

ARQUIVOS

THE GÓES MONTEIRO PAPERS.

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Since his death in 1956, friends, acquaintances and enemies of General Pedro Aurélio de Góes Monteiro, as well as scholars of the Vargas era, have wondered about the disposition and contents of his personal papers. An interview published in *O Cruzeiro* soon after the Second World War printed a picture of General Góes beside a filing cabinet, which was said to hold his papers, and had him remarking that someday the cabinet would reveal "the truth" about his long and controversial career. What was in that cabinet? Did it contain the real story of the "Cohen Plan", shocking revelations about men in high places? What indeed?

The files of a man like Góes could not help but be important for an understanding of the age in which he lived — he was a principal actor in all the significant political events between 1930 and 1945, and was a strong member of the cast for many events before and after this crucial era. One would naturally expect the papers of such a figure to be rich in revelation, even scandal.

Now that the papers have been unearthed, at first glance they seem a disappointment. They do not, for example, reveal any more about the "Cohen Plan" than we already know — in fact, there is nothing on it, nothing at all. Nor is there really any good scandal.

But surely the historian's disappointment is unfair, arising from a too-professional reaction. We really have no right to censure a figure for putting his concern for posterity ahead of a strict sense of history, for acting like a human being and "tampering with the evidence". More often than not, for example, consummate politicians (and

Góes was one) do not keep records of sensitive transactions, or create misleading documentation, for whatever ends. Then too, family, friends and associates often sift the written record, hoping to rectify or erase events of unhappy memory. Is this wrong? I cannot bring myself to say so; and while it is a pity, it is all too common.

Thus, private papers are frequently anti-climactic; the discoveries in them are usually small and subtle, often being revealed only by painstaking examination in the light of changing knowledge, and over a long period of time. One can only hope that they will be preserved, intact and accessible, for future students.

And now to the Góes papers.

The collection cannot be said to form an archive: not only have its contents not been catalogued or indexed, but they have not been organized systematically. The collection comprises about 80 *pastas* of various sizes and sorts, containing approximately 1600 documents, which range from scraps of paper to items of over 100 closely-typed pages. A very few *pastas* have been organized and have their documents listed; in most instances, however, the only indication of the contents of a folder is a cryptic, usually — but not always — accurate notation on its cover; e. g., “Clube Militar”, “Revolução de 1930 (A)”.

The papers themselves vary in significance, but include much material of interest to scholars of the Vargas era. For example, Góes kept copies of his correspondence while War Minister in 1934-5 and 1945-6, and letters from the first term show, among other things, his drive for army reform. Further, there is a manuscript — which should be published — describing the operations of the Destacamento Mariante in western Paraná in 1925 (Góes was Mariante's chief of staff, and wrote the work immediately after the campaign). It is important not only as military but as social history, since Góes supplemented his chronicle of maneuvers with biting observations and reflections on contemporary conditions. On the other hand, however, most of the material on the 1930 Revolution is disappointingly trivial; there are, for example, only a few letters that illuminate the thinking of Góes in the months prior to joining the uprising.

There are, finally, serious lacunae in the papers, only some of which can be explained. For example (as was mentioned earlier), there is nothing on the “Cohen Plan”; the only documentation from the period is that surrounding the two inspection tours Góes made of the South early in 1937, and all of the material is official. There is a similar lack of material on the October 29th coup, and virtually nothing on the 1934 flirtation by Góes with candidacy for President.

These gaps can probably be explained by the extreme delicacy of the events, and Góes, having an acute political sense, either wrote nothing down or later destroyed compromising material.

Other lacunae do not lend themselves to such explanation. There is clear evidence that Góes frequently committed his thoughts to paper, but they have disappeared — a few “memórias” from 1936 have survived, as has a note asking for his diary. The letters written to his dead son, to which reference is made in *O General Góes Depõe...*, have also disappeared. Several contemporaries, moreover, asserted that Góes wrote a lengthy “correction” to his deposition, which was not found in his papers. Finally, there was almost no correspondence with Oswaldo Aranha in the collection; this appears odd, since the two men were said to have been close, and frequently separated by great distances for prolonged periods of time.

As far as possible, I have listed the contents, by pastas, chronologically. Where the material in a pasta spills beyond the time period, I have referred to it again in the appropriate categories. When I went through the papers (in 1974-5), I neither numbered nor rearranged documents. The listing which follows is somewhat selective, with most but not all of the items noted. Finally, the papers are in the hands of the family of General Góes. Requests for access should be directed to General Pedro Geraldo de Almeida, Rua Gustavo Sampaio, 390/804, Leme, Rio de Janeiro.



Pre-1930 Revolution.

— Manuscript “O Destacamento ‘Mariante’ no Paraná Occidental (Reminiscências). Pedro Aurélio de GÓES MONTEIRO. Capitão do Estado Maior. Rio, Junho de 1925”. 96 pp. foolscap, close-typed. Edited.

I. — Introdução.

II. — 1ª parte: Formigas.

III. — 2ª parte: A Manobra de Catanduvas.

IV. — 3ª parte: De Salto a Porto Santa Helena.

V. — 4ª parte: Guahyra.

VI. — Conclusão.

The MS includes “Explicação Prévia”, written May, 1936. The Introduction reflects on the army and Brazil in 1925, armies in general; II-V are a military chronicle of events; VI offers a summary, and reflections on the “civil war” and Brazil’s “papões”.

- Pasta “Revolução de 1930 (Cartas e Documentos) (A)”.
 - contains a few letters to Góes written just prior to the outbreak of revolution, after Góes has agreed to lead the rebel forces. Among the letters is one from Oswaldo Aranha (undated, but probably mid-August, 1930), assessing the strength of rebel forces. There is a series of telegrams from the same period, to or about Góes, chiefly on family matters. There are also various undated intelligence reports.
- Pasta “Correspondência trocada com Drs. Arthur Bernardes, Lindolfo Collor, Flores da Cunha, O. Aranha e Getúlio Vargas”.
 - contains the draft of an undated letter to Bernardes out of the Bahia campaign against the Prestes Column (1926), outlining the military problems Brazil faced.
- Pasta “Resposta ao G.ªl Flores Cunha (Rascunho, Cópia) 1934 (A)”.
 - incomplete document of 126 pages, written late in 1935. The section “Revivendo uma Epocha” starts in 1925, chronicling events to the end of the São Paulo revolt.
- Pasta “Revolução de 1930 (B)”.
 - contains three letters from Góes to Caiado de Castro (then in Rio) from São Luiz and Porto Alegre, April, June and July, 1930. Góes is bitter about his fate, determined to remain aloof from the then-building revolution; he offers a great deal of political comment, and reveals he has refused an offer to lead the rebel forces. The final letter notes João Pessoa’s assassination; Góes sees revolution as inevitable by then, but is more concerned with Communism among his troops.
- Envelope “Teatro de Operações (Estudo e Carta) 2ª secção” contains a letter from Góes to Caiado (20-5-30), most of it gossip.

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1930 Revolution.

- Pasta “Radiogramas”.
 - few are dated, but at least one is from the Revolution.
- Pasta “Revolução de 1930 (Cartas e Documentos) (A)”.
 - contains a few letters and documents from the Revolution: isolated lists of military who adhered to the movement, declarations made by soldiers during the campaign in the south, etc. Nothing very significant.

- Pasta “Revolução de 1930 (B)”.
 - bits and pieces; e. g., an undated cable from Góes to Oswaldo Aranha calling for reforms first and a constitution later, an unsigned critique of AL actions, what are probably three intelligence reports.
- Pasta “Resposta ao G. al Flores...”.
 - “Revivendo uma Epocha” has a section, in heroic prose, on the Revolution.

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Immediate Post-Revolutionary Period.

- Pasta “Revolução de 1930 (B)”.
 - two documents that refer to an attempt to make Góes chief of the E.M.E., which was apparently thwarted by Leite de Castro; three undated depositions from individuals in the São Paulo Delegacia de Sindicancias e Inqueritos on the “Nomination of Col. Góes Monteiro as Chief of the EME” case (containing little information on it); a manifesto, “EME Ao Exercito”, very much in the style and rhetoric of Góes, which looks like the acceptance speech for the post which Góes was not then to get.
- Pasta “Legião de Outubro”.
 - contains only three items: a 3-page “Directivas para a organização do E.M. do ‘Club 3 de Outubro’”, a 4-page copy of an address urging Brazilians to join the Legion, and, on the back cover, an organizational chart in Góes’ hand.
- Pasta “Correspondência entre Buys, Teodoro, Othelo”.
 - an exchange of letters from this period reveals the despair of Góes over the lack of innovation by the Provisional Government.
- Pasta “Correspondência trocada com Drs. Arthur Bernardes...”.
 - contains copies of letters to Vargas about promotions and the São Paulo situation, most of which may be found in the Vargas Archive.
- A copy of the “Pacto de honra” issued in São Paulo, 24-2-31.
- The “Resposta ao Flores” pasta contains material on this period.
- Pasta “Correspondência trocada c/ os seg. tes gerais: Coutinho, Nicolau, Klinger, Leite Castro, Benedicto Silveira, Andrade Neves e Mariante”.

- of interest here is an exchange of letters with Klinger in 1931-2 on the military and political situations, and letters to Leite de Castro on the same topics, including concern expressed by Góes about Communism in the army.
- The pasta "Resposta ao G.al Flores. Limpa (B)" contains only a copy of the "Pacto Revolucionario".
- The pasta "Discursos (A)" contains the draft of a speech, given at the Teatro João Caetano late in 1931 or early in 1932, effusively thanking labour for honouring him and stressing that Brazil's problems can be overcome by cooperation.
- Pasta "O Gal Goes no cmdo da 2ª RM".
 - contains a letter from Juarez Távora, in Bahia, to Isidoro Dias Lopes (16-2-31) charging that the politicians are ruining the Revolution, and urging the military to unite behind Leite de Castro rather than trying to remove him as Minister of War.

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Commander of the Second Military Region.

- The thick pasta "Communismo" has some printed Communist matter apparently acquired at this time.
- The pasta "O Gal Goes no cmdo da 2ª RM" is thick, containing a variety of items:
 - a substantial number of unsigned and — unfortunately — undated intelligence reports on the São Paulo situation from all aspects.
 - directives to high officers in the region, keeping their allegiance.
 - memoranda from Góes to various people about the São Paulo situation.
 - occasional scribbled thoughts from Góes about the course of events.
 - various items of São Paulo "anti-federal" propaganda.
 - a number of letters exchanged during and immediately following the period in which Góes commanded the region.
- The "Resposta ao Flores" pasta contains material on this period.

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São Paulo Rebellion.

- Pasta "Histórico": contains a 35-page report (16-6-33), "Revolução de São Paulo, seu historico causas e efeitos", from

the Ministry of Justice, sent to Góes for comment. The document contains only a propagandistic (pro-federal government) historical synthesis, the messages from Góes trying to forestall rebellion, and the peace terms and the exchange of cables negotiating peace.

- Pasta “Directivas e Memórias”, an apparently complete file of the official correspondence from Góes as commander of the Destacamento de Exército de Leste de São Paulo (well organized):
 - inserted in a separate folder at the front is an edited, incomplete manuscript, “Campanha de São Paulo. Operações do Destacamento de Exército de Leste de São Paulo”. The armistice negotiations and documents are complete, but most of the material on the rebellion itself is missing. There is an interesting discussion of the causes of the rebellion.
 - there are three *directivas* (July-August/32) to Destacamento commanders, outlining strategy, plus four *schemas* of campaign maps. Of particular interest, however, are six *memórias* to the government: the first two (July) are on strategy; the next two (August) criticize the government strongly for the woeful state of the army, the fifth warns darkly of “agents of defeatism” all over the country and particularly near São Paulo, and concludes with recommendations for postwar treatment of São Paulo; the sixth surveys the situation — sprinkled liberally with quotes from Napoleon — at the end of September. There are four *anexos* dealing with military and postwar-political strategy.
- Pasta “Relatório. Serviços (Intendência, Engenharia, Material Bélico, Transmissões, Serviço de Saude, Serviço Veterinário, Transportes, Serviço Ferroviário, Serviço de Polícia e Justiça)” contains reports from chiefs of these sectors during the rebellion.
- The “Resposta ao Flores” pasta contains material on this period.
- Envelope “Teatro de Operações (Estudo e Carta 2ª secção” contains a map of the São Paulo troop dispositions during the rebellion, and a 28-page manuscript, “Destacamento de Exército de Leste. Estado Maior. 2ª Secção. Teatro de Operações”, a military chronicle of operations, with map.

Post-1932 Rebellion, 1933.

- The pasta "Communismo" has material that appears to pertain to this period.
- As a loose item, there is a circular letter, undated, probably to military and naval officers, on the occasion of the nomination of Góes to the National Constituent Assembly, soliciting opinions from the "class" he represents.
- The "Resposta ao Flores" pasta concludes with material on this period.
- Pasta "Assembléia Nacional Constituinte (Discursos, projectos, sugestões e Offícios)":
 - there is an initial folder, "Sugestões à Constituição", containing a few such documents from officers, a copy of the draft articles by Góes on "National Defence and Military Institutions", and a criticism of the draft from the Naval Staff.
 - other comments on the constitution from military officers and civilians.
 - a speech by Góes to the Assembly (April/33), commenting on the Brazilian federation and the formation of Brazil's ethnic type.
 - a manifesto to Góes from the Partido Nacional Regenerador (10-4-34), calling for a "constitutional dictatorship" for a minimum of 10 years.
 - a handwritten draft of a speech Góes made to the Assembly after it had brought down the draft constitution. Góes expressed grave reservations about the document he had just signed, since the state was not made strong enough; it could be considered an interim document only.
 - a copy of the draft constitution.
 - a 6-page proposal, "Bases para a organização do regime corporativo no Brasil".
 - a few more letters from officers about clauses of the proposed constitution; e. g., whether or not soldiers should vote.
- Pasta "Correspondência entre Buys, Teodoro, Othelo" has a 1933 letter from Teodoro (Pacheco) urging Góes to reform the army.
- Pasta "Boletins de Informações" contains only two, issued at 15h and 18h, 14-3-33, the first of a projected series of secret information bulletins. The first expresses concern about São Paulo regionalism; the second, signed by Góes, warns of an impending "military, civilian and communist" uprising.

- Pasta "Club Militar" contains some items pertaining to 1933, e. g., the refusal by Góes to run for president of the club, some documents on financial problems within the club.
- Pasta "Rádios e Telegrammas — Novembro 1934" contains a series of documents on an attempt by some non-commissioned officers to form a Sergeants Association, some of which date from 1931 to 1933.
- Pasta "Missão Francesa" has a document, dated 21-11-33, containing the dates — for pay purposes — on which members of the Missão Militar Francesa were leaving Brazil.
- Pasta "Comissão de Revisão das Reformas Administrativas. Cópias. Ministério da Guerra. Secretaria de Estado. Atas. C.R.R.A." This was a commission to review the "administrative retirements" of junior officers fighting for São Paulo in 1932. It met for two months, under Góes, at the end of 1933, and recommended full amnesty. This appears to be a complete record of the committee's deliberations.
- Pasta "1933-34. Aquisição de material bélico para o Exército. 1936. Carta de Gustavo Cordeiro de Faria ao Gen. F. José Pinto" contains one item on 1933, a despatch on artillery dispositions.
- Pasta "Documentos diversos" contains considerable material on the situation in São Paulo following the 1932 rebellion. Much of it is intelligence reports, and some of them warn of continued subversion, arms caches, etc. Góes had junior officers on the staff of the 2ª RM reporting directly to him, among other sources. There is a letter from Gen. Daltro Filho, probably written early in 1933, warning of preparations for an April coup.
- Pasta "Casos: 1) Gen. Góes x Gen. João Gomes. 2) Gen. Góes x Gen. Tasso Fragoso. 1935". The only items relevant here are the galley proofs of the letter Góes sent to the *Jornal do Commercio*, in June, 1933, about Othelo Franco's book, part of his quarrel with Tasso Fragoso (this is the only item about him), and 11 pages continuing the chronicle of the São Paulo campaign, typed 1-6-33.

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Ministro da Guerra (23/1/34-7/5/35).

- The Pasta "Communismo" has some relevant material; e. g., Communist versions of events 1930-5, with comments on the role of Góes (testimony taken in Buenos Aires).

- As a loose item, "Política Social do Exército (Plano Elaborado de Ordem do Exmo. Snr. Ministro da Guerra pelo Cap. Severino Sombra)", submitted 7-3-34, on how to quell Communism in the army, with an addendum 17-1-35.
- Pasta "Club Militar" has some material on the club's financial crisis, which continued into 1934; Góes served on the committee investigating the crisis. Documentation is scattered.
- Pasta "Radios e Telegrammas — Novembro 1934" contains documents on the attempt by sergeants to form an association, and the opposition of Góes to it (as a threat to "class solidarity"). It also has material hinting at the wooing by Góes of the sergeants; e. g., asking Vargas that they be allowed the vote.
- Pasta "Missão Francesa" has some useful material on the size of the mission in 1934, and some recommendations made by its members.
- Pasta "Queixa Apresentada ao Exmo. Chefe do Governo Provisório pelo Gen. José Pessôa Cavalcanti de Albuquerque contra o Gen. Pedro Aurélio de Góes Monteiro, Ministro da Guerra. Informação e solução anexas. 1934".
 - contains the complete official documentation of Pessôa's arrest over a letter to the *Correio da Manhã* (16-5-34) that Góes construed as a challenge to his authority. Pessôa complained to Vargas, both sides submitted evidence, and Vargas cancelled the notice of Pessôa's imprisonment.
- Pasta "Documentos diversos" contains various intelligence reports on São Paulo early in 1934: some reports saw the situation as "tense", with coup rumours everywhere, and strong opposition from São Paulo to the candidacy of Vargas in 1934.
- Pasta "Correspondência trocada com Drs. Arthur Bernardes...":
 - three letters to Armando de Sales Oliveira, early 1934, in one of which Góes offers comments on liberal democracy.
 - an exchange of letters with Flores da Cunha, among which is one (4-3-35) in which Flores pledges unswerving loyalty, and a series of telegrams at the same time in which Góes refuses an invitation to visit Rio Grande do Sul.
 - an exchange of letters with Oswaldo Aranha, among which are two, unsigned, on Gabinete do Ministro da Guerra stationery, promoting the candidacy of Góes for President, early 1934.

- most of the correspondence with Vargas may be found in the Vargas Archive (the statements by Góes of 18-1-34 on the army's needs, his resignations of 10-7-34 and 1-5-35), but there is also a frank assessment, from early 1934, on officers eligible for promotion or retirement, and a letter — 1-5-34 — calling for tighter controls over state militias.
- Pasta "Conselho de Justificação do Coronel Octávio de Alencastro (Depoimento do General Góes Monteiro)". Written 3-7-35, this is a 60-page justification of the record of Góes as War Minister.
- Pasta "Correspondência trocada c/os generais: Pinto, Daltro, Waldomiro e João Gomes". Included are some items of interest: letters from Daltro early in 1934 on São Paulo, and "Instrução Pessoal e Secreto 22-5-34" to João Gomes on his taking command of the 3ª RM, which includes an assessment of the external and internal situations of Brazil.
- Pasta "Candidatura do Gal. Góes Monteiro à Presidência da República" contains only a very few letters urging him to stand and the dignified refusals of Góes.
- Pasta "Casos 1) Gen. Daltro (cmdo da 2ª RM. Interventor S. Paulo). 2) Gen. Franco Ferreira (cmdo da 3ª RM. 1934)".
 - contains correspondence surrounding the 1933 appointment of Daltro as interim Interventor and his removal in mid-1934 from command of the 2ª RM (because, in the words of Góes, he had "compromised the political neutrality of the army"), and correspondence and documents concerning the removal of Franco Ferreira from command of the 3ª RM, at the same time and for the same stated reason.
- Pasta "Reorganização e problemas do Exército" contains much useful material:
 - recommendations for 1934 from the Missão Militar Francesa.
 - the 1934 "Lei de Organização Geral do Exército", which Góes drafted, with recommendations and comments to and from various generals, and from the Estado Maior do Exército.
 - some memoranda (early 1934) on the need for censorship to protect national security.
 - various items on army reorganization, needs, and the difficulties in achieving goals. There are drafts of reports submitted to Vargas, which may be found in the Vargas Archive.

- a letter (1/35) from Góes to the Chefe EME, warning of internal and external threats to Brazil, and calling on the army to be cohesive and vigilant. Góes is very pessimistic about the future.
- Pasta "Correspondência trocada c/os seg. tes gerais: Coutinho, Nicolau...".
 - letter to Gen. Mariante, 8-5-34, prompted by the decision of Vargas to relieve Mariante of command of the 1ª RM; the letter includes an assessment by Góes of the current political situation.
 - a series of copies and drafts of the 1934 official letters by Góes as War Minister, on a wide variety of subjects: threats of subversion in the 2ª and 3ª RMs, army reorganization, the threat posed by the Chaco situation, the need for a secret service, movement of personnel, civilian militias, and so on.
- Pasta "Caso Waldomiro-Daltro. 1934" contains the official correspondence to and from Góes concerning the public quarrel between the two generals over the report of the Coffee Institute issued early in 1934 by Daltro.
- Pasta "Respostas e sugestões. Caso São Paulo (após o movimento de 1932)" contains only a few items, chiefly concerning a late-1934 incident over which some paulistas were imprisoned.
- Pasta "Documentos referentes a emenda nº 2. 1935" contains scattered material to and from Góes on the "national security" amendment, including a letter from João Neiva de Figueiredo, written just prior to the resignation by Góes as Minister of War, warning him that the army has put itself in an awkward position by being so punitive toward the rebels of November 1935; the army must be careful not to isolate and destroy itself.
- Pasta "1934. Correspondência do M. da Guerra com o M. Marinha e os Chefes do EME" contains copies of various official letters also found in "Correspondência trocada /os seg. tes generias..." above.
- Pasta "Nº 13. Documentos militares. Regiões Sul-Americanas". This pasta contains a list of its contents, and holds documents on three problem areas: Letícia, the Chaco, Argentina.
 - the Letícia section is chiefly made up of clippings about the dispute, particularly concerning a Swedish ship carrying munitions to Iquitos.

- the Chaco section contains documents about the position of Brazil, and the precautions taken by the army, on the war.
- the “Relações com Argentina” section contains scattered material: 1934 correspondence and reports from Buenos Aires, a 1927 report on the situation at the time of the Mitre centenary, and reports of the smuggling of arms in 1933 from Argentina.
- Pasta “1933-34. Aquisição de material bélico...” describes various schemes to embark on Brazilian manufacture of military arms and munitions, and negotiations with foreign suppliers of light and heavy weapons.
- Pasta “O Gal. Góes no cmdo da 2ª RM” has one relevant item, a 1935 (March) report on São Paulo.

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Mid-1935 to the End of 1936.

- Pasta “Radiogramas”. Although few are dated, most are from 1936-7.
- Pasta “Memórias. 14 e 16 set 1936”. Apparently the only surviving item from what must have been a diary Góes kept, this contains revealing impressions of a few people and events. Entries were written at intervals between Sept. 14 and Oct. 2, and are very frank on such people as Minister of War João Gomes, from the bitter point of view of Góes.
- The pasta “Communismo” contains some documents on the ANL.
- Pasta “Nº 16. A Aviação Militar Brasileira” comprises a report of 11 pages, 18-7-36, on the deplorable state of military aviation.
- Pasta “Correspondência entre Buys, Teodoro, Othelo” contains letters from 1935-6 between Buys and Góes on the state of the army.
- As a loose item, there is a copy of the report War Minister João Gomes made to the Conselho de Segurança Nacional, 29-10-35, implicitly blaming Góes for the “estado de precariedade para o cumprimento da nossa finalidade”. The reply Góes submitted, 1-11-35, is enclosed.
- Pasta “1933-34. Aquisição de material bélico...” contains a letter from Gustavo Cordeiro de Farias to Gen. Pinto, noting that munitions prices in Europe have jumped sharply.
- Pasta “Correspondência trocada c/os generais: Pinto...” contains two letters to Pinto, clearly an intimate friend, in which Góes complains about the state of the army and laments his fate.

- Pasta “Casos: 1) Gen. Góes x Gen. João Gomes...”. Almost the entire pasta is taken up with the dispute between Góes and Gomes, from November 1935 to the latter’s resignation (and beyond) as Minister of War in December 1936. The dispute was provoked by newspaper articles painting a glowing picture of the first six months in office of Gomes, castigating the administration of Góes by inference. Góes carried the dispute to Vargas, demanding a public inquiry. The quarrel was never resolved, but simply died away nastily.
- The pasta ‘Documentos referentes a emenda nº 2. 1935’ continues the battle over the “national security” amendment through mid-1936. It also includes the written vote by Góes at the “meeting of the generals” in January 1936, supporting the acts of the Minister of War in response to the November 1935 uprisings.
- The pasta “Memórias e Notas. E.M.E. (1937)” has little to do with the Estado Maior do Exército, but does contain one of the few clear statements from Góes about his plans for Brazil. In a memorandum to his close friend, Gen. Pinto, 20-12-35, he discusses the mechanics of a right-wing coup. Included also is a document from the Comissão Militar pro Frente Democrática, claiming that Vargas is plotting with the Integralistas for a dictatorship.

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1937; the Inspectorships.

- Pasta “Documentos recebidos e expedidos p^a a 1^a inspecção às Regiões Militares do Sul (Fevereiro e Março de 1937)”. Well organized, with a complete, annotated list of the documents included. This is a collection of 36 official documents, for the most part issued during the inspection, by or to Góes. He claims to have been impressed by the troops he saw.
- Pasta “Documentos expedidos depois da saída do Rio de Janeiro p^a a 2^a inspecção às regiões militares do Sul começada à 10-5-35”. Again, well organized, with a partial, annotated list of the documents included. The collection embraces 15 official documents, issued during the inspection. Góes finds the political and military situations in the South alarming, and spends considerable time analyzing the former (which he had not done on the first tour). While, Góes concludes, there is no longer the active threat of a rising from the South, he is concerned that political leaders are casting themselves as martyrs to the federal government’s tyranny.

- The pasta "2ª inspeção 10-5-937. Cartas e telegrammas" is disorganized, and covers more than the title implies. The letters run from January to July, 1937, and are useful for an understanding of the subsequent actions of Góes.
 - there is some correspondence with the intimate friends of Góes over the possibility of his candidacy for President in the upcoming election. There are also a couple of letters from individuals calling on Góes to "act", which Góes is careful to deflect with demurrals. There are several letters from Góes to friends with his usual biting comments on politics. There is correspondence with a Deputy over the leaking of a secret document. Through it all the grim struggle between Góes and Flores da Cunha — between centralism and regionalism — is apparent.
- The pasta "Reorganização e problemas do Exército" contains one item relevant to this period, a secret circular letter from the War Minister to commanders of regions and directors of services, calling on the army to remain calm in the face of political turmoil, and to remember November 1935.
- Pasta "Documentos expedidos antes do Senhor General Góes Monteiro partir p^a a 1ª inspeção iniciada a 20-1-937, às regiões militares do Sul do País". This is well organized, with a partial, annotated list of the documents included. It contains a series of documents Góes sent late in 1936 and January 1937 on the political and military situations of Brazil, with special reference to the South. Many deal with plans in the event of insurrection in the South.
- Pasta "Documentos expedidos no Rio de Janeiro para a segunda inspeção às Regiões Militares do Sul (10-5-937)". Of the 5 "Documentos recebidos", the IPS N^o 2, 6-5-37, may be found in the Vargas Archive, another is merely a covering letter for it, two are included in the official pasta on this tour, and the last is a note from the Chefe do EME urging Góes to finish the job he began on the first tour. The "Documentos expedidos" include several discussing military measures to be taken against the South; there is some discussion of what to do about reaction elsewhere in the country.

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Chefe do Estado Maior do Exército (2/7/37-31/12/43).

- Pasta "1939".
 - an official directive of the activities of the EME for 1939.

- a secret note for high officers in the EME, giving its viewpoints on national defence for the visit to the U.S. of the Minister of External Relations.
- Pasta "Discursos (B)". All date from 1937-9, and cover a number of more-or-less ceremonial occasions. Many may be found in the short-lived *Anais do Exército*. An unexpected item was the invitation for Góes to visit Germany in August or September, 1939, to inspect the Reich army.
- Pasta "Brasil. Situação Interna". This was rather a disappointment, since it contained only an incomplete, handwritten report (only possibly by Góes) on the internal situation in mid-1937, and an incomplete "official" version of the meaning of the Cohen Plan.
 - there is, in addition, "HTM-2", an unsigned denunciation of the press for trying to drag Brazil into the war, which recommends that DIP should take over three Rio dailies.
- Pasta "Caso General Góes Monteiro x General Waldomiro Lima. 1937". Documentation covers only one side (that of Góes) of this quarrel, in which Góes says Waldomiro accused him of trying to "chateaubrianizar" Brazilian institutions. Góes counters with a deposition that accuses Waldomiro of plotting continually for a military coup. There are a few substantiating letters included, and the decision from the Supremo Tribunal Militar that the case was outside its jurisdiction.
- Pasta "Circular aos Generais. Respostas dos Generais à circular de 5-6-937". The circular, which asks if the generals held a meeting with Dutra and deliberately did not inform Góes, appears to have arisen out of Dutra's decision to move troops to the South in response to the reports submitted by Góes from his second inspection tour. Several generals went to Dutra, which angered Góes; he offers to show proof to anyone who asks to see it of the need for action against Flores da Cunha. Replies to his circular are included.
- There are two separate items concerning the trip Góes made to Uruguay, Argentina and Chile in 1938: a ring binder of press clippings from the three countries, all highly laudatory, and protocol instructions from Itamarati for the trip.
- There is a slim pasta "Conjecturas sobre a guerra européia 1941 (janeiro)", which discusses, among other things, the possibility of a German invasion of the U.K., and the impossibility of the U.S. having a decisive effect on the war before 1943.
- Another slim pasta, "Superintendência de Ordem Política e Social: Relatório e documentos referentes à recente dissidên-

- cia verificada na direcção central do PARTIDO COMMUNISTA BRASILEIRO". A few documents, from São Paulo early in 1938, purporting to show the divisions in the PCB.
- The pasta "Comunismo e Nazismo" contains nothing about the latter, unless one considers Nazistic a 1940 document, "Sugestões para a unificação ideológica do País. Diretrizes de Ação", which talks about making the Estado Novo more efficient. The other two documents concern: (1) the "international Jewish-Communist conspiracy", (2) a letter from Uruguay asking that the wife of Prestes be expelled from Brazil so she could join her child in Europe.
 - Pasta "Memórias e Notas. E.M.E. (1937)", contains a report of the EME for 1937, and two letters of minor significance from the same period.
 - Pasta "Secretos" contains a variety of items on this period (it has a list of contents pasted on the front):
 - the five-year equipment and reorganization plan (1939-43) for the army.
 - intelligence on the 1941 Russian defence against Germany.
 - a naval exercise in combined landings.
 - the cost-of-living figures for Rio from the IBGE, 1912-43.
 - some stories (1941) about Góes forwarded by the police.
 - a letter on rearmament.
 - an anonymous report denouncing Dutra and Góes as Nazis.
 - The pasta "1945-46 Correspondência com Generais" contains material relevant to this period:
 - a 1939 letter from one of the Sub-Chefes of the EME, Gen. Eduardo Guedes Alcoforado, discussing proposals for more control of the Polícia Militar; a series of telegrams and radiograms, most undated, from 1937 and 1939; a long (22 pages) letter from Góes to Alcoforado, at a time when Góes was convalescing at his sítio (3-43), containing his thoughts on the state of Brazil (very pessimistic).

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1943-45 (Delegado à Comissão Consultiva de Emergência para a Defesa Política do Continente).

- Pasta "Generais norte americanos. Correspondência". Most of these are "protocol" letters.

- The pasta “De 1935 a 1945. Discursos, proclamações, propaganda, cartas, etc.” contains various items (some undated) from this period, some to, from or about Góes. There are two syntheses of the thoughts of Góes on the South-American and Brazilian situations, probably written by others, that are noteworthy.
- There is an enormous pasta (close to 200 items), “Cartas particulares. 1944”, whose contents, while only partially organized, have been put into rough chronological order. The letters are for the most part from friends, whose identities are sometimes unclear.
 - there are many completely personal letters in the file, dealing only with family matters.
 - many of the friends of Góes, civilian and military, kept him abreast of events at home. A few replies are included, and some other replies may be found in the Vargas Archive. Góes heard often from Georgino Avellino, Ângelo Mendes de Moraes, Pedro Costa Leite, Firmo Freire, C. F. Buys, Teodoro Pacheco, Othelo Franco, Tasso de Oliveira Tinoco, Salvador César Obino, Ademar Fonseca, Alberto Meirelles, José Alves Magalhães, Antônio Vieira de Melo and the brother to whom he was closest, Manoel.
 - Góes also had contacts in Brazilian legations who wrote him: from his brother, Manoel, for example, there was much news of Guatemala; he also heard from Portugal.
 - there are couple of “feelers” from Viriato Vargas, about the opinions of Góes of the Estado Novo.
 - there is substantial correspondence from August, surrounding the resignation of Oswaldo Aranha and subsequent diplomacy to make Góes see reason and withdraw his own resignation.
 - the pasta ends in October (with the exception of a letter from João Alberto at the end of December), with correspondence about the return of Góes to Rio.
- The pasta “Secretos” has one or two items relevant to this period: opinions of Góes that the police passed on to him, and news of internal army quarrels.

(Góes was “a chamado do Governo” in Rio 6/11/44-9/8/45; there is no documentation on this period in his papers).

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Ministro da Guerra (9/8/45-14/10/46).

- Pasta “Correspondência com generais; Carater particular 1946”. Well organized, with an initial section of varied items,

and the remainder of the material organized by name of the sender. The letters date from 1945 as well as 1946, and are really more official than private.

- Pasta “Correspondência Particular 1946” is also well organized, and contains letters from three generals who were military attachés: Oswaldo Cordeiro de Farias, in Buenos Aires; Ângelo Mendes de Moraes, in Paris (who was also Brazilian delegate to the peace conference); and Valentim Benício da Silva in Washington. Each sent assessments of the situations — political and military, principally — in the countries to which they had been posted.
- Pasta “Generais norte-americanos. Correspondência” contains essentially letters of protocol or personal greeting.
- Pasta “Dezembro de 1945 a janeiro de 1946. ‘Dossier’ de correspondência trocada pelo Gen. Góes e o ministro da justiça, Dr. A. Sampaio Dória, sobre um ante-projeto de Constituição de autoria do último”. This contains an incomplete exchange of letters over Dória’s desire for an interim constitution; Góes takes Dutra’s side — politely but firmly — and says that the Estado Novo institutions should remain until a constitution can be enacted to replace them legally.
- Pasta “1946. Correspondência particular”. This is well organized, after a general opening section, by the writer’s institution or position, and subject. The material, however, is official rather than private.
- Pasta “1945-46 Correspondência com Generais”:
 - letters from officers warning that elections must be held, with replies from Góes agreeing, while anxious to keep the army neutral. Góes is urged to commit himself, but demurs. At one point, Gen. Ary Pires warns Góes that his “shocking” speech to the 3^a echelon of FEB has jeopardized his authority with the army.
 - in a exchange of letters with Brig. João Pereira de Oliveira late in 1945, we learn that the general officers in Rio met weekly with Góes to discuss the current situation (minutes of these meetings exist, but were not available to me; they are likely in Brasília, with either the EME or Ministério da Guerra).
- There is some loose material from 1945, from France and the U.S., on the atomic bomb.
- In the pasta “Secretos” there is a 1946 denunciation of corruption in the Banco do Brasil.

"Os Restos" (to 1952).

- Pasta "Estudo de Defesa Aérea e Costeira do Brasil (Major-Brigadeiro Gordon P. Saville, da USAF)", 1948. Over 100 pages of text, charts and maps.
 - Document "As Forças Armadas na Quarta Reunião de Consulta", 1951.
 - Two confidential dossiers on the Quarta Reunião.
 - Pasta "Relatório — São Paulo", 18-8-50: a report, 26 pages (complete?) on Communist activity in São Paulo.
 - The pasta "Bases para el Plan de Operaciones Máximo. 1933-4" contains a proposed PTB platform for 1950, and a 1950 law retiring soldiers who belong or did belong to, or campaign for, outlawed political parties.
 - Pasta "Presidência da República. Estado Maior Geral. Correspondência Expedida":
 - there is a group of letters, July-September, 1951, from Washington, reporting on the situation and progress made by Góes there. He reports on prospects for Brazil acquiring cruisers from the U.S., on U.S. hopes that Brazilian troops will be sent to Korea, on Brazil's loss of prestige since the Second World War, etc.
 - there are sections with "thank-you" letters after the visit Góes made to the U.S., with telegrams arranging things en route to Washington, and with communications about the negotiations in the U.S.
 - Pasta "Presidência da República. Estado Maior Geral. Correspondência Recebida". Organized by author. Virtually all of this is official or protocol, but a couple of items are of interest: a 1951 letter from Costa Leite (while Góes was in Washington) telling about the storm over the *Revista do Clube Militar*, and a letter from João Neves on why Góes has been sent to Washington.
- (There is nothing on Góes as a Senator).

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Miscelânea.

- "Fé de Ofício" of General Góes (his official military record).
- The draft of his article, "Caxias — Commandante em Chefe", published in *Revista Militar Brasileira* (1936). The pasta also includes a critical review of Alberto Rangel's book on Caxias.
- A thick scrapbook of clippings from Salvador newspapers, about Góes, 1930-35: "Homenagem à Personalidade do Gal. Pedro Aurelio de Góes Monteiro".

- Pasta "Decretos de Nomeação do Gen. Góes Monteiro", which, while incomplete, contains most of the decrees for the promotions, offices and honours that Góes received.
- Two plans prepared by the Argentine army for 1933-4 describing operations on the northeast frontier.

Special mention should be made of the substantial pasta, "Communismo" (which has been referred to occasionally); it contains many documents on Brazilian Communism and social reform in the 1930s. There is a list of contents included, which shows that much material is missing (the section "Documentos Secretos 1ª R.M. — 2ª Sec." is a loose item).

There are also two pastas, "Discursos (A), (B)", containing speeches Góes made during the 1930s and early 1940s; mention has been made only on occasion of these files.