization and consolidation into the nation.[15] As with Uriarte's case studies of late nineteenth-century fighting in various Latin American interiors, the Prestes Column's impact on perceptions of Brazil's interior reverberated most strongly at the level of discourse, with journalists, politicians, poets, and novelists holding the column aloft as a symbol of a transforming backlands.

Another tension in the column's legend is the difference between what the rebels claimed to have done (the heroic narrative of liberation in the backlands) and how their interactions with locals tended to unfold. As part of its campaign to overthrow the government, and in desperate need of reinforcements, the column called on rural Brazilians to rise up and join the rebellion. Almost none did. The lack of collaboration had several causes, including the power wielded by local oligarchs who were contracted by the federal army to fight against the column, a reluctance from townspeople to hand over what few items they had to a wandering group of outsiders, and the prejudices and violent actions of the rebels themselves. And, given that the rebels moved across the countryside as quickly as possible, rarely stopping for more than a day or two, they had neither the time—nor, on the whole, the interest—to adequately understand local cultures. Because the rebels did little to learn about the interior spaces they traversed, their default was often to reproduce the stereotypes they already held, much of which was influenced by Euclides da Cunha's writing on the Canudos War. Aside from a few instances of destroying tax records or making alliances with local leaders, the rebellion did very little that could be considered a direct act of solidarity with interior populations. More often than not, the encounters were defined either by fatigued opportunism (engaging just enough to requisition food, clothing, and weapons in order to keep the column marching forward) or violent conflict: at various points, rebel soldiers committed acts of looting, rape, and murder.

This violence left a legacy of trauma and place-specific narratives. In interviews conducted with a journalist in the 1990s, for example, elderly inhabitants spoke about the Prestes Column in terms of the cycles of drought that wreaked havoc in the sertão. Joana Gomes da Silva, ninety-one years old at the time, recalled that, in her small town in Piauí, "the rebels were worse than the drought. The fear that we had was worse than hunger;" and Maria de

Conceição da Silva, aged ninety-two, similarly said that in Ceará "the rebels were worse than the drought of [19]15 and also the one in [19]32. In a drought, we didn't have anything to eat, but we also weren't afraid."[16] Such statements indicate that people in the interior also infused the discourse of the Prestes Column with the type of backland symbolism that felt most immediate to them. By equating the column with drought, these memories show that, for people who lived along the rebel path, the realities of life in the interior were more than just tropes—for them, the column represented another element that reinforced their hardship.

Although it is often left unsaid in the column's legend, the march to the interior was not an initial objective but one that developed by circumstance. The two main catalysts of the tenentista movement were revolts in Rio de Janeiro in 1922 and São Paulo in 1924, both of which aimed to overthrow the government in the national, coastal capital of Rio de Janeiro. The rebels in 1924 only changed course and went inland when their path to Rio de Janeiro was blocked by the federal army. Once Prestes led his soldiers toward the backlands, it allowed the tenente leaders and their supporters along the coast to reframe the rebellion as a campaign to liberate the interior. Most emblematically, it was only after the column's unintended turn inland that rebel leaders began to call themselves the "bandeirantes of freedom," a twentieth-century refraction of the colonial-era explorers who carried flags (*bandeiras*) on slaving expeditions into the interior. The rebel's invocation of the bandeirantes was no coincidence, as it was precisely during this period in the mid-1920s that intellectuals and artists, mostly in São Paulo, sought to rehabilitate the image of the bandeirantes as a symbol not of violent frontier expansion, but of Brazil's democratizing spirit. This version of the bandeirantes is evident in how the column justified its unintended march into the interior. Several decades afterward, for instance, one former rebel claimed that "by opening up paths through untouched forests, where today there is now commerce, culture, and civilization, the 'Undefeated Column' paralleled the movements of the bandeiras that spread across the country in every direction."[17] The prevailing symbolism of the interior thus gave cover to the initial failures of the tenente rebellion and transformed the inland journey into an intrepid movement claiming to bring modernity to the backlands.

The column's self-ascribed status as bandeirantes of freedom operated within the constructed categories of race in twentieth-century Brazil. Because the column's leadership was made up largely of European-descendant officers from Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo, stories about the column often presented the march as a white movement that moved triumphantly across

nonwhite spaces. As it had been since the arrival of European colonizers, Brazil's interior continued to be seen as a racialized Other inhabited by Indigenous, Afro-Brazilian, and mixed-origin communities. A newspaper article from 1927, for example, celebrated the rebels for bringing "the feeling of human respect to the rude souls of our backlands, demonstrating to the savage Indian from the forests all the generosity and kindness held in the hearts of the white people from the coast."[18] Similarly, sixty years later, the journalist Edmar Morel remarked that "the column experienced two totally different Brazils. Its *gaúcho* troops were warriors, with an even temperament and accompanied by a faithful horse. . . . The *nordestinos* [on the other hand] were in poor health, malnourished, dressed in a cotton shirt and sandals made of tire rubber. . . . It was a clash of two civilizations, as if they were two different races entirely."[19]

Despite the staying power of such narratives, it is important to note that depictions of the column would parallel changing attitudes toward race and regional identity, particularly the emergent notion of Brazil as a so-called racial democracy. In his study of Pernambuco, Stanley Blake identifies the 1920s and 1930s as the moment when nordestinos "became a constituent element of Brazilian national identity, a category that was at once both racialized and devoid of racial content."[20] This shift is evident in mid-century accounts of the column. In the late 1950s, the tenente leader Miguel Costa offered a more uplifting retrospective, writing that the march "was a laboratory for understanding Brazil [in which] the coast discovered the backlands [and] learned about what happened in the interior. The locals, for their part, started to learn new words: freedom, democracy, rights." Costa not only claimed that the rebels had engaged with a full range of rural and ethnic archetypes; he also credited the column with introducing these interior groups to wider Brazilian audiences: "With the column and thanks to the column, other characters began to appear on the scene—they are the *mestizos* (mixed African and European ancestry), the *caboclos* (mixed Indigenous and European ancestry), the *nordestinos*, the *tabaréus* (simple rural folk), the *seringuerios* (rubber tappers), [and] the *garimpeiros* (miners). . . . The column discovered the truly Brazilian Brazil (*o Brasil brasileiro*)."[21] By embodying both an exclusionary and an inclusionary vision of Brazil's interior, the Prestes Column reflected the complex meanings of race in modern Brazil.

The column may never have become famous if not for the fact that it coincided with a boom in Brazil's newspaper sector. Between 1912 and 1930, the number of Brazilian periodicals more than doubled.[22] Newspapers grew in tandem with—and to satisfy the cultural and consumer demands of—an

emerging middle class in urban, industrializing areas. Two decades removed from the success of Euclides da Cunha's newspaper exposés on the Canudos War, the Prestes Column offered a new interior tale to captivate Brazil's reading public. With recently installed telegraph lines stretching farther into the backlands, newspapers relayed updates of the march in real time. And, as Maite Conde has shown, print media's fascination with the backlands also extended to another innovation of the era, movies, as some of Brazil's earliest successes of national cinema were stories set in the interior.[23] The fates of the Prestes Column and Brazil's new media were tightly connected. This is best exemplified by the newspaper editor Assis Chateaubriand, who purchased his first paper in 1924, only a few months after the start of the tenente rebellion, and who made the Prestes Column one of the central stories of his early newspaper empire. As Fernando Morais observes in his biography of Chateaubriand, "For the first time, the public could read in the mainstream press something that until then had only appeared in political pamphlets: interviews in which the rebel leaders described their battles with the troops of the federal government."[24] Especially during the final phase of the rebellion, when censorship was loosened, Chateaubriand commissioned a series of multipart exposés that allowed readers to follow, over the course of days or weeks, the romanticized adventures of the heroic backland rebels. Many of these articles included grandiose maps of the march, comparing the rebels to historical personages like Alexander the Great and also mythical figures like Robin Hood and El Cid. These portrayals helped make broader ideas about nationhood accessible and entertaining for mainstream audiences.

For hundreds of years, inland regions have served as a conceptual prism between mainstream society and the spaces, both real and imagined, of Brazil's noncoastal regions. Although the constructed dichotomy between coast and interior suggests a form of mirroring—in which coastal elites gaze inland in order to see their own sense of superiority reflected back—I find that the metaphor of a prism is more appropriate. A prism refracts light and redirects it according to changes in position, angle, and perspective, allowing different wavelengths to be seen at different points. Whether rotating or still, a prism can shift perceptions from one of its various sides to another, and it can also serve as the meeting point for the various sides themselves. As historians, we can use the image of a prism to understand the refraction not of light, but of stories, and of the narratives that help construct ideas about nations and society. And, when this relates to space—and the people who inhabit it—the stories being refracted can change depending on how one chooses to perceive the spaces on the other sides. For our focus on the Prestes Column,

this approach allows us to analyze the relationship between coast and interior without falling into its dichotomous trap: Why did certain groups use the Prestes Column as a way to comment on space and nation at particular moments? And how did the symbolism of the column reflect continuities as well as changes in narratives about the interior? A nuanced spatial and social analysis of the column will help reinterpret its legacy as part of the multitude of visions that existed about, and from within, the interior.

The Interior Is Everywhere

In one of the most acclaimed novels of modern Brazilian literature, *Grande Sertão: Veredas* (translated in English as *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands*), the writer and diplomat João Guimarães Rosa reflects on the nature of good and evil, and its particular permutations in Brazilian society. As embedded in the book's title, Guimarães Rosa locates his story not in a major urban center like Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, or Salvador, but in the *sertão*—a shorthand term for the semiarid regions of the interior; in this case, Guimarães Rosa set his book in the northern backlands of Minas Gerais. There is a close historical and semiotic relationship between sertão and interior, with each deriving meaning from its status as a geographic reference to noncoastal areas. For Guimarães Rosa, the Brazilian interior encapsulated the essence of the national character. The book is written as a long monologue by a man named Riobaldo, who tells of his life as a *jagunço*, a for-hire soldier and bodyguard who would be contracted to protect the property of large landowners. Through Riobaldo's stories of the sertão, and his efforts to make sense of its social hierarchy, Guimarães Rosa posited that, rather than a peripheral space in the Brazilian nation, the sertão *was* the Brazilian nation. In one of the book's most iconic statements, Riobaldo exclaims that "the sertão is everywhere."[25]

Written in 1956, three decades after the column, *Grande Sertão* shows how the Prestes Column would become an invokable symbol not only in political myth-making but also at the cultural level. In one of Riobaldo's stories, he tells of an old man wandering around a market who ruminates out loud, to nobody in particular, "Wars and battles? It's like a game of cards; first one wins, then the other."[26] The old man goes on to talk about the Prestes Column, recalling how rebel troops stole horses from local farms. This is one of several examples of writers referencing the column as a way to insert historical events into their fictional tales about the interior.[27] Guimarães Rosa also draws our attention to the word *sertão*, arguably the most pervasive

geographic and topographic term in Brazil. In its modern usage, *sertão* refers to the dry, drought-plagued backlands of the Northeast. This climatological toponym was popularized by Euclides da Cunha in his 1902 book *Os Sertões*, an account of the bloody fighting in the 1890s between the federal army and a millenarian community at Canudos in the interior of Bahia. *Os Sertões* was a cultural and political landmark that influenced generations of Brazilians, including the leaders of the Prestes Column. Yet the term emerged long before Cunha's famous book. Rex P. Nielson has shown that *sertão* originated in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cartography of Portuguese explorers, as a way to represent the unknown expanses of Brazil's interior lands: "The sertão paradoxically represented a space that could not be mapped. To map, that is, to locate the sertão within the rationality of the epistemological grid of European knowledge would be to endow the sertão with qualities that contradict its very definition as a sign for the unknown."[28]

As the colonial presence expanded deeper into Brazilian territory, meaning that more lands could be mapped and "known," new modifiers described the various types of interior landscapes. Carlos Bacellar writes that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one finds references to unknown sertão, uninhabited sertão, wild sertão, and unpopulated sertão. By the nineteenth century, as sertão became pervasive and thus subject to modification, the term *interior* (spelled the same in both Portuguese and English) emerged as a way to demarcate a space that was neither the coast nor the sertão; as Bacellar observes, "it was still plagued with indigenous people and thus dangerous, but it was also rich in opportunities."[29] Commercial and administrative outposts, linked to the coast and to one another by new inland road networks, helped establish an imaginative middle ground between the coast and the sertão.

The emergence of the interior is evident in the chronicles of foreign explorers, such as *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (1812) by the British geologist John Mawe and *Voyages dans l'intérieur du Brésil* (1830) by the French botanist August de Saint-Hilaire. In these travelogues, the foreign authors use both *interior* and *sertão*, which suggests that *interior* was not simply an easier way to translate *sertão* into English or French; rather, it was distinct and pervasive, and the foreign travelers were likely influenced by how their guides and local contacts described inland spaces. The archival record confirms this trend. Beginning in the early 1820s, articles in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, to name one example, consistently mentioned "the interior of the country," and, by 1829, the annals of Brazilian parliament included speeches that referenced the interior.[30] In the prism of development away from the

coast, the interior came to represent a space just beyond reach—far enough away so as to still pose risks, but close enough to offer the potential of settlement or extraction. The term remained a moving target, and, as commercial activities and population centers expanded farther inland, the interior expanded as well. With the proper motivation, one could look out in seemingly any direction and find an interior on the horizon.

Over the following century, *sertão* and *interior* continued to coexist, offering slight refractions for commenting on noncoastal regions. *Sertão*, from its initial status as an unmappable unknown, came to be fixed to the Northeast—a process greatly accelerated by Euclides da Cunha's 1902 publication of *Os Sertões*.[31] As popularized by Cunha, *sertão* also provided a name for its inhabitants: the *sertanejo*, which became a catch-all term for people of the northeastern backlands. The twin phrasings of *sertão* and *sertanejos* further explains why the leaders of the Prestes Column and its supporters along the coast could draw equally on the terms *sertão*, *sertanejo*, and *interior*. (The lexicon of backland figures also included *jagunço*, the contracted fighters like Guimarães Rosa's protagonist, Riobaldo; *coronel*, the rural oligarchs who hired jagunços; and *cangaceiro*, the bandits and outlaws who roamed the interior). During the rebel march in the 1920s and its mythologizing afterward, *sertão* was most typically, though not exclusively, used to refer to the Northeast, which itself was a nascent term in the early twentieth century. *Interior*, on the other hand, could be used as a broader reference to any of the lands along its route. In a country as large as Brazil, where terminologies for noncoastal areas have been a consistent tool of nation-building, *interior* moved beyond the confines of a bounded geographic label to become a relational and imaginative category. When refracted from this perspective, almost anywhere could be an interior. We can thus return to Guimarães Rosa—if the sertão is everywhere, so, too, is the interior.

Scholarship, Sources, and Authorial Choices

The Prestes Column has inspired an extensive body of literature. According to one calculation, when combining newspaper coverage, academic articles, and books—in Portuguese and other languages—there are over five thousand pieces of writing about the column.[32] In terms of book-length projects, we can identify over sixty books written by professional scholars, journalists, and local writers. In the first category, of academic writing, the most prolific scholar is Anita Prestes, the daughter of Luís Carlos Prestes and an emeritus professor of history at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.[33]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, her books tend to lionize her father and perpetuate the triumphant legend of the column. But the relatively uncritical approach of Anita Prestes is also found in most scholarship.[34] Take, for example, the romanticized 1974 book from Neill Macaulay, a University of Florida professor who had famously fought alongside Fidel Castro in the Cuban Revolution and depicted the Brazilian interior as analogous to the Sierra Maestra of Cuba's revolutionary lore.[35] The second category, by far the most voluminous, includes journalistic and popular accounts.[36] While the contexts of these books, published between the 1950s and 2010s, vary widely, they recycle the same dominant narrative.[37] They recount the various battles and expeditions of the rebel excursion and, in a form of pilgrimage hagiography, often involve the writer retracing a portion or even all of the column's march.[38] A third category covers regional books about the column's passage through specific towns or states; often, local writers seek to highlight their city or region's place in the legend of the column.[39] Although my interior history of the Prestes Column represents a fundamental intervention in existing scholarship, I engage with the books in all three categories to help triangulate my archival findings and to better understand how published works have maintained the column's dominant legend.

My book is in close dialogue with a subfield in Brazilian historiography on regionalism, which examines identity-formation (both locally and in relation to the nation-state), culture, and political development in select areas. In the 1970s, a trio of US-based historians published landmark regional histories of Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, and Pernambuco.[40] Over the following decades, Brazilian scholars such as Ademir Gebara, Marco Antonio Silva, and Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Jr. helped to establish a vibrant field with a dedicated academic journal, the *Revista de História Regional*.[41] Scholarship has remained strong both within Brazil and abroad. Recently, the field has focused largely on two regions: the Northeast and São Paulo, and for good reason, as they are among the most emblematic regions of the country.[42] An interior history of the Prestes Column, a rebellion that originated in São Paulo and whose fame emerged largely from its eventual march across the Northeast, includes analysis of these two important regions. But, in tracing the Prestes Column's trek across much of Brazil's territory, I also seek to elevate the profile of lesser-studied regions (such as Paraná in the south and Maranhão in the north) and place them in relation to each other, showing how, in the prism of the column's march, the far-flung and distinct areas became seen as belonging to a singular Brazilian interior. Because the interior cannot be defined as belonging to any one region, there is much to

be gained by transposing the approaches of regionalism—namely, how ideas about regional identities influenced state-building and civil society—onto a more ambiguous spatial category like interior. Given Brazil's size, it is difficult to study the history of multiple regions within a single framework. To avoid homogenizing or abstracting the interior, and in seeking to understand the convergence of regional identities, I use the Prestes Column as a mobile vector for understanding Brazil's interior as a plural, multiregional space.

Given my focus on discourse and modernity, my interior history of the Prestes Column also engages scholarship on mythology, particularly as it relates to language and the ways through which narratives become popularized.[43] In this book, I use *myth* and *legend* almost interchangeably to refer to the dominant perception of the rebel march across the interior. As an origin story for modern Brazil, where the column became a spatialized symbol for inaugurating a new era in national politics, its legend reflects the diachronic nature of modern-day mythologies: in a relatively short amount of time, the public spotlight on the column transformed *news* into *memory*, helping make the interior march into a powerful, if contested, object of collective meaning. As will be argued throughout this book, the long-standing symbolism attached to Brazil's interior served as the core element for sustaining the discursive and spatial contours of the Prestes Column's mythology.

In terms of sources, my book draws from five main components: archival documents, memoirs written by former officers in the Prestes Column, newspaper and cultural outputs, oral histories, and physical memory sites. For this project I visited archives in six Brazilian states, including major archival centers in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo as well as smaller regional archives in the interior. I complemented these Brazilian sources with research in the National Archives of the United States and the United Kingdom, whose consular reports provided key details on the rebellion. In my reading of the archival record, I keep an eye on how the rebels, the army, and their audiences thought about and represented the interior.

The second type of source is the corpus of memoirs about the Prestes Column. I analyze which aspects of their interior experience the writers chose to include in their book, and I situate the memoirs in the periods (between the 1930s and 1950s) in which they were written. As testimony to on-the-ground experiences—whether written a few years or a few decades after the column—memoirs serve as elongated primary sources. But, given the various contexts in which they were written, and the retrospective nature of the genre, the memoirs also present several challenges. Because not all of the tenente leaders wrote memoirs, I rely on a few key texts to make broader

arguments about the column, drawing above all on the memoir of Lourenço Moreira Lima, the column's official secretary. While I corroborate certain key details in the memoirs with additional historical sources (including other memoirs), this is not always possible. As with any source, memoirs have their analytical riches as well as their traps, and I seek to always be clear about how I use the memoirs; I also compare them with my archival findings. Several memoirs contain the reproduction of primary sources such as letters between rebels and the bulletins of the high command. Yet my research in various archives shows that not all of these documents were reproduced in full, selectively leaving out instances where rebel soldiers were put in front of a firing squad by their own leaders for having raped a local woman, or when troops deserted the rebellion. In dialogue with scholarship on archival silences, I analyze these examples of memoir omission to show how the partial presentation of historical documents is a form of myth-making.[44]

My third source covers public forms of commentary—namely, newspapers, novels, and poems. As John Charles Chasteen has written in his study of caudillos in Brazil's southern borderlands, "Because myths live less in archives than in newspapers, political oratory, fiction, or drama, our exploration of the topic will lead us to that sort of source material."[45] In terms of newspapers, I built a database of nearly one thousand articles spanning the twentieth century, the majority of which I consulted using the Hemeroteca Digital online repository of Brazil's National Library. Similar to my reading of archival documents, with the newspaper sources I look beyond the facts of the rebellion (e.g., troop location, number of wounded soldiers) to examine how the experience in the interior was being depicted. And, in the realm of culture, I analyze novels and poems written about the column—from positive and negative perspectives alike—as a way to trace the symbolic legacies of the march.

The fourth source is oral histories with interior populations that were collected by journalists in the late twentieth century. These interviews reveal a range of memories and multiple truths relating to the column. Although I personally visited many of the regions in which these testimonies were collected, the subjects had passed away decades before my own research; therefore, I could not confirm their details. As with my analysis of the memoirs, I treat the oral histories with a critical eye toward what their meanings conveyed both at the moment of their collection and as a symbol of larger historical trends.

My fifth source draws from the field of memory sites and monuments, as I trace memory in physical form by analyzing over a dozen memorials

throughout Brazil that commemorate the rebels as well as the soldiers that pursued them. These range from large monuments and museums designed by Oscar Niemeyer to small tombstones and statues.

It is also worth explaining several of my authorial choices. In contrast to much of the literature on the column, I am concerned less with the details of the march (e.g., troop movement and battles) and more with the meanings that have been attached to those details. As such, my book is not a military history but a political and cultural history of the column and its legacy. Of the Prestes Column's 150 battles, I only mention two dozen of them. My choice to discuss a particular battle is a signal for readers about which moments of the column shaped its legend; this relates to both the heroic story (e.g., Prestes's success on the battlefield or examples when the rebels built alliances with local groups) as well as the counternarrative, such as the accidental nature of the inland march or the luck involved in several of the column's victories. My goal is to provide a general sense of how the rebellion progressed without getting bogged down in the specifics that, for nearly a century, have fascinated audiences, journalists, and scholars. In terms of people, I only give the names and biographical information of select officers who played important roles during the column and in the decades afterward—in addition to the small, but important, number of women who marched with the column. Otherwise, I prioritize stating the names of local people and their towns as a way to shift attention toward interior communities.

The interior of Brazil is an awe-inspiring and diverse series of landscapes, and it would be all too easy to go overboard with descriptions of its environment and topography. Except in small doses, I refrain from the type of lavish observations about the interior that have long been a staple of writers and explorers. I have also left out many of the smaller details readily available in the many books about the column. The large body of work on the Prestes Column has already vividly described its battles and the minutiae of daily life during the long march. Often drawing on the same rebel memoirs as their source base, most books tend to mention how the rebels spent much of their downtime (playing cards), their preferred way of using books (tearing out pages to roll cigarettes), or the fact that Prestes almost died in the Tocantins River (he was still learning how to swim). In contrast, I have chosen to elide these anecdotes and to focus instead on the meanings of the larger histories at play.

Finally, a note on maps: I include in this book eight maps that show the column's progression. These are intended to give readers a sense of chronol-

ogy and also the spatial scale of Brazil. Throughout the book I also analyze historical maps depicting the column that were published in newspapers at different moments of the twentieth century. As we will see, these published maps represent what I call a *cartographic picaresque*, and I analyze them as part of the broader arc of how the Prestes Column drew from the symbolism of Brazil's interior to influence the history of space and nation in Brazil.

Book Structure

The Prestes Column took place from 1924 to 1927, but only half of my book relates to the two and a half years that the tenente rebels trekked across Brazil's interior. The other half focuses either on events prior to the column—providing the context for the spatial histories that would expand after the 1924 rebellion—or afterward, when the intertwined histories of the Prestes Column and the interior reverberated across the twentieth century. Chapter 1 foregrounds the influence of Euclides da Cunha's 1902 book, *Os Sertões*, and provides background on the tenentista movement and the history of Brazil's military in the early twentieth century, culminating in the 1924 São Paulo rebellion that would evolve into the Prestes Column. The second chapter marks the start of the five-chapter chronicle of the column, tracing the rebel march up and around Brazil and back toward exile, its interactions with locals, its communications with supporters on the coast, and the many elements through which its mythology emerged and shifted.

The final four chapters of the book then trace the legacy of the column for nearly a century. Chapter 7 shows how the legend of the column became firmly attached to the figure of Luís Carlos Prestes between the rebel exile in February 1927 and the Revolution of 1930 that resulted in Getúlio Vargas seizing power. Chapter 8 charts the spatial legacies of tenentismo during the era of Vargas, from 1930 to 1954, giving particular attention to the standoff between Prestes and Vargas as well as to the wave of memoirs written by former rebels. Chapter 9 interweaves examples of culture and commemoration between the 1940s and the 1980s. Here, I analyze poetry and novels alongside three emblematic moments related to the column—its thirtieth anniversary in 1954, its fiftieth anniversary in 1974, and Prestes's death in 1990. The tenth and final chapter follows the memory battles of the 1990s, exploring three particular cases: journalistic reports about the column, a monument to Luís Carlos Prestes, and a minor scandal that occurred when historical documents were publicized by an archive in Rio de Janeiro. The tenth chapter also

shows how, on the eve of the twenty-first century, reflections on the column's passage through the "old" Brazil of the 1920s served as way to lament the changes wrought by twentieth-century efforts to modernize the interior. An epilogue then closes the book, in which I offer a first-person travelogue of my research in the Brazilian interior, and a discussion of what the memory sites symbolize for how the Prestes Column is depicted in the present day.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. "O XXX Aniversário da Coluna Prestes," *Nosso Povo*, 1954; included in "Coleção Luiz Carlos Prestes," Biblioteca Comunitária, Universidade Federal de São Carlos, Brazil.
2. In this paragraph I draw on a coauthored essay with my colleague Frederico Freitas, "Introduction," in Blanc and Freitas, *The Interior: Rethinking Brazilian History from the Inside*, edited volume in progress.
3. Lima, *Um sertão chamado Brasil*.
4. Grandin, *End of the Myth*, 116.
5. Salvador, *História do Brasil*, 5.
6. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 3.
7. Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*.
8. "A quelque chose malheur est bon," *Gazeta de Noticias*, January 13, 1927, 2.
9. Craib, *Cartographic Mexico*, 5.
10. The term *ufanismo* was popularized by Afonso Celso's 1900 book, *Porque me ufano do meu paiz*. For a recent analysis of ufanismo, particularly as it relates to culture and geography in the twentieth century, see Brandt, "Brazilian Scene."
11. As quoted in Iorio, "Cordeiro de Farias."
12. Amado, *O Cavaleiro da Esperança*, 91.
13. "A torva figura que ameaçou asphixiar o paiz," *A Manhã*, July 5, 1927, 15.
14. Nunes, *Cannibal Democracy*, 24.
15. Uriarte, *Desertmakers*. Esther Breithoff makes a similar argument about war and "conflict landscapes" in her book *Conflict, Heritage and World-Making*.
16. As quoted in Brum, *Coluna Prestes: O avesso da lenda*, 91.
17. Miguel Costa, untitled essay, n.d. Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth, Campinas (hereafter AEL), ser. Miguel Costa (hereafter MC), folder 56. This document

was issued in 1962 by Costa's son, Miguel Jr., three years after the elder's death. As such, it is not possible to know the exact year when the essay was written.

18. "Luiz Carlos Prestes," *Correio da Manhã*, 16 December 1927, 2.
19. Morel, *A marcha da liberdade*, 60.
20. Blake, *Vigorous Core of Our Nationality*, 14.
21. Miguel Costa, untitled essay, n.d., AEL.
22. Wainberg, *Império de palavras*, 42.
23. Conde, *Foundational Films*, esp. 131–55.
24. Morais, *Chatô*, 105.
25. Guimarães Rosa, *Grande Sertão*, 3.
26. Guimarães Rosa, *Grande Sertão*, 82.
27. For a discussion of the motif of the Prestes Column in *Grande Sertão: Veredas*, see Mozzer, "Presença da Coluna Prestes."
28. Nielson, "Unmappable Sertão," 10.
29. Bacellar, "São Paulo and Its Interior," in Blanc and Freitas, *The Interior*.
30. For example, "Livros à venda," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, July 20, 1822, 2; and the speech from Sr. Hollanda Cavalcante, reproduced in the *Annaes do Parlamento Brasileiro*, May 6, 1829, 13.
31. Though originally a pejorative name—a status that persists to today—*sertanejo* would also be reappropriated by northeastern intellectuals and cultural leaders in the early decades of the twentieth century, as a way to strengthen a regional identity. For more, see Albuquerque, *Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*.
32. Morel, *A marcha da liberdade*, 74.
33. Her publications include *Coluna Prestes; Luiz Carlos Prestes*; and *Viver é tomar partido*.
34. An exception is Diacon, "Searching for the Lost Army."
35. Macaulay, *Prestes Column*.
36. Examples include Meirelles, *As noites das grandes fogueiras*; and Morel, *A marcha da liberdade*.
37. An exception is Menezes, *Coluna Prestes*, written by a retired army colonel whose main objective is to unmask the myth of the Prestes Column as a triumphant and patriotic example of military brilliance.
38. In a telling example that shows the blending of mythology and research, a book from 2009 retraced the steps of three writers who, in 1988, had themselves retraced the steps of the rebellion's entire fifteen-thousand-mile journey. Amaral, *Expedição sagarana*.
39. The twenty-plus regional books include Otaviano, *Coluna Prestes na Paraíba*; Bandeira, *A Coluna Prestes na Bahia*; and Castro, *A Coluna Prestes no Piauí*.
40. Love, *Rio Grande do Sul*; Wirth, *Minas Gerais in the Brazilian Federation*; Levine: *Pernambuco in the Brazilian Federation*.
41. Gebara, *História regional*; Silva, *A república em migalhas*; Albuquerque, *Invention of the Brazilian Northeast*.

42. Weinstein, *Color of Modernity*; Blake, *Vigorous Core of Our Nationality*; Woodard, *Place in Politics*; Sarzynski, *Revolution in the Terra do Sol*; Campbell, *Region Out of Place*.
43. A useful analysis of language and modern-day mythology comes from the literary theorist and semiotician Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*. For a Brazil-specific reflection on myths and nationhood, see Viotti da Costa, *Brazilian Empire*.
44. Among the large body of work, a recent book of note is Thomas, Fowler, and Johnson, *Silence of the Archive*.
45. Chasteen, *Heroes on Horseback*, 133.

CHAPTER 1. REBELLION AND THE BACKLANDS

1. Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, 444.
2. Levine, *Vale of Tears*, 4.
3. A useful historiographic essay on *Os Sertões* is Oliveira, "Euclides da Cunha, Os Sertões e a invenção de um Brasil profundo." A recent book that offers a fresh analysis of representations of the Canudos War is Johnson, *Sentencing Canudos*.
4. Levine, *Vale of Tears,* 24.
5. Lima, "Century of Nonfiction Solitude," 164.
6. A classic book on this subject is Torres, *O positivismo no Brasil*.
7. For more on Brazilian literary journalism, see Coutinho and Passos, "Voices in War Time."
8. Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, 89–90.
9. Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, 223.
10. For more on the army during this period, see McCann, *Soldiers of the Pátria*.
11. See Love, *Revolt of the Whip*.
12. McCann, *Soldiers of the Pátria*, 222.
13. McCann, *Soldiers of the Pátria*, 226.
14. Weinstein, *Color of Modernity*.
15. Borges, *Tenentismo e revolução brasileira*, 20.
16. Forjaz, *Tenentismo e política, 24*.
17. Fausto, *História geral da civilização Brasileira*, vol. 3, 17.
18. For contemporary accounts of the São Paulo revolt, see, for example, Americano, *A lição dos factos*, and Neto, *A Revolta de 1924*.

CHAPTER 2. THE ACCIDENTAL MARCH

1. Luís Carlos Prestes, interview, *La Nación*, December 28, 1941, in Alexander, "Brazilian 'Tenentismo,'" 231.
2. For more on the 1923 fighting in Rio Grande do Sul, see Antonacci, *RS*.
3. Landucci, *Cenas e episódios*, 29.
4. For more on Rondon, see Diacon, *Stringing Together a Nation*.