CARLOS ALBERTO B. DA SILVA

THE EMERGENCE OF ORGANIZATION IN THE WILD WEST OF AMERICA AND BRAZIL:
CULTURAL AND INSTITUTIONAL INFLUENCES

Belo Horizonte
UNIVERSIDADE FUMEC
FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS ECONÔMICAS, ADMINISTRATIVAS E CONTÁBEIS DE BELO HORIZONTE
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Área de concentração: Organização

Orientador: Prof. Dr. John Child
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Área de concentração: Organização

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Belo Horizonte
2010
THANK YOU,

Stela Carvalho, for your words of encouragement and steadfast belief that I would not one day crawl into a hole somewhere and wait for the deadline to pass;

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To you all, my heartfelt thanks!
"There are those who argue that everything breaks even in this old dump of a world of ours. I suppose the ginks who argue that way hold that because the rich man gets ice in the summer and the poor man gets it in the winter things are breaking even for both. Maybe so, but I'll swear I can't see it that way."

The last words (typed) of Bat Masterson, buffalo hunter, Army scout, sheriff, shootist, gambler, boxing promoter, confidence man, newspaper editor (1853 – 1921)
This dissertation has elected the “Frontier” as a privileged space and time unit wherein to review both the prevailing cultural values and the form and extent of the institutional structures available at the time as regards their influence on the emergence of organization in the USA west of the Mississippi river. Our research will also seek to describe the conditions that were present in Brazil along the same timeline and attempt to draw conclusions as to the similarities, differences and discontinuities we may find. Furthermore, we will look into the convergence / divergence aspects of both frontier experiences to try to find out whether civil society has been drawn progressively closer or further apart in both countries as regards common institutional and cultural characteristics.

Although we always tend to think of the ‘Frontier’ as a space, we should not forget that it can also be conceptualized as an ongoing cultural, institutional, organizational, legal and political experiment that will always be strongly influenced by the cultural, institutional and political background of the people who are carving it out. Moreover, insofar as the pioneers and settlers are not, at least at first, a homogeneous group due to their different backgrounds, there will always be an accommodation period to allow compromises to be worked out and implemented. Whether such an accommodation will lead to convergent or divergent social organizations remains to be seen.

**Keywords:** Frontier; Wild West; Organization; Institutions; Culture; Convergence Thesis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Slave labor in the mining district.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pioneer trails west of the Mississippi river.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Land grant to the Virginia Company of London.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The village of São Vicente in the 16th century.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The <em>capitanias</em>, from sea to the Tordesillas Meridian.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The USA and the West in 1803 – the Louisiana purchase.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The royal road to the Minas Gerais mining and diamond districts.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Domestic migration – USA.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>A typical railroad grant map.</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>United States territory in 1900.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>South America at the end of the 19th century.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1 - The amount of gold removed from Minas Gerais</th>
<th>1691 / 1800</th>
<th>36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 2 - Hofstede’s dimensions: a comparison</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE 3 - Hofstede’s dimensions: deviation between the UK and Portugal / their former colonies</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation has elected the Wild West\(^1\) as a privileged space and time unit wherein to review both the prevailing cultural values and the form and extent of the institutional structures available at the time as regards their influence on the emergence of organization in the USA west of the Mississippi river. Our research will also seek to describe the conditions that were present in the frontier area of Brazil represented by the gold and diamond districts of the province of Minas Gerais along the same timeline, and then attempt to draw conclusions as to the similarities, differences and discontinuities we may find. Furthermore, we will look into the convergence / divergence aspects of both frontier experiences to try to find out whether civil society has been drawn progressively closer or further apart in both countries as regards common institutional and cultural characteristics.

If we accept that a nation’s discourse is strongly based on the idea of ‘imagined communities’ (ANDERSON, 2006), and that myths, rites and legends play a fundamental role in supporting such a community by offering it the ‘sentimental and affective bonds’ (SILVA, 2000) that hold it together, then it will be appropriate that we should deal with the American Wild West within the scope of this project as the broad historical and mythical substratum whose institutions, myths, rites, legends, symbols and influence helped to shape the icons and ideals of a people and of a nation. By keeping in mind the idea put forth by Assmann (2002, p. 68) that “we define ourselves through what and how much we remember and forget collectively” we will seek to follow the tracks of this identity narration/construction through Internet sites, books, research papers and articles dedicated to North American and Brazilian frontier history.

North American historian Frederick Jackson Turner\(^2\) presented his seminal paper – *The significance of the frontier in American history* – at the American Historical Society conference in Chicago in 1893, in which he advocated a thesis that later became known as the *Frontier Thesis*. Turner stated that the expansion of the frontier to the West of the

\(^1\) The area of the United States of America to the west of the Mississippi River throughout the 19\(^{th}\) century. However, some historians would rather restrict this period to the years between 1850 and 1890.

\(^2\) Frederick Jackson Turner (1861 - 1932) taught at the University of Wisconsin from 1889 to 1910, when he joined the Harvard University faculty.
Mississippi River was the most influential element as regards not only the development of the unique social/behavioral characteristics of the American people but also as to the nature of the country's institutions.

In a recent bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 appear these significant words: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports." This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development. Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people - to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. (TURNER, 1893, p. 01).

Turner identified three fundamental traits in the pioneers of the North American frontier: individualism, mobility and equality, and he stated that such traits were developed due to the conditions the pioneers had to face as they moved west. He pointed out that it had been in the West that they had found “… a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier.” (TURNER, 1893, p. 16).

Over one century after Turner presented his thesis it is still the focus of raging and enraged arguments by keen supporters and relentless critics. Besides contesting, for historiographic and ideological reasons, some issues that are not relevant to the scope of this paper, many writers have been split over Turner's idealization of the West and of the individuals that peopled it, as well as and over his inability or unwillingness to perceive or deal with diversity within that context. In an age of rampant revisionism, deconstruction and political correctness, it is always tempting to look at past events in the light of modern-day paradigms and seek to point out discrepancies and omissions that might lead to someone’s being blessed with their 15 minutes of fame.
No matter the historiographic truth contained in the West that Turner described in his paper, it was undoubtedly his version of it that captured the American people's imagination and fed the hegemonic representation of contemporary American identity through oral narratives, dime novels, newspapers, books and, later on, the movies that Hollywood would keep churning out. Actually, many of the actors who played roles in the early silent movies were real cowboys and desperadoes who had been born and/or raised in the West, and two out of the four actors who played the role of train robbers in the first-ever Western movie to be shot (The Great Train Robbery, 1903) had only recently been released from a federal prison where they had served sentences for… robbing trains.

Furthermore, it seems quite significant to us that such a portrait of the Wild West should be on display even before 1890, the year most historians and the US Census Bureau have defined as the end of that period. The itinerant performance known as Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, which introduced audiences in the East of the United States, and in Europe, to real cowboys and Indians, began to play in Chicago in December, 1872, and spent over six months performing in Europe in 1887. It was organized and led by famous buffalo hunter and Army scout Buffalo Bill Cody, who never called it a “show”, as he certainly did not perceive it that way. He actually left the performance for a brief period after General Custer and his command were massacred at the Little Big Horn in the Dakota Territory in 1876 and rejoined the Army as a scout, when he fought, killed and scalped Cheyenne chief Yellow Hair in hand-to-hand combat. Buffalo Bill then took the chief’s scalp back East and it featured prominently in a sketch (Buffalo Bill’s First Scalp for Custer) that replayed the episode at the theater every evening. Thus, the myth was already being built while in real life the West was still being won.

3 The film was originally advertised as “Replete With Thrilling and Exciting Incidents in Fourteen Scenes, [it] has been posed and acted in faithful imitation of the genuine ‘Hold Ups’ made famous by various outlaw bands in the far West, and only recently the East has been shocked by several crimes of the frontier order.” (See Annex 1 for the original poster).

4 Some of the actors: Sitting Bull, a powerful medicine man from the Hunkpapa Lakota Sioux tribe, Gen. Custer’s nemesis at the Little Big Horn; Annie Oakley, the famous markswoman; “Wild” Bill Hickock, marshal and shootist; Jesse James’s brother Frank; Cole Younger, the eldest of the Younger brothers, cousins to the James boys. (See Annex 2 for the original poster).
Brazil’s main cultural traits were famously studied by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda\(^5\) in his landmark book “Raízes do Brasil” (*The Roots of Brazil*), which was first published in 1936. Holanda (2006) proposes the persona of ‘cordial man’, who would sum up the qualities and defects inherent to Brazilian society. Cordial man is generous, affable, friendly and relaxed. He yearns for wealth and social standing, but he is not willing to work hard to achieve them. Rather, all his actions are simplified to the utmost so that he can try to achieve his aims by putting in as little effort as possible. Cordial man stems from a rural, authoritarian and patriarchal society in which family bonds are all-encompassing and will influence all the actions he will carry out in his lifetime, no matter whether they are related to private or to public life. Thus, the men who will lead the country and shape its institutions will find it difficult to disengage their public from their private lives, the country's interests from their local, family-influenced interests, and so corruption will find fertile soil in which to thrive.

Democracy for all is not the goal, but rather the means through which cordial man can leverage himself into a position of power from which he can exert control and accumulate more power and wealth for himself, his family members and his friends. Cordial man looks upon democratic freedom rather as an irritant, a limiting factor to the absolute power he would like to wield, and not actually as an inalienable birthright shared by all men. From patriarchy to patrimonialism it is but a small step, one that cordial man embraced with gusto and which led to family oligarchies that still endure.

Harking back to the Portuguese, the people who accounted for the main colonizing influence in Brazil, Holanda states that

Dignified idleness has always seemed more excellent, and even more ennobling, to a good Portuguese citizen, … , than an insane, daily struggle to make a living. What both admire as an ideal is that of the life of a great lord, one that excludes any efforts, any worries. … What predominates among them is the ancient concept that idleness is more important than business and that productive activity is inherently less valuable than contemplation and love. (HOLANDA, 2006, p. 38).

\(^5\) Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1902-1982) taught at the College of Philosophy, Universidade de São Paulo and at Sapienza – Università di Roma. He was also a Visiting Professor at several universities in the USA.
Such a description dovetails neatly with the one offered by Englishman John Mawe (1812, p. 16) when he writes that “they are in general an idle, gossiping race”. Here he is seconded by Saint-Hillaire (1975, p. 75-76) when he describes the general population of the mining district in 1817 as being “too poor to own slaves … they are forced to use their own hands; they will rest, however, as long as they can manage, after a few hours’ work, [to find] enough gold to satisfy their daily needs, and they will not bestir again except when hunger forces them back to work”. Except, of course, those who owned slaves and could afford to lead a life of ‘contemplation and love’, as depicted on the frontispiece of John Mawe’s book:

FIGURE 1 - Slave labor in the mining district.
Source: MAWE, J., 1812, p. frontispiece.
Thus we have a frontier society in the USA where individualism, equality and mobility, both spatial and social, were highly prized and where everyone could expect to find opportunities to improve life either through hard work or good luck at prospecting for precious metals. The American frontier was open to all, and people could come and go as they pleased, either seeking refuge from the economic crises that would occasionally befall the country in the 19th century (1819, 1837, 1847, 1857, 1866, 1873, 1884, 1890, 1893) or from religious misunderstandings, like the Mormons did when they made their long overland trek to Utah over the Oregon Trail in 1847. On the frontier, there was so much space available that no one felt crowded like in the burgeoning cities of the East, where industrialization was taking hold and large, monopolistic industries were being established. For many of the immigrants who sailed to America looking for a better life, and for their children and grandchildren, the working conditions imposed by factories held no charm, and the lure of the open land out west they had heard and read about beckoned those who were not faint of heart. ‘California or bust’ became their rallying cry, and those who managed to traverse the prairies, reach the West, and settle there would proudly say that ‘the cowards never started, and the weak died along the way’.

The open American frontier was not replicated in Brazil, however, and Turner’s “gate of escape from the bondage of the past” (TURNER, 1893, p. 16) was not available to Brazilian frontier society. Instead, the Brazilian frontier was totally repressed until late in the 16th century, when the discovery of gold and then diamonds forced the Portuguese Crown to relent and allow people to move inland into the area. Still, it was never an open frontier, but a controlled one over which government authorities kept a close watch and monitored all activities. As Professor Child has so perceptively remarked (John Child, personal conversation, January 2010),

The American Army was present on the frontier to keep the Indians at bay and thus protect and shelter the pioneers and the settlers, while the Portuguese/Brazilian Army was present on the frontier to repress any unauthorized movement by the pioneers and the settlers, and to make sure every single one of them contributed to the Portuguese Crown's coffers.

Nevertheless, although we always tend to think of the ‘frontier’ as a space, we should not forget that it can also be conceptualized as an ongoing cultural, institutional, organizational,
legal and political experiment that will always be strongly influenced by the cultural, institutional and political background of the people who are carving it out. Moreover, insofar as the pioneers and settlers are not, at least at first, a homogeneous group due to their different backgrounds, there will always be an accommodation period to allow compromises to be worked out and implemented. Whether such accommodation will lead to convergent or divergent social organizations remains to be seen.

2 OBJECTIVES

2.1 General objective

- The objective of this research is to review both the prevailing cultural values and the form and extent of the institutional structures on both the North-American and Brazilian western frontiers in the 19th century and comment on how primitive frontier conditions evolved into a mature situation.

2.2 Specific objectives

- To seek similarities, differences and discontinuities as regards prevailing cultural values and the form and extent of the institutional structures present in the United States and in Brazil as each country sought to move away from the coastline and into the wilderness within.
- To attempt to draw parallels between the emergence of organization on the frontier in the United States and in Brazil and to comment on this comparison.

3 METHODOLOGY

This dissertation has elected the “Frontier” as a privileged space and time unit wherein to review both the prevailing cultural values and the form and extent of the institutional structures available at the time as regards their influence on the emergence of organization in the USA west of the Mississippi river. Our research will also seek to describe the
conditions that were present in Brazil along the same timeline and attempt to draw conclusions as to the similarities, differences and discontinuities we may find. Furthermore, we will look into the convergence / divergence aspects of both frontier experiences to try to find out whether civil society has been drawn progressively closer or further apart in both countries as regards common institutional and cultural characteristics.

This qualitative, historiographic dissertation consists of two thematic sections: the first one focuses on the history of the winning of the American Wild West, some of its critical events, myths, legends, rites and symbols, while the second one deals with its power structure, institutions, organizations, and the political and social strategies that were employed to conquer the territory. Both sections will draw inferences and comparisons with the conditions extant in Brazil along the same timeline.

Although there is a plethora of research methods available to those who are carrying out research and writing dissertations or theses, not all of them will be appropriate to deal with every theme. Thus, the choice of the most appropriate method to go with the theme that is being discussed becomes a relevant point to be taken into account early on in the writing process.

Vergara (2006, p. 9) states that “there was a time when theory and method were seen, in practice, as being independent of each other… Such a perception of independence brought up discussions about which one would be the most important one: the theory or the method?” Her opinion is that theory and method are interdependent, insofar as both seek to achieve the aims of the research about the phenomenon that is being studied.

Vergara (2006, p. 130) also defines historiography as “a research method that aims to recover events and human activities throughout time, thus making it possible to understand changes, contradictions and trends in social reality”. Thus, as this dissertation will seek to describe the social and institutional realities that prevailed on the frontier areas of the USA and Brazil, then it seems appropriate that historiography should be chosen as the most suitable research method.
According to Goodman and Kruger (1988, p. 315), “historiography’s potential as a management research technique has not been extensively evaluated,” and they assert that “historiography can make significant contributions to variable selection and evaluation, theory building, and hypothesis generation.” In a paper published in the Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods, O’Brien, Remenyi and Keaney (2004, p. 1) state that “historiography is a neglected research method in business and management studies” and argue that “it is an under utilized research paradigm”. The authors’ conclusion is that “such a synthesis of the disciplines of history and business and management studies potentially increases the opportunities for new insights or knowledge” (O’BRIEN, REMENYI and KEANEY, 2004, p. 9).

Alfred Chandler, who has been defined as “the world master of institutional business history’” (LANDES, 2001, p. 1), launched his brilliant career as a business management scholar and professor by writing a book on company and entrepreneurial history describing the rise of the DuPont organization. “History is made with documents… because nothing can replace documents: where there are no documents there is no history”, states Cardoso (1981, p. 46).

Qualitative research has always been a tricky one to define, and it has been variously defined as a method of analysis that is non-quantitative, and/or quality-focused, and/or subjective. While in most cases quantitative research will deal with raw numbers that will be turned into statistically relevant figures and then interpreted, qualitative research employs a subtler, more subjective approach, and so it is much more difficult to replicate.

It is when the qualitative research method is wedded to historiography that the dissertation writer’s powers of critical thinking, critical analysis and familiarity with, and knowledge of, the subject are put to the test. This stems from the fact that the data gathered must be interpreted ‘on the fly’, as it were, and the writer must try to infer the intent and the motivation behind the words on the written page. As it will happen with any subjective endeavor, it is always very difficult for a writer to remain strictly objective, try as s/he may.
Nevertheless, the choice of qualitative research based on document analysis was a natural one for the historiographic dissertation we set out to write, and a profusion of both primary sources (period newspapers, documents, autobiographies, memoirs and personal diaries), also known as archival data, and secondary sources (books, magazine articles and Internet sites) were collected and analyzed over the last eight years. Although there is no shortage of primary-source material available on the American Wild West, the paucity of similar material on the Brazilian frontier beggars belief.

Running records, that is, documents in the care of private or nonprofit institutions organizations, were also consulted as regards the Brazilian frontier. ICAM – Instituto Cultural Amilcar Martins is a local (Minas Gerais), non-profit institution managed by one of the foremost authorities on early Minas Gerais history, Professor Amilcar Martins, who kindly allowed us to peruse the documents available at the Institute and helped to validate the choices that had been made as regards material on early Brazilian history.

Although most official Portuguese government records pertaining to the period we have studied are not available to the general public, it was possible to gather a large number of books written by learned foreigners who visited Brazil and travelled throughout the country. These books make up the core material available to researchers who have dealt with Brazil as a Portuguese colony and, later on, as a free Empire, and they are the staple bibliography of countless theses, dissertations and books. It should be kept in mind how difficult it was to obtain permission to travel in Brazil in those early days, which goes a long way towards explaining the dearth of written records available.

Besides cataloguing the species and specimens related to their particular fields of study, those foreign scientists not only described the customs they observed among the population but also gave detailed accounts of how business was conducted and local institutions were run. A careful reading of these books has yielded innumerable clues as to how the Frontier developed in Brazil and how Brazilians managed to cope with the wilderness they faced.

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6 Prof Amilcar Martins teaches at the School of Economics, UFMG, and holds a Doctor’s Degree in History (PhD) - The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
The main primary sources used were, chronologically by the date of their trips through Brazil, Hans Staden – 1550, John Mawe – 1809/1810, Auguste de Saint-Hillaire – 1816/1822, Carl von Martius and Johann Spix – 1817/1820, Johann Pohl – 1817/1821, Cunha Matos – 1823/1826, George Gardner – 1836/1841, Sir Richard Burton – 1865/1869, and a handful of other foreigners who traveled through Brazil and wrote their impressions down.

On the secondary-source front, we dealt with highly-regarded academic works that purport to interpret Brazilian history, customs, institutions and organizational development, more often than not sourcing their primary material from the same springs we sought out. Roberto DaMatta (1997), Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (2006), Lúcia Lippi Oliveira (2001), Robert Wegner (2000), and Mafalda Zemella (1990) are some of the authors present in our bibliography who have dealt with the theme and presented ideas and interpretations that have been validated by their peers.

As regards the American frontier, the researcher is left speechless when facing the vast menu of material available. Thus, we have tried to follow the tried and true by perusing works by such noted academics as Richard Etulain (1999), Gerald Nash (1993), Henry Smith, Frederic Paxson (1924), Richard Slotkin (2000), Frederick Jackson Turner (1893) and others, several of whom are also mentioned in the works of the Brazilian authors we read.

Many of the other books and articles in our bibliography helped to lend support to, as well as enhance, our understanding and interpretation of the material we have read and our own ideas and perceptions of the way people and institutions developed in the two Frontiers we have studied. Such a renowned work as Hofstede’s *Culture’s Consequences* (1984) allowed us to compare the traits we observed being developed on both Frontiers with the ones Hofstede’s study found in present-day America and Brazil.

McCraw (1998) describes Chandler’s approach to historiographic research as encompassing three steps, namely: concentrate on the change process, consult a multitude
of sources, and keep cultural and sociological aspects in mind. These were the steps we tried to follow while writing this dissertation, as we charted the changes both Frontiers underwent up to the end of the 19th century by researching a broad spectrum of material on the subject. Seminal but apparently outlier books listed on our bibliography, such as Anderson (2006), Assmann (2002), Bhabha (1998), Hall (2006), Khramsch (1998), Lakoff (2002), Renan (1882) and Toffler (1998), helped us to keep those cultural and sociological aspects in mind.

However, we must always bear in mind that qualitative research is, almost by definition, a subjective, interpretive appreciation of the material available to the researcher. Indeed,

Even when the historiography approach is clearly suitable for the business and management studies question being researched, it is a challenge to undertake competent research work using this paradigm. Historiography is not an easy option for an academic researcher. Controversy surrounds its place in the social sciences. There is no simple cookbook approach. Historiographers are quintessentially individualistic. It is highly interpretist and the findings are often thought to be more personal than some researchers are comfortable with… As business and management studies develop it is our contention that this field of study needs to pay more attention to historiography and to use it more frequently and more effectively. (O’BRIEN, REMENYI and KEANEY, 2004, p. 9).

Therefore, interpretations and points of view can vary greatly and range from ecstatic approval to grating skepticism to stunned disbelief to the most vigorous attempts at rebuttal. Thus it is that this dissertation does but reflect its author’s beliefs and biases, no matter how hard he may have tried to remain focused and objective about the objectives of his study.

4 ANALYSIS

4.1 HISTORY

4.1.1 The American Frontier

Two kinds of pioneers stood out from among the thousands of eager and/or desperate travelers who moved west across the Mississippi River: the settlers who wished to acquire
land for either farming or cattle raising and the adventurers who were looking to get rich by various means, many of them rather nefarious ones. Adventure and a yearning for wealth were both high on the list of the first people to cross the Mississippi River and move north to trap beaver, as well as on the list of the ones who drove mule trains down south to Santa Fe to trade with Spanish settlers in present-day New Mexico. As time went by, more and more of them set down roots in the new land and became either farmers or tradesmen who built fortified trading posts to supply the wagon trains that began to move west to Oregon and to California during the 1849 Gold Rush.

![Western United States Migration](http://www.intl-research.com/images/west.gif)

FIGURE 2 - Pioneer trails west of the Mississippi river.

The growing influx of farmers, cattlemen, tradesmen and miners led the Army to set up forts along the main trails that led west, not only to protect the settlers from Indian attacks but also to make sure the latter remained inside the reservations that were being set up for them. Fort Leavenworth\(^7\), for example, was built on the bluffs of the Missouri River in

\(^7\) See Annex 3
Kansas to protect trade on the Santa Fe Trail in 1827, and it is still operational today as the oldest U.S. Army fort in continuous existence west of the Mississippi River. It was not only the meeting place for discussing and signing treaties with several tribes of Indians but also the jumping off point to the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails, and the ruts left by the heavy wagons can still be seen on the ground cutting across the center of Fort Leavenworth.

It was out of Fort Leavenworth that the famous Buffalo Soldiers rode; officially known as the 10th Cavalry Regiment, they were black soldiers commanded by white officers and they made a name for themselves fighting Indians on the Plains. It seems it was the Indians they fought against who gave them their nickname, as the soldiers’ hair reminded the Indians of buffalo hair. Other famous names to serve at Fort Leavenworth, albeit at different times in history, include generals Custer, Sherman, Patton, Eisenhower and Powell. Past Fort Leavenworth and beyond the Mississippi lay the siren’s call of the unknown land that beckoned countless wagon trains of aptly named ‘prairie schooners’ along the trails that led West.

Once upon a time this vast expanse of land west of the Mississippi river lay mostly fallow. This seemingly intractable wilderness stretched all the way to the Pacific Ocean and, though sparsely populated by human beings, was thought to be (and later proved to be) extremely well-endowed with wild game, minerals, timber and other raw materials fit for the use and for profit. Its kaleidoscope of rivers and mountains intertwined with prairies and valleys whose fertile soil promised bountiful harvests to those who dared cross its diamond deserts or brave its snowy and wind-swept winters. And many descendants of the original colonists who had settled in the New World by founding the Jamestown trading post in 1607 as well as those of the later arrivals who had come aboard the Mayflower to land at Plymouth in 1620 did just that. It is interesting to note that the land grant made by King James I to the Virginia Company of London already included the words “from sea to sea”. Thus, expansion towards the Pacific Ocean was already being contemplated from the earliest days of colonization.

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For one hundred years, the formidable barrier of the Appalachian Mountains kept the early settlers along the Eastern seaboard. But step by cautious step, fur trappers and traders began to trickle into the lowlands east of the Mississippi River, and the names of frontiersmen such as Daniel Boone⁹ and Davy Crockett¹⁰ became household words not only in America but also in Europe¹¹. On their way west these pioneers had to face both the uncharted land they trod¹² and also the increasingly belligerent native Indians (Christopher Columbus's mistakenly given appellation for them having taken hold) who feared the white man's encroaching presence would strip them of their forefathers' land. Little by little these pioneering settlers made their way to the east banks of the Mississippi River. Across the river lay territory claimed by France, while the land further on belonged to the Viceroyalty

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¹¹ Life and Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon, John Filson, pub. 1784 - Note: this book was published both in America and in Europe and also translated into French and German at the time. Available at: <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/909>. Accessed on: May 19, 2009.
¹² "I can't say as ever I was lost, but I was bewildered once for three days." - Daniel Boone, cf. Faragher, J. M., Daniel Boone: An American Life, p. 65, New York, 1992.
of New Spain. The Louisiana Purchase\textsuperscript{13} in 1803 paved the way for the trickle to turn into a tidal wave that trampled its way across the prairies and over the mountains towards the lure of a new beginning in life.

4.1.2 The Brazilian Frontier (Minas Gerais)

A new beginning in life was not very much on the minds of those who first sailed to Brazil shortly after it had been discovered in 1500\textsuperscript{14}. Rather, they were after Brazilwood, a tall tree that was plentiful along the coast and that made for very good timber while also yielding a red dye that was very valuable in Europe. The first explorers were not only Portuguese but also French and Dutch, and they made such a good job of cutting down Brazilwood trees that by 1530, when the King of Portugal sent a fleet captained by the newly appointed Governor-General of Brazil to explore the coast and to establish settlements, some coastal areas were already devoid of trees. The 1530 expedition explored new stretches of the coastline and founded the village of São Vicente (in the current State of São Paulo) in 1532. There, and along the northern coast, they began to plant sugarcane and to set up sugarcane mills to produce sugar and export it to Portugal.

\textsuperscript{13} Available at: \url{http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/france/fr1803m.htm}. Accessed on: July 22, 2009.

\textsuperscript{14} Portuguese sailor Pedro Álvares Cabral first landed at current Porto Seguro, in the State of Bahia, on April 21, 1500.
While the land grant to the Virginia Company was “sea to sea”, the 1530 expedition’s charter to found settlements in Brazil expressly stipulated that “no one shall go inland without a special license from the Governor-General” (HOLANDA, 2006, p. 100), and should someone dare do so he should be “whipped, if of low birth, and if of higher quality he shall pay 20 cruzados, half to the Crown and half to his accuser”. Not that such a mindset was also not present in England as regards its American colony, as in 1763 British Secretary of State Lord Egremont “proposed with perfect logic that Americans with an itch for immigration should be forbidden to move out into the interior. They should be directed instead to Nova Scotia or Georgia, near the sea, ‘where they would be useful to their Mother Country instead of planting themselves in the Heart of America out of reach of Government where from the great difficulty of procuring European commodities, they would be compelled to commerce and manufactures to the infinite prejudice of Britain …’” (SMITH, 1950, p. 5). This attempted restriction was in fact one of the grievances that the American colonists held against the British crown. American independence in 1776 and
Thomas Jefferson's rise to the presidency in 1801 consigned Lord Egremont's proposal to history’s dustbin.

In 1534 Brazil was cut up into 15 tracts of land called *capitanias*, and they stretched inland from the shoreline up to what became known as the Tordesillas Meridian, whose name stemmed from the treaty signed between Portugal and Spain in 1494. This treaty split the newly-discovered world, the Americas, between the two countries, Portugal laying claim to the east of the Meridian and Spain to the west of it. Some Portuguese courtiers who must have been of much ‘higher quality’ than most received these strips as hereditary grants, but the prohibition to move inland still stood. It was only in 1554 that the grantee of the São Vicente land grant first allowed Jesuit missionaries to go inland to catechize Indians, which led to the founding of the city of São Paulo.
The Jesuits had arrived in Brazil in 1549, and their mission was to catechize the Indians and teach them European ways. They were allowed to go inland to discharge their brief, and thus they also helped early Portuguese explorers to imprison and enslave Indians by the score, or to kill them off, as the villages they built to bring the natives together became easy
prey for government-sanctioned, Indian-hunting expeditions. However, the Indians who were enslaved and put to work on sugar plantations could not be made to work productively and were soon replaced by African slaves who were brought by Portuguese merchant ships to be auctioned off in Brazil. When gold (and later diamonds, too) was discovered in the province of Minas Gerais in 1691, the slave trade grew exponentially and Rio de Janeiro became not only the largest slave market in Brazil but also the largest exporter of gold and diamonds. Panning for gold and digging for diamonds was a labor-intensive activity, and at the peak of the gold rush it is estimated that the slave population accounted for nearly 50% of the country’s population.

Brazil was one of the last countries in the world to abolish slavery, although the practice had been mitigated by several laws that had been enacted through the years. In 1845 the English Parliament approved a law that forbade slave trafficking and empowered English ships to board foreign nations’ ships engaged in the slave trade. Under pressure from England, Brazil also approved a law in 1850 that put an end to slave trafficking. A law enacted in 1875 freed the sons of slaves born from that date onwards, and in 1885 all slaves over 60 years of age were also freed. On May 13th, 1888, slavery was finally abolished in Brazil.

4.2 Institutional aspects

Soon after he was elected President of the USA in 1801, Thomas Jefferson sent a masterful secret message to Congress that was a landmark in setting government policy for expansion towards the Pacific Ocean. In it he requested

the appropriation of two thousand five hundred dollars, “for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States,” while understood and considered by the Executive as giving the legislative sanction, would cover the undertaking from notice, and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise previously prepare in its way. (JEFFERSON, 1803). (Quotation marks in the original).
He starts the letter by acknowledging that the Indians had been growing increasingly uneasy “at the constant diminution of the territory they occupy, although effected by their own voluntary sales…” - nowadays such a turn of phrase would be called ‘blaming the victim’ - and goes on to write that “in order peaceably to counteract this policy of theirs, and to provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for, two measures are deemed expedient” – 130 years later Adolf Hitler would call it ‘German Lebesraum’. The first measure was to encourage the Indians to give up hunting and apply themselves to raising stock, agriculture and domestic manufacture, that is, the US Army and US Indian agents would endeavor to turn nomadic groups of hunters into settled small farmers so that they would not need so much land of their own. The second measure called for multiplying trading houses among the Indians so that they would, in time, come to appreciate the comforts of civilization.

The goods sold by government agents at the trading houses would be priced low, although not at a loss, and so it would be possible to “undersell private traders, foreign and domestic, drive them from the competition; and thus…rid ourselves of a description of men who are constantly endeavoring to excite in the Indian mind suspicions, fears, and irritations towards us.” That is, it does not take a revisionist historian’s efforts to be able to understand, loud and clear, that he meant to undersell the English and French traders and trappers who did business with the Indians, and thus drive them out of business.

Having thus disposed of those pesky Indians and their uncivilized real estate dealing ways, Jefferson turned his full attention to England, France and Mexico. As the government pricing policy would also drive American traders out of business, Jefferson proposed that they should be pointed towards another direction, namely towards the thriving fur trade the Indians carried out with Canada-based British fur traders through the Mississippi river. “The country on that river [the Missouri] is inhabited by numerous tribes, who furnish great supplies of furs and peltry to the trade of another nation, carried on in a high latitude”. (My italics) And that is exactly what happened in the course of the next few years, as several enterprising Americans set up partnerships to exploit fur resources along the upper Missouri River. Dary (1986, p. 42) tells us that “Manuel Lisa … formed a partnership [and] in 1807 […] led an expedition of 42 men up the Missouri and built a trading post named
Fort Raymond at the mouth of the Bighorn River in what is now Montana. This was the beginning of the American fur trade in the West.”

“An intelligent officer,” Jefferson went on, “with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise, and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts, where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders, as others are admitted, agree on convenient deposits for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired, in the course of two summers.” (JEFFERSON, 1803). (My italics). Jefferson’s request led to the Lewis and Clark expedition that left in 1803, crossed the US all the way to the Pacific Ocean, and managed to return in 1806 having carried out Jefferson’s instructions to the hilt. When Jefferson wrote this letter in January 18, 1803, one impediment still remained that could hinder the expedition he had in mind. That was the fact that Louisiana still belonged to the French and the rest of the American West still belonged to Spain.

Jefferson acknowledges these facts in his letter by writing that

While other civilized nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by undertaking voyages of discovery, and for other literary purposes, in various parts and directions, our nation seems to owe to the same object, as well as to its own interests, to explore this, the only line of easy communication across the continent, and so directly traversing our own part of it. The interests of commerce place the principal object within the constitutional powers and care of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent, cannot be but an additional gratification. The nation claiming the territory, regarding this as a literary pursuit, which is in the habit of permitting within its dominions, would not be disposed to view it with jealousy, even if the expiring state of its interests there did not render it a matter of indifference. (JEFFERSON, 1803). (My italics).

So the French were to be told that Lewis and Clark would be carrying out a scientific expedition, which France was used to allowing “within its dominions”. Anyway, Jefferson seemed to know that Napoleon would soon be defeated, and so “the expiring state of its [France’s] interests” would not allow it to react to the expedition’s trespassing onto its land.

As the American ambassador to France between May, 1785 in September, 1789, Thomas Jefferson must have had many contacts among high-level government officials, and he seemed to have an uncanny feeling for what would happen in the next few years. Furthermore, luck was also on his side, and just before Lewis and Clark were ready to set
out France offered the US the chance to buy the territory, an episode that became known as the Louisiana Purchase.

Even writing at a time when most people still believed in Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny, Paxson smelled a rat and wrote that

Within a few days of the nomination of James Monroe as minister to France, Jefferson sent a secret message to Congress asking authority for a venture whose meaning and propriety were then and still remain uncertain. He asked an appropriation to pay the costs of a reconnaissance of the Missouri Valley. Since this was French territory and he had no idea of its purchase as yet, the enterprise looks like an encroachment upon the rights of a country with which the United States was at peace. He plans to make the investigation with a detachment of the United States Army, under military discipline. If his motive was not science alone, but possible preparation for a war of seizure, there was a special reason for his desire to keep the matter secret. Before the money was ready and the men were found, the consummation of the purchase removed all question of the reasonableness of the exploration; but it cannot yet be stated with certainty the part which it played in American policy at the moment of its proposal. (PAXSON, 1924, p. 134-135).

FIGURE 6 - The USA and the West in 1803 – the Louisiana purchase.

Meanwhile, the reality facing Brazilian settlers was rather different, and Brazil had no native Jefferson to sanction its western expansion officially. Brazil’s march to the west had begun much earlier than that of the USA, as the first expeditions into the hinterland had begun but a short time after a Portuguese fleet had landed in Brazil in 1500. It was in 1532 that the first one set out to look for gold and precious stones, but Indians massacred it. Another one marched into the jungle in 1554 and managed to reach all the way west into the current State of Minas Gerais, but it could find no riches except for the abundant salt deposits that in later years would help drive the cattle-raising industry in the area.

Seven other expeditions were launched in the next 50 years, but none of them managed to find the riches they were looking for. It was only in 1690 that an enormous amount of gold was found in Minas Gerais, at the site where the town of Ouro Preto now stands, and it changed Brazil forever, both geographically and politically. The former because it spurred other adventurers to advance even further west in their quest for more gold and precious stones, and the latter because it made the Portuguese Crown tighten its control over all its citizens, so that it could make sure it would extract as much as it could from every gold nugget or precious stone the prospectors could find.
There was no room here for Turner’s three fundamental traits of individualism, mobility and equality; nowhere on the Brazilian frontier can we glimpse “… a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past”; not for frontier Brazilians the “…freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons.” (TURNER, 1893, p. 16). On the Brazilian frontier it was the iron fist of the Portuguese Crown that ruled supreme, and woe betide those who
dared challenge it. Nowhere were settlers allowed to populate an area before the power of civil authority had first been established, and such pervasive government control led to extremely weak expressions of individualism. There were uprisings in Ouro Preto (known as Vila Rica at the time) during the mining heydays, the main one happening in 1720, when about 10 tons of gold was extracted that year alone. Another major one, known as Inconfidência Mineira, was aborted by the authorities in 1789, when production had already dropped sharply. Both ended tragically for the conspirators, as the leader of the 1720 uprising was tried and condemned to be dragged to death behind horses over the cobblestone streets of the town, while the 1789 leader, known as Tiradentes, was tried in Rio de Janeiro, hanged and beheaded. His body was cut up into pieces and parts of it were strewn all over the road from Rio to Ouro Preto, where his head was left on display in the main town square.

Thus did the Portuguese Crown seek to terrorize and oppress the settlers who had moved west in search of fortune and who had gained it a vast territory that by all rights should have remained under Spanish rule. Souza places the 1789 attempted uprising and the local conditions in their proper perspective when she writes that

It was with Inconfidência Mineira [that] colonial conditions were placed in their true dimension, and relations between the mother country and the colony were shown naked in all their transparency. As he summarized the colonial situation in an exemplary way, Tiradentes called Minas a miserable place, “because by removing so much gold and diamonds from it there was nothing left, and everything was taken out, and the poor sons of America, always hungry, and having nothing of their own”. And it was thus that Minas Gerais, the synthesis of the colony in the 18th century, prepared to deny the colonial statutes. (SOUZA, 1994, p. 79).

Tiradentes stated that “everything was taken out”, and the shocking numbers culled by historians from Portuguese royal archives seem to prove him right:
TABLE 1
The amount of gold removed from Minas Gerais
1691 / 1800

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total (kg)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1691 - 1700</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701 - 1720</td>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1721 - 1740</td>
<td>177,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741 - 1760</td>
<td>292,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1761 - 1780</td>
<td>207,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781 - 1800</td>
<td>109,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source\textsuperscript{15}: Simonsen, R., 1937, p. 237.

It is interesting to point out that although it was the general population who lived in abject misery, this particular attempted uprising was planned by rich and cultured people, government officials, writers and priests who rebelled against the extortionate taxes the Portuguese Crown demanded from the province. Most of them had studied in Europe and had returned to Brazil influenced by the liberal ideas of French philosophers such as Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire and Diderot. We should also note that the American Revolution, presumably sparked by the Boston Tea Party against British taxation, had been carried out just 13 years previously, in 1776, and that the French Revolution for liberté, égalité, fraternité (those trifling matters of guillotines and regicide apart) took place that very same year of 1789.

At this time Brazil was still very much a Portuguese colony, shackled by Portuguese laws that did not allow it to trade with any nation but Portugal and did not allow it to set up any kind of manufacturing facility in the country. Furthermore, citizens could not move freely among villages, as they had to obtain prior permission before setting out on a trip, and anyone could be searched anywhere at any time. A decree enacted in 1733 forbade new

roads being built in Brazil to make it easier for the government to patrol existing ones. There could be no printing presses in Brazil and all books and newspapers could only be imported from Portugal (with an official censorship seal), while education was restricted to four years of primary school taught by priests, Gomes (2007) tells us. He adds that in 1818, ten years after the first College of Medicine had been founded in Brazil by Portuguese King Dom João VI, only 2.5% of the free men in Brazil were literate.

It is sad to compare such a state of affairs with the freedom enjoyed by the USA population. Anderson (2006, p. 61) tells us that “between 1691 and 1820, no less than 2,120 ‘newspapers’ were published [in the USA], of which 461 lasted more than 10 years”. He goes on to write that

Printers starting new presses always included a newspaper in their productions, to which they were usually the main, even the sole, contributor. Thus the printer-journalist was initially an essentially North American phenomenon. Since the main problem facing the printer-journalist was reaching readers, there developed an alliance with the postmaster so intimate that often each became the other. Hence, the printer’s office emerged as the key to North American communications and community intellectual life. (ANDERSON, 2006, p. 61).

Once again Napoleon unwittingly influenced Brazilian history, as by invading Portugal in 1808 he forced the King of Portugal to escape by sailing away to Brazil aboard British ships. As soon as he landed in Brazil the King signed a law that opened Brazil up to trade with friendly foreign nations, which meant, in practice, that Brazil and England could trade, as all other European nations were either Napoleon’s allies or conquests or just too busy defending themselves from him to bother trading overseas. This law was followed by another one that revoked a law enacted in 1785 that forbade manufacturing in the colony, and by still another one that now allowed new roads to be built. Several schools and colleges were built and teaching was no longer restricted to being carried out by priests. A newspaper was allowed to be published in Rio de Janeiro, but it could only print news that were favorable to the government (Gomes, 2007). Taken all together, these measures marked the beginning of the end of Brazil as a Portuguese colony.
4.3 Cultural aspects

Hofstede (1984, p. 21) defines culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another” and emphasizes that values at the workplace are influenced by national culture. Thus, a given organization will reflect the cultural values of the society it is inserted in, but only up to a certain extent, as “organizational ‘cultures’ are phenomenon per se, different in many respects from national cultures” (HOFSTEDE, 1994, p. 18). By means of a survey he applied between 1967 and 1973 to over one hundred thousand participants from over seventy countries Hofstede managed to identify four main dimensions through which country cultures differ, namely Individualism, Masculinity, Power Distance and Uncertainty Avoidance. By carrying out a further survey with the help of Chinese scholars in twenty-three countries some years later, he managed to identify a fifth dimension that was named Long-Term Orientation.

The dimension known as Individualism, as the opposite of Collectivism, measures the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups. Individualistic societies show tenuous bonds among its members, while collectivist ones integrate individuals into cohesive groups that will demand loyalty from their members. This has been demonstrated by an experiment carried out by Trompenaars (1994) in which he tested a person’s willingness to commit perjury in favor of a close friend who had been involved in a serious traffic accident while driving at twice the speed limit; he found out that the willingness to lie under oath was inversely proportional to a society’s score for Individualism. Masculinity, whose opposite is known as Femininity, denotes societies whose behavior is assertive and competitive both on the part of the men and the women who belong to it. At the far end of this spectrum lie the traits of modesty and caring, which are more closely related to feminine behavior.

The Power Distance dimension represents inequality, the extent to which the less powerful members of societies, organizations and institutions accept and expect that power should be unequally distributed. Uncertainty Avoidance is the name given to the dimension that

\[ Available \ at: \ <http://www.geert-hofstede.com/>. \ Accessed \ on: \ May \ 01, \ 2008.\]
explicates how much a society will tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty, and indicates up to what point culture will influence its members to feel either comfortable or uncomfortable vis-à-vis non-structured situations, that is, situations they have never experienced. Thrift and perseverance are traits of societies that score high score in Long-Term Orientation dimension, while a low score will show they encourage respect for tradition and for one’s social obligations.

### TABLE 2
Hofstede’s dimensions: a comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>World Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Distance</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty Avoidance</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-Term Orientation</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The USA’s low Power Distance score of 35, which 20 points lower the world’s average, points to a flatter hierarchical structure that leads to greater equality among its members. Its score of 88 points in Individualism places it ahead of every other country surveyed and underscores its cultural bias towards relatively loose societal bonds, defining a people who look out for themselves and their close family members while valuing self-reliance and not being afraid to face challenges. Its Masculinity score (59, compared to a world average of 50) defines a society where men’s values supersede women’s, and where we find a high degree of competitiveness, ambition and aggressiveness, traits that can be clearly seen in USA business practices and community life. According to Hofstede, a high Masculinity score “indicates the country experiences a higher degree of gender differentiation of roles. The male dominates a significant portion of the society and power structure. This situation

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generates a female population that becomes more assertive and competitive, with women shifting toward the male role model and away from their female role”.

The USA’s Uncertainty Avoidance score of 41 denotes a society and a culture with fewer rules and where diversity of thoughts and beliefs is not stunted. Lastly, it scores low in Long-Term Orientation, 24 (world average: 40), which indicates a society that is good at meeting its obligations and at not allowing long-term commitments to become impediments to rapid change).

There is an obvious correspondence between the numbers obtained by Hofstede’s five dimensions as regards American culture and the traits Turner described as being characteristic of the culture developed during the wild frontier days when the country was pushing westward and building its unique cultural identity. The high scores in the Individualism and Masculinity dimensions are dead-ringers for Turner’s Individualism, “that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom-these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier” (TURNER, 1893, p. 16). The low score in Long-term Orientation can be easily translated into the Mobility highlighted by the American historian when he writes that “nothing works for nationalism like intercourse within the nation. Mobility of population is death to localism, and the western frontier worked irresistibly in unsettling population” (TURNER, 1893, p. 13). Power Distance and Uncertainty Avoidance scores below world average numbers bear a straight relationship to a society that prizes Equality, as stated by Turner’s writing that “frontier individualism has from the beginning promoted democracy. The frontier States that came into the Union in the first quarter of a century of its existence came in with democratic suffrage provisions” (TURNER, 1893, p. 13).

Ambition, aggressiveness and self-sufficiency are values that permeate American individualism and can be perceived by our reading the stories of what transpired on the streets of Tombstone, Dodge City, Wichita and other Wild West cattle or mining towns. The true-life stories of people such as Ed Schieffelin, the Earp brothers and of so many
other less well known characters are available to us in innumerable books, magazines and on Internet sites dedicated to Wild West lore, and their principles and values are echoed in the modern myths that model and drive the American way of life.

In 1877, Pennsylvania-born prospector Ed Schieffelin finally struck a rich vein of silver ore in Arizona after spending 10 years prospecting in Idaho, Nevada, Colorado and New Mexico. As his family had told him his tombstone would be the only rock he would ever find, he now named his first claim and the town that sprang up around the diggings, Tombstone. Within two years Tombstone would grow to around 15,000 souls\textsuperscript{18}, numerous saloons, countless brothels and a graveyard aptly named ‘boothill’\textsuperscript{19} for the large number of erstwhile local denizens and nameless drifters who died with their boots on and were dumped unceremoniously into the hard and dry, sagebrush-dotted soil in the town’s early days.

After selling his claims and becoming very wealthy, Schieffelin got married and traveled all over the country, staying at the finest hotels and eating at the finest restaurants; everyone wanted to see the man who had discovered a whole mountain made of silver. It is significant to learn that Schieffelin gave it all up some 15 years later by donating his fortune to his wife and his brother and returning to his old prospecting ways. He was found dead of natural causes in a lonely prospector’s cabin within a couple of years, almost twenty years from the day he first came upon the mother lode of silver.

It was into Tombstone that the three Earp brothers rode in 1879; gamblers, faro dealers, poker players and prospectors all, out to make their fortune out West, following the lure of the big strike that would make them rich. While waiting for lady fortune to show up for a date they also took jobs as stagecoach shotgun messengers, gamblers, saloon bouncers, town and county law enforcement officers, while also speculating in real estate and mining. Curiously enough, they listed themselves in the 1880 population census\textsuperscript{20} as ‘farmers’; they

\textsuperscript{18} Available at: \url{http://www.tombstoneweb.com/history.html}. Accessed on: March 15, 2007.
\textsuperscript{19} Available at: \url{http://www.ldphotography.net/Graves/GhostTowns/TombstoneBootHill/}. Accessed on: May 22, 2006.
\textsuperscript{20} See Annex 4.
had a sense of humor, these Earps did. Nevertheless, when it comes to adding the high score in Individualism to that in Masculinity and to the low one in Long Term Orientation, no one can surpass what the three Earp brothers did in Tombstone.

Having just about cornered the law market in town (Virgil was not only the town marshal but also a full-fledged US marshal, and Wyatt and Morgan were his deputies), they opposed the county sheriff’s close links to a group of ranchers collectively known as the ‘cow-boys’. Many local residents believed these cow-boys were actually involved in cattle rustling and sundry other misdeeds such as stagecoach holdups, but every time the Earps arrested one or some of them they would magically end up disappearing from the sheriff’s jail, only to pop up again at some nearby ranch or town. Events came to a head on October 25, 1881 after one of the cow-boys had spent the previous night and the day’s morning broadcasting threats against the brothers all over town.

Although most people think of the Wild West as the land of “six-gun law”, by 1881 the truth was already quite the opposite. Most towns had ordinances against gun-toting within city limits, and they were strictly enforced. It was no different in Tombstone, where even knives were outlawed by an ordinance dated April 19, 1881. After being repeatedly warned by concerned citizens that the cow-boys were armed and gathering at the OK Corral making threats against the peace officers, it became obvious that they were in breach of the no-gun ordinance. Displaying the traits defined by Turner some years later as being typically American, the three brothers, with their friend Doc Holliday tagging along, walked over to the OK Corral and shot it out with five of the cow-boys in front of the whole town.

The shootout was widely reported at the time (it made national news), and although at first public opinion was strongly supportive of the Earps, it soon began to shift. Tombstone depended on its silver mines, and despite the officers of the law’s being cleared by an inquest into the matter, public killings in broad daylight were not conducive to attracting

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21 See Annex 5.
22 See Annex 6.
23 See Annex 7.
new businesses and financing from the East. When Virgil Earp was shot from ambush a few months later and crippled for life, and Morgan murdered while playing pool a few weeks later, Wyatt decided Tombstone had become too hostile.

He rode away with the handful of friends he still had and embarked on a mission to kill off his brother’s killers, taking his revenge on half a dozen of them before riding out of Arizona forever. It was the first time he had gone outside the law, and to his dying day he regretted not having done it earlier and maybe saved his brothers. Wyatt Earp died in California in 1929, an embittered and penniless 80-year old man hounded by unfounded and undocumented accusations put forth by his enemies’ supporters. Despite all his individualism and mobility, the only equality he managed to achieve lay with those who never managed to achieve the American dream.

However, the successful paths taken by new technology entrepreneurs such as Microsoft’s Bill Gates and Paul Allen, Apple’s Steve Jobs and Steve Wosniak, Dell’s Michael Dell, Yahoo’s David Filo and Jerry Yang, Google’s Larry Page and Sergei Brin, and Amazon.com’s Jeff Bezos highlight but a few examples of the individualistic drive of self-made men who have overcome barriers and amassed enormous personal wealth and power. They have truly carved their way into the shrine of mythical American pioneers by dint of their own individual strengths, skills and creativity. According to Kohls, in the USA:

> Each individual is seen as completely and marvelously unique, that is, totally different from all other individuals and, therefore, particularly precious and wonderful. Americans … resist being thought of as representatives of a homogeneous group, whatever the group. They may, and do, join groups—in fact many groups—but somehow believe they’re just a little different, just a little unique, just a little special, from other members of the same group. And they tend to leave groups as easily as they enter them. Individualism, as it exists in the United States, does mean that you will find a much greater variety of opinions (along with the absolute freedom to express them anywhere and anytime). (KOHLS, 1984, p. 5-6).

Whole families packing up their belongings into a covered wagon and leaving the relative safety of hometown life to face the unknown wilderness west of the Mississippi river, a land that came to be widely and variously known as the Wild West, the Far West or just plainly as the Old West, made a powerful statement for an individualistic society that was not afraid to face challenges and break away from their past lives. This westward move
highlights another striking trait in American culture, one that Turner named *mobility*. According to Turner “mobility of population is death to localism, and the western frontier worked irresistibly in unsettling population. The effect reached back from the frontier and affected profoundly the Atlantic coast and even the Old World” (Turner, 1893, p. 13)\(^24\). Diaries\(^25\) of long and perilous marches in quest of a new beginning are plentiful and make for a fascinating and moving read about the hardships endured by pioneers on their way West.

Current internal migration remains an impressive and remarkable trait of American culture, as attested to by United States Census Bureau reports\(^26\) and illustrated by the figure below.

\(^{24}\) Available at: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/TURNER/> Accessed on: May 19, 2006.

\(^{25}\) See Annex 8 for some of the diaries we have read.

In the USA, Kohls writes,

Change is seen as an indisputably good condition. Change is strongly linked to development, improvement, progress, and growth. Many older, more traditional cultures consider change as a disruptive, destructive, force, to be avoided if at all possible. Instead of change, such societies value stability, continuity, tradition, and a rich and ancient heritage - none of which are valued very much in the United States. (KOHLS, 1984, p. 3-4).

For a comparison, consider the Chinese proverb that says ‘it is better to be a dog in a peaceful time than a man in a time of chaos’.

There is another aspect to mobility that was fundamental in the Wild West and remains an important value to current American culture, and that is social mobility, which equates to equality. It did not matter what you had been or done before you set out on your journey West; silver spoons or rascally deeds, if any, were left behind and everyone started out with a clean slate. Born in Kentucky, Roy Bean ran away from home at age 15 and kept moving West, killing a man, gambling and smuggling stolen goods along the Mexican border. He ended up as a saloonkeeper in a small Texas town where he was elected Justice of the Peace and became known as a ‘hanging judge’, thereby starting the legend of ‘The Law West of the Pecos River’.

A consumptive Georgia judge’s son, J. H. Holliday, a fully qualified dentist, would ride out West for his health and become a gambler and gunslinger, notorious and feared for his prowess at both callings. Reputedly victorious in over 30 gunfights to the death, he rode on for fifteen whisky-sodden and bloody years and ended up dying in bed with his boots off. According to witnesses, his last words were: “This is funny” (Myers, 1955, p. 176). In current America, this kind of mobility can also be expressed by the new technology entrepreneurs we have already mentioned who have managed to move up from being ordinary people into the realm of wealth and fame in one generation.

Like all other Western mining towns, Tombstone was a place whose population thrived on rapid change, a town where a man could wake up destitute and go to bed rich from the silver ore he had found and dug up that day or the money he had won playing cards at the faro tables. He could also wake up rich and lose it all during the day, or maybe even end up in boothill. “Among the pioneers one man was as good as his neighbor. He had the same chance; conditions were simple and free” stated Turner (Turner, 1893, p. 20) when he mentioned equality.

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Take the story of T. J. Waters’ demise, as reported by the newspaper ‘The Tombstone Epitaph’ on July 25, 1880. Waters, a big and strapping 6-footer, had bought a new shirt the day before and became very upset when some people made ‘good natured remarks’ about it. Having declared he would hit the next man to remark about his shirt, he ended up punching his best friend, E. L. Bradshaw, a much smaller and older man. Bradshaw went home, armed himself and sat outside the saloon waiting for his miscreant friend. When Waters walked out, Bradshaw killed him with four shots. Waters can be found in ‘boothill’, where he lies beside a baby daughter who had preceded him there.

Four shots also did Lester Moore in. A Wells Fargo agent and, by all accounts, a very unpleasant character, he neither abided by the axiom that the customer is always right nor followed his employer’s recommendations. Les got into an argument with Hank Dunstan about a torn package. Harsh words led to gunfire and they managed to kill each other, Hank taking Lester’s bullet in the chest while Lester was shot four times. He now rests in boothill and is best remembered for the epitaph on his tombstone. Nothing is known of his opponent’s current whereabouts. However, Lester Moore lies in a grave not far from E. L. Bradshaw’s. Seven years after ruining his best friend’s new shirt, Bradshaw was found dead on the streets of Tombstone early one morning. He had a clean bullet hole through his forehead and a .45 caliber bullet in his brain, and nobody has ever managed to learn how it had found its way there.

When the Colt Fire Arms Co. launched the 1873 Peacemaker model Colt .45 revolver it made a tremendous increase in firepower available to those who wielded pistols for a living or for self-defense by supplying them with a reliable six-shooter. You could now shoot five bullets in rapid succession before having to reload, as the sixth chamber was kept empty for safety reasons. Wyatt Earp was once forcefully reminded of the wisdom of such a practice

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32 “Promotions go straight to the cheery, intelligent worker,” and “The most precious possession in life is good health.” Available at: <https://www.wellsfargo.com/about/this_date>. Accessed on: May 10, 2009.
when his revolver slipped from its holster and discharged accidentally when he leaned back on his chair; he had chambered six bullets (TEFERTILLER, 1997). A banner year for firearms, 1873 also ushered in the Winchester repeating rifle, which carried 15 rounds and quickly became a staple of frontier life.

These two landmark weapons became known as the “guns that won the West” and they are still being offered by their original makers today, while perfect-looking, firing and non-firing replicas can be bought for as little as US$50.00. ‘Abe Lincoln may have freed all men, but Sam Colt made them equal’, went the popular post-Civil War saying. And Turner (1893, p. 11) added that “… deeply fixed in the pioneer's mind … was the ideal of democracy. But the West was so free and so vast, the barriers to individual achievement were so remote, that the pioneer was hardly conscious that any danger to equality could come from his competition for natural resources. Economic equality fostered political equality”. And there would always be a Colt .45 handy about to rely on should any kind of inequality arise.

Unlike the USA, Brazil’s highest score lies not in Individualism but in Uncertainty Avoidance, 76, which indicates a society that is risk adverse and does not accept change readily. According to Hofstede, “in an effort to minimize or reduce [this level of] uncertainty, strict rules, laws, policies, and regulations are adopted and implemented. The ultimate goal of this population is to control everything in order to eliminate or avoid the unexpected”. This trait is also reflected in its lowest score of 38 in Individualism (world average: 43), which points to a Collectivist society where we find “long-term commitment to the member 'group', be that a family, extended family, or extended relationships”, and where “loyalty … is paramount, and over-rides most other societal rules” (HOFSTEDE). Brazil scores 69 in Power Distance against a world average of 55, which denotes a society which expects and accepts that power will be unequally distributed and where inequality

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“endorsed by the followers as much as by the leaders (HOFSTEDE)\textsuperscript{40}. A score of 49 in Masculinity places Brazil level with the world’s average, meaning that men’s and women’s values are approximately the same. Its Long-Term Orientation stands at 65 (world average: 45), which means it is a society where respect for tradition and fulfilling social obligations may get rather short shrift.

It is quite illustrative to compare Hofstede’s scores for the countries that most influenced the USA and Brazil, that is, the UK and Portugal, as we can then compare how society evolved in each country as compared to their former mother country\textsuperscript{41}.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{DIMENSION} & \textbf{USA} & \textbf{UK} & \textbf{Brazil} & \textbf{Portugal} \\
\hline
Power Distance & 35 & 30 & 69 & 68 \\
\hline
Individualism & 88 & 85 & 38 & 22 \\
\hline
Masculinity & 59 & 61 & 49 & 22 \\
\hline
Uncertainty Avoidance & 41 & 30 & 76 & 95 \\
\hline
Long-Term Orientation & 24 & 20 & 65 & NA \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Hofstede’s dimensions: deviation between the UK and Portugal / their former colonies}
\end{table}

As Table 4 shows, USA and UK societies are almost level as regards equality among its members, having loose societal bonds, being self-reliant and unafraid to face challenges, and displaying a high degree of competitiveness, ambition and aggressiveness. On the other hand, USA society imposes fewer rules on its members and is more open to rapid change than UK society. Brazilian and Portuguese societies could not be more diverse, except as regards Power Distance, that is, expecting and accepting that power will be unequally distributed, thus giving voice to what Napoleon, the pig in George Orwell’s \textit{Animal Farm},

\textsuperscript{40} Available at: \url{http://www.geert-hofstede.com/}, Accessed on: April 18, 2008.

\textsuperscript{41} See Annex 11 for the original graphs.
scribbled after a night’s revelry: ‘all men are created equal, but some are more equal than others’. Brazilian society is much more self-reliant, unafraid to face challenges and competitive than Portugal’s, and men and women play more similar roles in it while being less risk-averse and more open to change than their Portuguese counterparts. That is interesting if we remember that the Portuguese of old were great navigators and not only found the way to India but were the first to sail round the world.

Several foreign scientists travelled through Brazil in the early and mid 19th century, and it is to them that we are indebted for some of the most vivid descriptions of life in the Portuguese colony back then. Writing in 1816, Frenchman Auguste de Saint-Hilaire describes political and institutional aspects in Brazil by writing that each province was governed by an officer, a Portuguese national who

...had both civil and military power and whose authority was almost unlimited. They were always chosen from among very important people that were to be favored, or sometimes, maybe, removed from the country. Free from any control, and missing the pleasures of a large capital, full of disdain for the region they governed, eaten up by boredom, away from their peers and surrounded by apple polishers and slaves, these officers would very frequently behave extremely despotically; and the voice of the people could never reach the ears of the king who lived across the sea. (SAINT-HILAIRE, 1975, p. 154).

And he adds that “while it was under the colonial system, Brazil was closed to foreigners with such rigor that, in a book printed in France some 12 or 13 years ago there was still a discussion going on about whether Rio de Janeiro Bay was the mouth of a large river or not” (SAINT-HILAIRE, 1975, p. 18). When Saint-Hilaire wrote these words down in 1820 there was only one printing press in Brazil, and it was owned by the King of Portugal, who had fled to Brazil in 1808 to escape the Napoleonic wars.

Johann Emanuel Pohl, a German, traveled extensively through the Brazilian West, from Rio de Janeiro through Minas Gerais and then up north to the provinces of Goiás and Maranhão before returning to Rio de Janeiro. He describes how every traveler had to suffer through long and constant searches of both their belongings and their bodies, and the very strict laws that demanded that "all the gold extracted from the rivers and mines by private citizens must be handed in to the Royal Smelter, where the government will levy a 20%
tax”, and as for diamonds, “anyone who owns a rough stone risks having all his assets confiscated and being exiled to Angola for 10 years” (POHL, 1976, p. 79). Every citizen was encouraged to snitch on his peers, he adds, as they would receive one fifth of the amount confiscated.

In 1818 Spix and Martius described their journey through the Diamond District in the province of Minas Gerais, where no one, not even the province’s Governor, could either enter or leave without written permission from the district’s General Superintendent, as a never-ending routine of protracted searches that

…not even the Governor of the province of Minas is exempt. On leaving the district everyone undergoes rigorous searches by the soldiers. They are authorized to investigate, in extreme detail, not only the travelers’ possessions, all the folds and corners of the luggage, but also all the accessible parts of the body itself to check if the traveler is not carrying any hidden diamonds; should they suspect so, they can hold the traveler for 24 hours to examine if they have not swallowed a precious stone. No one is exempt from such searches. (SPIX and MARTIUS, 1981 v.2, p. 26).

Such descriptions of everyday life on the Brazilian frontier take us back to Brazil’s highest score (76) in Hofstede’s Uncertainty Avoidance dimension, where strict rules, laws, policies, and regulations are implemented to control everything and avoid the unexpected. And the unexpected here meant smugglers cheating the Portuguese Crown out of what it considered to be its rightful share of the gold and the stones the prospectors found.

4.4 The emergence of organization

Spurred on by its government overt encouragement and laissez-faire policy as regards appropriating themselves of foreign land, American businessmen began to eye the vast stretch of land that unfolded all the way to the Pacific Ocean. The Santa Fe Trail was first travelled by Manuel Lisa in 1807, the same Lisa who later founded the Missouri Fur Company and became heavily involved in the fur trade in the upper Missouri. In 1821 William Brecknell led about 20 men across the Missouri River and all the way to Sante Fe, where all the men but Brecknell and another man decided to stay instead of returning to Missouri. When the two men arrived back in Franklin, Missouri, Dary writes,
One of the traders … cut the thongs on a bag and its silver coins spilled out, clinking on the stone sidewalk and rolling into the gutter. One Franklin resident who had invested $60 in Bracknell's expedition received $900 as her share of the profits. The dream of profit from the new trading route had been realized, and the dream of regular trade between Missouri and Santa Fe would become a reality. (DARY, 1986, p. 18).

A second expedition Brecknell undertook the following year netted him a 2000% profit on an investment of $3000. We can safely say that it was Brecknell who laid the foundation for free enterprise in the West, as his mule trains and wagons were the first ones on the plains west of the Missouri / Mississippi rivers, except for exploratory expeditions with no business interests. The beauty of it was that any man could buy merchandise, load it on a wagon, and travel to Santa Fe. About 10 years after Brecknell’s first trip so many people were making the trip that large wholesalers in the East grew interested and the Santa Fe trade became big business.

Cities in Missouri such as St. Joseph, Leavenworth, and Atchison began to vie for the privilege of outfitting the immigrants on their way West. Each town’s newspaper claimed that their town offered lower prices and the shortest route, as they fought a furious war of words in their quest to entice immigrants and relieve them of their cash. Each one would publish lists of the supplies four men would need during six months on the trail, but they never listed prices, as these could then be adjusted as demand rose and fell.

The Leavenworth Weekly Journal published one such list in the spring of 1858:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>800 lb.</td>
<td>One-gallon water keg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>600 lb.</td>
<td>Coffee mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>100 lb.</td>
<td>Gun caps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>100 lb.</td>
<td>Picks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>50 lb.</td>
<td>Shovels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>6 lb.</td>
<td>Axes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soda</td>
<td>5 lb.</td>
<td>Gold pans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried fruit</td>
<td>2 lb.</td>
<td>Pit saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>2 lb.</td>
<td>Chisels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Soda crackers 1 box Augers 2
Tea 6 lb. Frower (froe) 1
Rice 26 lb. Drawing knife 1
Tobacco 27 lb. Skillet 1
Powder 1 case Coffee pot 1
Smoking tobacco 1 box Tin plates 6
Pipe and stems 2 doz. Tin cups 6
Lead 25 lb. Frying pan 1
Rosin 10 oz. Butcher knives 4
Whiskey ½ bbl. Blankets 16 prs.
Matches 2 gross Tent 1
Pickles 1 box Oxen 2 yoke
Soap 25 lb. Wagon 1


The four would also need sheets, yokes and chains. The total weight of these supplies 2,641 pounds, and the price of a yoke of oxen could range from US$25.00 - US$30.00 to US$65.00 - US$80.00, depending on demand (DARY, 1986). He then goes on to quote from an immigrant’s diary:

Prices are most extortionate. Sugar, two dollars a cup – 5-cent tobacco at to $1.50 - bullets at $0.75 a pound, etc. American Fur Cmp’y. exceedingly disliked in this country - it suppresses all opposition, and keeping up these enormous prices, pays its men in necessaries on these terms. (DARY, 1986, p. 101).

While these muleskinners turned entrepreneurs plied their trade between Missouri and Santa Fe, further up north in the Pacific Northwest and along the upper Missouri Manuel Lisa and John Jacob Astor, the latter already wealthy from his involvement in the fur trade to the east of the Mississippi, began to develop the fur trade to the west of the Mississippi River. Lisa’s Missouri Fur Company and Astor’s Pacific Fur Company vied for control of the booming trade in beaver pelts, despite being hindered by the 1812 / 1815 war between England and the USA. Soon after the war, Astor managed to lobby Congress to deregulate
the fur trade and the sheer financial power of his enterprise soon drove all other important companies out of business.

Nevertheless, there were many independent trading posts whose business flourished through trading with local Indians, and when demand for buffalo robes rose in the 1830s these posts were strategically placed to meet such a demand. “Western traders, including the mountain men, where greatly responsible for the new attention given the West”, Dary (1986) tells us. Furthermore,

Their unheralded explorations and trading activities, especially during the 1830s, had by the 1840s finally spurred the imaginations of many Easterners. The individualism of the traders came to be admired in the East. When successful traders came East on business, it probably appeared that any man who went West and worked hard could become wealthy. Of course, this was not always the case, but as the United States expanded its borders after 1846, the West gained even more appeal. (DARY, 1986, p. 88).

And it was really after 1846 that the West took on a new importance. It was the year the United States declared war on Mexico, annexed Texas and acquired Oregon. After defeating Mexico, it also purchased California and the whole Southwest from its defeated foe. It was the beginning of large-scale emigration towards Oregon territory along the recently opened Oregon Trail, where one of the most famous trading posts was owned by legendary mountain man Jim Bridger. That was the route taken by the Mormons on their way to settling in Utah. Then, in 1849, Mr. Marshall discovered gold along Sutter’s Creek, California, and the biggest gold rush ever was on.

Prices skyrocketed, and both wagoners and tradesmen did booming business. The railroad was still some years away, and so it was wagoners who bore the brunt of the transportation chores, their Conestoga wagons ferrying goods from the East to the jumping off points used by immigrants on their way west. Together with the army of gold seekers, known as ‘49ers, marched the Army itself, as the Indians along the trails rose up to defend their hunting grounds. The Indian wars went into full swing at this time and a line of forts began to be built along the western trails, about one every 100 miles, as the Army geared itself up for battle. Hundreds of forts were built, mostly military ones, but also many that were put

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See Annex 13.
up by fur companies and tradesmen as trading posts. Hauling supplies for the Army and furnishing it with horses and mules became a very profitable business.

By 1849 Brazil had been an independent country for 27 years, with little to show for it. The King of Portugal had returned home in 1821, leaving his eldest son as Prince Regent but taking with him all the assets in the Brazilian treasury. The only good news that year was that two printing offices were authorized to be set up to publish books and documents in Brazil. The following year, 1822, saw the Prince Regent declare Brazil independent from Portugal and himself as the Brazilian Emperor. Much more revealing, four new printing presses began to work in the country. The Emperor was forced to abdicate in 1831, and he immediately returned to Portugal leaving his under-age son to fend off for himself until he was finally crowned Emperor in 1840. He remained in power until November 15, 1889, when a military coup deposed him and turned Brazil into a republic.

It was at this time, when thousands of hopefuls were sailing, riding or walking to California in search of gold, that a law was enacted in Brazil, more specifically on September 18, 1850. It has become popularly known as the Land Law, and it put an end to the system that had been in place since 1534, the hereditary land grants. The new law specified that all the land that had been granted and not cultivated had to be returned to the government, which would then sell it to any interested party. However, it was very difficult for the government to ensure conformance with the new law, as the country was too big for its communications system, and so the new measures were not successful except for some areas such as the State of São Paulo and to the south of it. In any case, the price of land was set too high for the general population to be able to afford it, and the old oligarchy remained firmly ensconced in their holdings.

The same fate befell the Homestead Act signed by President Abraham Lincoln on May 20, 1862, but which was only repealed in 1976, except in Alaska. The land grants made to railroads so they could raise money as they laid their tracks across the USA made it less expensive to buy land from them than from the government. The promotional pamphlets
and brochures published by the railroads lured thousands of immigrants and migrants to part with their money for a stake in some decidedly dubious real estate ventures.

Dary writes that

… it was the railroads, anxious to develop their land, that became the most active boosters of the Great Plains. … A seemingly endless supply of maps culled by pamphlets, circulars, handbills and other advertising flooded the nation, especially the East, where the railroads advertised extensively in newspapers. … Foreign agents were even hired to attract settlers to railroad lands in the West. Although most of the railroads claimed that they were telling the truth about the Great Plains, their advertising was perhaps the least responsible of all. … They quoted only favorable comments about cheap lands, abundant crops, and the financial independence of the hard-working settlers already in the West. Even the climate was praised, and some promoters claimed that it was so healthy doctors were not needed. … The railroads, however, did not rely solely on their own promotional writers and publications. They provided many Western newspaper editors with free passes to write their lines, and they invited Eastern newspaper editors to view firsthand, all expenses paid, the guard and the West and the opportunities awaiting hard-working settlers on the Great Plains. (DARY, 1986, p. 232-233).
FIGURE 07 - A typical railroad grant map.
A large-scale grant map dated 1893, showing the alternate sections of public land granted to the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railway. Such maps were used by land speculators to advertise railroad lands for sale to the public. Available at: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/enghtml/rrhtml/rrintro.html>. Accessed on: December 07, 2008.
When the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific joined their tracks at Promontory Peak\textsuperscript{43} on May 10, 1869, the USA was finally connected by railway ‘from sea to shining sea’. Dary tells us a curious episode that cannot be found in schoolbooks anywhere in America. When the railroads started across Utah from opposite sides, he writes,

\begin{center}
Each sought to lay more tracks than the other - each mile of track laid meant more government bonds and land grants. Because Congress had failed to establish a point where the lines would link up, the grading crews of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific actually passed each other laying out parallel roads close together. When officials in Washington learned of this, they stepped in and ruled that the two lines must join at Promontory near present-day Ogden, Utah. (DARY, 1986, p. 197).
\end{center}

But even before that there had already been mail service to the West coast, as stagecoach\textsuperscript{44} passenger and mail service had started in 1858. It ran a southern route from Missouri to California, covered 2,759 miles in approximately 24 days, and cost US$100.00 per passenger.\textsuperscript{45} Other stagecoach services to California sprang up at about the same time, one of them taking the Overland Trail and the other one the Oregon Trail. But the Pony Express was the most famous venture of this kind, although it was rather short-lived, operating from April 23, 1860 to October 22, 1861. It took between 8 to 10 days to speed from St. Joseph, Missouri to Placerville\textsuperscript{46}, California, a distance of about 2,000 miles, and the price for a half-ounce letter ran to US$5.00.

However, both the stagecoach and the Pony Express operations were extremely capital-intensive ventures that demanded a tremendous amount of up-front capital in the way of stagecoaches, horses and mules, way stations every 12 miles, and the sundry other items that would give them a fighting chance. Overhead costs must have been astronomical, and the logistics problems to be solved to make it work must have been almost insurmountable. It took financing from the East to get those ventures going, but despite their wealthy investors, those companies folded rather more quickly than most other Western ventures. They were certainly typical cases in premature enterprises.

\textsuperscript{43} See Annex 13.
\textsuperscript{44} See Annex 14.
\textsuperscript{46} See Annex 15.
But it was the telegraph line’s linking the East to the Pacific Ocean on October 24, 1861, that led to those companies’ winding down their operations. Here was another new technology that helped to populate, tame and develop the West, and it also involved large amounts of money, men, animals and supplies. James Gamble was one of the men responsible for this new enterprise, and he described building the line between California and Utah in an article he wrote one year later:

Early in the spring of 1861 I was authorized by the company to fit out an expedition and commence the work of construction. It was estimated that it would take twenty-six wagons to carry the material and supplies across the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and these I was instructed to purchase, together with the necessary animals to move them. This was accomplished and the expedition was ready to move on the 27th of May, 1861. It comprised 228 oxen, 26 wagons, 50 men, and several riding-horses. Everything necessary for the work and subsistence had to be carried on the wagons, but as there was a fair road over the mountains, it was thought the crossing could be made in about twelve or fifteen days. The expedition was placed in charge of I. M. Hubbard, an experienced and energetic telegraph man. Instead of fifteen days, as supposed, it took over thirty days to get across the Sierra Nevada. The train was very long and the road narrow, and it was found that many of the wagons were too heavily laden for the mountain roads; so it made but slow progress. In addition to this, the train frequently blocked up the road, delaying incoming trains as long as a day at a time. It was, therefore, finally concluded to cut up the telegraph wagon train into several sections, and it was not until late in June that the expedition reached Carson Valley, and the work of construction commenced. (excerpt from “Wiring a Nation, article in Harper's Weekly, November 23, 1861”).

By then the US was deeply involved in the Civil War, and it is a great tribute to the country’s drive and depth of resources that it persevered not only with its march to the west but also with the development and application of new technology like the telegraph and the railways. Through inhospitable deserts and across steep mountain ranges and valleys, many of them inhabited by hostile Indians, these pioneers never wavered in their quest for the American Dream.

Meanwhile, Brazil in mid 19th century had finally managed to shake off Portuguese rule entirely, and could now begin to look for its own national identity. The heydays of gold prospecting were long gone, but diamonds were still plentiful in the mining district and the

48 See Annex 16.
restrictions that had turned it into a veritable fortress were no longer in place. The country was an important sugar and tobacco (the Northeast) and coffee (the Southeast) exporter, and its elite sent its sons to study in Europe and imported foreign luxury goods. The Emperor was a man of letters who encouraged and sponsored innovation, and the country seemed bound for a bright future.

However, the reality facing the Frontier in Minas was rather bleak. As the mining industry waned so did the local capacity to import, which gave rise to specialized, non-agricultural activities. According to Singer,

Activities that been ancillary to the mining industry became the mainstream of provincial economic life. The process was accompanied by the dispersal of the population throughout the hinterland: the main focus of activity shifted from the towns and villages to the farms. … On the manufacturing front the scope of import substitution was much more limited, yet the response was quite impressive for the time and place. Iron forges sprang up in several places and began to produce local substitutes for the essential mining and agricultural tools previously imported. … More important was the large textile industry, backed by the widespread cultivation of cotton. (SINGER, 1968, p. 252-253).

Martins states that

Minas Gerais in the 19th century cannot be described as a mining or a coffee economy; both sectors played a minor role in the economic life of the province. Apart from the coffee sector in [a specific region], exports were the exception rather than the rule … [the province] consisted mainly of agricultural units producing primarily for their own consumption, the surplus being sold specially in the city of Rio de Janeiro, but in most cases the flows were negligible in comparison with the provincial outputs of these commodities. Thus the province's landholdings were self-sufficient units, scattered over a vast territory, isolated from major markets and, in many areas, only partially integrated in a money economy. Their technology was extremely backward and their output very diversified, and in Minas these items were grown almost exclusively for local consumption. (MARTINS, 1980, p. 48).

During the previous centuries some sharp-eyed officials had already warned the Portuguese authorities to the dangers of free enterprise on the frontier, as Zemella reports:

Portuguese Marquis de Lavradio observed “the independence that the people of Minas have achieved with respect to the products of Europe, the majority of individuals having established in their estates workshops and looms with which they clothe themselves, their families and their slaves, producing cotton and tow, as well as linen and woolen stuff. … in the case of Minas Gerais, because of the vastness of the region and the spirit of the population, such independence is a matter of great moment and might one day produce grave consequences. (ZEMELLA, 1990,
Travelling through the Minas frontier in 1860, Burton confirms that these estates were
Isolated villages on a small scale. They supply the neighbourhood with its simple wants, dry
beef, pork, and lard, flour of manioc and of maize, sugar and spirits, tobacco and oil; coarse
cloth and cotton thread; coffee, and various teas of Caparosa and orange-leaf. They import only
iron to be turned into horse-shoes; salt, wine, beer, cigars, butter, porcelain, drugs, and other
“notions.” There is generally a smithy, a carpenter's shed, a shoemaker's shop, a piggery, where
during the last month the beasts are taken from the foulest food, and an ample poultry yard.
(BURTON, 1869, v. 2., p. 39).

In a typical Burton turn of phrase, he adds that “there is no poverty, much less want; nor is
there competency, much less wealth.” (BURTON, 1869, v. 2., p. 69). Saint-Hillaire seems
to concur, as he apparently observed similar circumstances when travelling through the
region half a century before Burton. He writes that “if there is a region that could ever do
without the rest of the world, this would certainly be the province of Minas.” (SAINT-
HILLAIRE, 1975, p. 154).

Whatever the factors that led to such self-sufficiency and isolation, one of them must surely
have been the precarious conditions of the roads available to the settlers. Up until late in the
19th century, such ‘roads’ were mostly limited to the mule trails of colonial days. Oxcarts
were a very popular alternative, but they could not travel those trails and so were used for
local transportation only. Railway building began in 1870 but, when the country became a
republic in 1889, the available railway network was under still 2 thousand kilometers long.
As most people produced for subsistence, tax collecting depended on taxing transported
goods, and although the Brazilian 1890 census49 found Minas to have the largest population
of all the provinces in the country, it ranked only 7th in taxes paid. Old habits die hard, it is
said, and it seems the ones learned on the frontier during colonial days to hide gold and
diamonds from the Portuguese Crown stood the locals in good stead.

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5 CONCLUSION

“Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” asked Renan (1882) in a lecture at the Sorbonne. “A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form,” he answered. Less dreamily and more cynically – and certainly more representative of his time – Deutsch (1969) would propose that a nation is “a group of people united about a mistaken view about the past and a hatred of their neighbors”.

Anderson (2006) states that nations are imagined communities, that is, communities made up by individuals who do not know each other and who will never meet, but who will share privileged events and personalities as well as the mythical re-elaboration of cultural memories to reaffirm themselves as a nation while weaving the evolutionary web of their own particular national identity.

Assman (2002), also deeply concerned with the issue of nation, demonstrates how nations, as they seek to build, rebuild or maintain an identity, will build, rebuild and maintain their memories by resorting to symbols, texts, images, practices and ruins from the past to transform them into ancestors, founding myths, rites and solemn monuments. Indeed, there is a huge number of Internet sites dedicated to Wild West personalities, story and history, and many of them are hosted by universities and institutions linked to North American State governments that are located within the borders of this geographic/cultural space, which stresses the fact that the winning of the West represents a living and vibrant memory in the imagination of the American people.

By 1990, when the US Census Bureau decreed the end of the Frontier and Brazil had just become a republic, albeit not a full democracy, both countries had already almost reached the end of their expansionary drives. It is no wonder that the US should have reached the Pacific Ocean and also scooped up large areas of Mexico, given its government-sanctioned
expansionary policy. However, it is surprising to see how much Brazil grew from that first small chunk of land limited by the Tordesillas Meridian. Surely there must be an interesting story behind it that bears investigating further, and other researchers might wish to take up this challenge. Figure 10 and Figure 11 show the extent of their territories they occupied at the beginning of the 20th century.

FIGURE 10 – United States territory in 1900.
According to the USIS publication ‘An Outline of American History’,

“Farmers were soon followed by doctors, lawyers, storekeepers, editors, preachers, mechanics, politicians - all those who make up a vigorous society. The farmers were the sturdy base. Where they settled, they intended to stay and hope that their children would stay after them. They built the large barns and sound brick or frame houses. They brought improved livestock, plowed the land skillfully, and sowed productive seed. Some erected flourmills, sawmills, distilleries. They laid out good highways, built churches and schools. Almost incredible transformations were accomplished in a few years.” (p. 64).

William Barclay (Bat) Masterson, whose talent for self-promotion made him a famous Wild West character, hunted buffalo on the Kansas prairie, gambled and worked as Marshall and Sheriff in its cow towns like Abilene and Dodge City in the late 1870s and early 1880s. After moving to New York City in later years and becoming the sports editor for a local newspaper, he returned to Dodge City once again to attend a boxing match in 1910. On July 31, he wrote in his weekly column for the Morning Telegraph:
In coming down the Arkansas Valley from Pueblo to Dodge I could not help wondering at the marvelous change that had come over the country in the last twenty years. As I looked from the car window after reaching the Kansas line at Coolidge, I saw in all directions groves of trees, orchards and fields bearing abundant crops of corn, wheat and alfalfa.... The idea that the plains of Western Kansas could ever be made fertile was something I had never dreamed of.

Masterson’s words clearly show that the undeveloped and sparsely inhabited West was becoming a thing of the past and being increasingly absorbed into the ways of the East. It would never be completely assimilated, for sure, as diversity would persist due to the uneven impact of its geography, climate, history, the cultural background of its population, and the sheer expanse of available land. As the telegraph, the railroads, and later on the telephone shortened distances, the USA went through what we might call, in modern terminology, a process of ‘mini globalization’ that mediated the country's industrial and institutional development.

Although sites dedicated to Brazilian history and cultural and entrepreneurial achievements are not absent from the Internet, it is easy to see that most of them will propose to tell, say, the story of the first railway in Brazil and then quickly move on to a laudatory description of the top people involved, financiers, politicians and sundry other influential politicians, financiers and government officials of the time. Therefore, instead of laying out the facts and events that made the venture possible, those texts just turn into long-winded praise. Even the foreigners who wrote such detailed books on Brazil in the 19th century succumbed to this approach by writing groveling introductions dedicated either to the King of Portugal or to the Emperor of Brazil in the years after Brazilian independence (1822).

Thus, it is rather difficult to find trustworthy, historically accurate descriptions of what really transpired on the Brazilian frontier, as we can but try to guess the motivation behind each writer’s words. As we have seen, the inhabitants of the Frontier and of Brazil as a whole at that time were, for the most part, illiterate, and most of the written records that have survived are government ones. That is why the books written by the few foreign scientists who managed to travel through the country at that time are especially valuable to historians. They are just about the only unofficial records of those days.
If a nation is an imagined community, then how can its population become members of this community if they do not have the means to share their ancestors, founding myths and rites easily? Anderson (2006, p. 61) tells us that in America “between 1691 and 1820, no less than 2,120 ‘newspapers’ were published, of which 461 lasted more than 10 years”, and that “the printer's office emerged as the key to North American communications and community intellectual life”. On the other hand, Gomes (2007) tells us that in 1818 only 2.5% of the free men in Brazil were literate, printing presses were forbidden, and all books and newspapers could only be imported from Portugal (with an official censorship seal).

While in America the frontier was “a gate of escape from the bondage of the past” (TURNER, 1893, p. 16), on the Brazilian frontier it was not possible to “go inland without a special license from the Governor-General” (HOLANDA, 2006, p. 100). While Daniel Boone was traipsing around Kentucky, Pohl (1976) was describing how every traveler on the Brazilian frontier had to suffer through long and constant searches of both their belongings and their bodies. While entrepreneurs Manuel Lisa and William Brecknell were setting up their companies and making a tax-free 2000% profit on the Santa Fe trade, the pioneers on the Brazilian frontier were not only paying 20% tax off the top but also being hounded and humiliated. Pohl (1976, p. 79) tells us that “anyone who owns a rough [diamond] stone risks having all his assets confiscated and being exiled to Angola for 10 years.”

However, the freedom people enjoyed on the American Frontier began to be curtailed by the same limits that could be found in the East. Just as the telegraph and the railways made it easier to do business, so they made it more difficult to escape the sharp eyes of the law in towns that had grown too big to be intimidated by a single desperado or even by an armed band. It was in Northfield, Minnesota, that train and bank robber Jesse James got his comeuppance on a cold day in September, 1876, as the citizens joined forces and shot back, destroying his gang of outlaws. Wild Bill Hickok was already dead, shot down at a poker game in Deadwood, Dakota Territory, the previous month, Deadwood also marking the last of the great gold rushes in the West.
Then outlaw Sam Bass was killed by Texas Rangers in 1878, and Sheriff Pat Garret did away with Billy the Kid in New Mexico in 1881. Bob Ford shot Jesse James in the back of the head in St. Joseph, Missouri, in early 1882, to be forever more branded ‘that dirty little coward that shot Mr. Howard’\textsuperscript{50}. Wyatt Earp and his brothers got rid of several unpleasant and very violent characters in and around Tombstone, Arizona Territory, in late 1882 / early 1883. The Dalton brothers and their gang were routed and killed during an attempted bank robbery in Coffeyville, Kansas, in 1892, in a near replay of the James episode in Northfield.

Still in 1892, shootist Clay Allison’s buckboard overturned on top of him and killed him, John Wesley Hardin, the feared mankiller from Texas, was shot from behind at close range in 1895, to be followed into boothill by Bill Doolin, who received a double-barreled shotgun blast to the chest in 1896, courtesy of famous US Marshall Heck Thomas. A curiosity is that the charge came from the same shotgun Wyatt Earp had used to kill Curly Bill Brocius near Tombstone in 1882.

So, in the space of 20 years some of the most profligate shootists on the Frontier had been terminated with extreme prejudice. As we read the old newspapers, diaries and autobiographies, we realize that the Wild West was tamed not only by the institutions of a ‘vigorous civil society’, but by organizations, by the business interests such a society sprang from, with much help from technological innovation. Annex 6 shows the front page of the Tombstone Epitaph newspaper, and together with the headline reporting the fight we read the news proclaiming “Failure of Lord & Williams”. Three men lay dead and two grievously wounded from a shootout that shocked the town, but a company’s failure was still just as newsworthy\textsuperscript{51}.

Bank and train robberies do not mix well with banking and train schedules. Wild shooting on the streets and saloons tends to drive customers away. Real estate prices drop when a

\textsuperscript{50} Jesse James had been using the alias ‘Thomas Howard’ at the time he was killed.

\textsuperscript{51} In a speech called "The Press Under a Free Government" in Washington, D.C., on January 17, 1925, President Calvin Coolidge said “After all, the chief business of the American people is business.”
town gains a reputation for violence. By the mid 1880s the cattle drives of the previous 20 years were no more, and the wild cowboy season was but a memory. The buffalo herds had been slaughtered and their bleaching bones scooped up from the prairies to make fertilizer. The Indians tribes were either corralled in reservations or had been relocated to faraway places; in a stroke of pure genius, Geronimo and his Apaches$^{52}$ from the Arizona desert had been driven into freight train boxcars and shipped to the swamps of Florida in late 1886. The 1990 US Census declared that there was no longer a frontier line.

In his lecture, Turner stated that

> The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people - to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. (TURNER, 1893, p. 01). (My italics).

It is clear to us that Turner was perfectly aware of the ever-shifting, evolving nature of the Frontier, and it is obvious he did not evoke it as simply a *locus*, but as a fluid cultural manifestation of people who would always seek to better themselves. He uses the words progress, primitive and complexity in a natural, linear progression that leads us straight to the so-called convergence thesis, in this instance, economic and political convergence with the East. Indeed, we have read about how primitive life was for the early pioneers and how they progressed to stable economic and institutional conditions. Therefore, it was Turner himself who first stated that the Western frontier was converging towards the ways of the Eastern seaboard.

The debate on globalization and its effect on institutional convergence / divergence has been present in literature since the 1960s, but it has recently appeared to have become the subject of heated academic mobilization. It should be kept in mind that institutional / political changes will always involve compromises that will impact many differing aspects both within and without a country due to interaction among the many variables that make

$^{52}$ See Annex 17
up a nation, such as local economic conditions, psychological motivation, cultural values and ethnical divides. In an article available on the Internet, author Enokh Bregel states that the convergence theory “emphasises not any static similarity but the progressive accumulation of common features”, that there is “a mutual drawing together”, and that, eventually, two or more systems will tend “towards a merger”.

But while the Wild West and the East were drawing ever closer in America, the Brazilian frontier was withdrawing into itself. The laws of the land were the same as in the US, though their effectiveness and nuances of interpretation might vary, the framework of the institutions seemed similar, its businesses also sought to make a profit, but there appeared to be something missing somewhere. Turner had sentenced that “mobility of population is death to localism”, but how could the people of Minas be mobile if the roads were but tracks left over from colonial times? Landlocked and lacking good roads, it is little wonder each estate was an ‘isolated village on a small scale”, as Burton (1869) wrote.

It would take fifty years and two world wars for the Brazilian frontier to come out of its stasis, but the peculiar behaviors and attitudes people had learned in colonial times had to suffice for now. From the time Brazil became a republic, in 1889, to the middle of the 20th century, life changed very little on the Minas Gerais frontier. Its apparent similarity to a feudal society bears further study, and may be the topic for a challenging research project.

Two Frontiers, two different cultures, two different approaches and, at least up to the end of the 19th century, two very different outcomes. Convergent in some aspects, divergent in others, no one can deny the two Frontiers experiences did not deeply imprint the culture, the institutions and the organizations of their nations. To all the pioneers who were brave enough to venture into the wilderness beyond we extend our most sincere ‘thank you’.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY


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7. ANNEXES

Annex 1

Original “The Great Train Robbery” poster.

Annex 2

Original Buffalo Bill’s Wild West poster.

Annex 3

The enlisted men's barracks at Fort Leavenworth are pictured in this 1872 photograph.


Annex 4

**Wyatt S. Earp** found in:
U.S. Western and Prairie States - Census Index (1880)
- **State:** Arizona
- **County:** Pima
- **Township:** Tombstone Village
- **Relationship to Head:** Something other than a direct relationship
- **Age:** 32
- **Gender:** Male
- **Race:** White
- **Marital Status:** Single
- **Occupation:** Farmer
- **Birthplace:** Illinois
Annex 5

Tombstone weapons ordinance.

Annex 6

The 'Tombstone Epitaph' newspaper’s first page account of the gunfight at the OK Corral.


Annex 7

The San Francisco exchange newspaper - October 27, 1881 – reports on the gunfight at the OK Corral.

A Good Riddance

The People of Tombstone have reason to congratulate themselves that they have not only courageous Marshals but Marshal who are dead shots. That performance yesterday, wherein three cowboys were left dead on the field and one lodged in jail, is among the happiest events Tombstone has witnessed, and especially so as it was attended with so little injury to the law vindicators. Marshal Earp and his assistants deserve well of their fellow citizens, and we hope the Tombstoners appreciate the fact. The cowboy class are the most despicable beings on the face of the earth. They are a terror to decent people and a disgrace to even frontier civilization. Luckily, and thanks to such men as Marshal Earp, they are being thinned out, and the places that once knew and feared them will know them no more. Tombstone is a place of too much respectability and importance in every respect to tolerate
these scoundrels within its limits another day, and we hope that the action of this brave and vigilant officer will be followed up by the citizens generally until not a cowboy will dare show his head in Cochise county. Southeastern Arizona with its rich mines, varied resources and increasing civilization and prosperity, should rise up if need be and drive every wretch of them beyond the border.

Available at: <http://home.earthlink.net/~knuthco1/.../StreetfightCoveragebyOther.htm>


Annex 8

The diaries of some of the pioneers who went west.

Across the Plains in 1844, by Catherine Sager Pringle


Overland to the Gold Fields of California in 1852. The Journal of John Hawkins Clark,

Expanded and Revised From Notes Made During the Journey.


Over the Santa Fe Trail through Kansas in 1858.


The Diary of Luna E. Warner, a Kansas Teenager of the Early 1870's.

Annex 9

A horse thief is tried at Roy Bean’s saloon cum courthouse

Annex 10

Lester Moore is no more.


Annex 11

Annex 12

A Conestoga wagon, nicknamed ‘prairie schooner’.

Annex 13

The Central Pacific and the Union Pacific meet at Promontory Peak, Utah, on May 10, 1869.

Annex 14

A western stagecoach.

Annex 15

The Pony Express station in Placerville, CA.


Annex 16

The first cross-continental messages sent by telegraph in the USA

It had been proposed to get up a celebration in honor of such an important event, but owing to the uncertainty as to the exact time when the line would be completed, no preparation had been made. The employees of the company who stood around, manifested the greatest anxiety, watching the first click of the instrument across the continent. At last it came and read as follows:
SALT LAKE, OCTOBER 24, 1861, 5:13 P.M.
TO GENERAL H.W. CARPENTIER:
LINE JUST COMPLETED. CAN YOU COME TO OFFICE?

STREET

… The next dispatch was from Brigham Young, and it read as follows:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, OCTOBER 24, 7 P.M.
TO HON. H. W. CARPENTIER, PRESIDENT OF THE OVERLAND
TELEGRAPH COMPANY

DEAR SIR: I AM VERY MUCH OBLIGED FOR YOUR KINDNESS,
MANIFESTED THROUGH YOU AND MR. STREET, IN GIVING ME
PRIVILEGE OF FIRST MESSAGE TO CALIFORNIA. MAY SUCCESS EVER
ATTEND THE ENTERPRISE. THE SUCCESS OF MR. STREET IN
COMPLETING HIS END OF THE LINE UNDER MANY UNFAVORABLE
CIRCUMSTANCES IN SO SHORT A TIME IS BEYOND OUR MOST
SANGUINE ANTICIPATIONS. JOIN YOUR WIRES WITH THE RUSSIAN
EMPIRE, AND WE WILL CONVERSE WITH EUROPE.

YOUR FRIEND
BRIGHAM YOUNG

… The first message sent from San Francisco was as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., OCTOBER 24, 1861
TO HON. BRIGHAM YOUNG, GREAT SALT LAKE CITY:

THAT WHICH WAS SO LONG A HOPE IS NOW A REALITY. THE
TRANSCONTINENTAL TELEGRAPH IS COMPLETE. I CONGRATULATE
YOU UPON THE AUSPICIOUS EVENT. MAY IT PROVE A BOND OF
PERPETUAL UNION AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF
UTAH AND THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA.

H. W. CARPENTIER
Annex 17

Geronimo and his group on their way to Florida, September 10, 1886.

(Geronimo is third from the right, front row)