

THE ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE BRAZILIAN IMPERIAL NOBILITY IN SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Laura Jarnagin (*)

RESUMO

Neste trabalho, apresentado em 1977 na *Vanderbilt University* (Nashville, Tennessee, USA), para obtenção do título de *Master of Arts* em estudos latino-americanos, a autora estuda o papel da nobreza imperial brasileira na política e na sociedade.

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INTRODUCTION

The nature, role, and function of the nobility of Imperial Brazil (1822-89) as a New World aristocracy has yet to be brought into sharp historical focus. The purpose of this study is to determine whether the

(*) Da *Vanderbilt University*, Nashville, Tennessee, USA.

Brazilian nobility was indeed an elite group in politics and society. In particular, this question has been raised because of the general lack of credibility accorded the nobility system itself, that is, doubt that those singled out for imperial recognition were deserving of their honors.

Since this is at best a preliminary examination of the nobility, it has been most feasible to approach it from a descriptive and statistical standpoint. Thus, the first chapter offers a statistical overview of the nobility in terms of regional distribution of titles, political offices held by noblemen, their nobility ranks, and provincial origins. The second chapter pursues the nobleman-politician in a case study of those titleholders who were cabinet ministers. These officeholders were especially important because the majority also held the life-tenure positions of either councilor of state and/or imperial senator; in other words, it was possible for a politician to hold one or both of these positions while serving in the more volatile but important decision-making capacity of cabinet minister. A final chapter moves out of the exclusively political arena and into the premier cultural and intellectual organization of the Empire, the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, where a significant number of noblemen held membership. As an erudite society dedicated to the enrichment of national character through scholarly investigation of history and geography, the IHGB also served as a gentleman's club that additionally addressed itself to crucial issues facing the Empire while voicing its support of the monarchy.

The nature of the presentation of this thesis was in large part shaped by the type of data available at Vanderbilt (Joint University Libraries) and from private collections; a collective biography of all or at least a majority of titleholders would have constituted a more ideal study, however. Also, access to other types of data, such as personal papers and notarial records, would have been a welcomed addition of critical importance to both this and a more comprehensive study. However, it is hoped that the following chapters will at least establish the productivity of this general line of inquiry and its potential contribution to the understanding of the role of the elite in imperial Brazilian society.

A brief note is in order concerning the spelling of Portuguese words and names. Since the early nineteenth century, Brazilian Portuguese orthography has undergone numerous changes. For the sake of simplicity, the system currently in use has been employed in the text ("Raimundo da Cunha Matos" instead of "Raymundo da Cunha Mattos," for example) while original forms have been retained in the footnotes and bibliography.

CHAPTER I

A STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE BRAZILIAN NOBILITY 1822-89

In a prosopographical study, it is highly desirable to examine a significant segment of the group under investigation from a statistical standpoint. In this chapter, the principal concern is to measure the extent of social and political power of the Brazilian nobility during the Empire (1822-89). In order to accomplish this goal, a statistical overview is employed (a) to establish the group's niche in the society as a whole; (b) to determine interrelationships and patterns within the group; and (c) to provide a basis for formulating hypotheses concerning the group's role in society as derived from the first two observations. By selecting six localities — five provinces and the Court (Rio) — this study considers 690 noblemen, or 70.4 percent of the total 980 individual titleholders ⁽¹⁾.

The Brazilian nobility is ideally suited for this type of study as it represented both regional and socioeconomic sectoral interests. In addition to these factors, the nobility as an elite group was a compact entity, not only in terms of the total number of titleholders but also by virtue of their near-monopoly of important decision-making offices at the national level. By examining the provincial origins of the noblemen-officeholders, one can determine the patterns of political influence exercised by particular socioeconomic groups, such as export-agricultural interests, ranchers, and mining interests. A provincial breakdown, or regional distribution, of political offices held by noblemen can further show the importance accorded particular export products, such as coffee, sugar, cotton, and cattle. This information, in turn, can serve as a means for testing and refining the existing historical assumptions on the relationship between politics and economy.

The economic viability of Imperial Brazil was underwritten by an

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- (1) Figures for the number, rank, and date of concession of titleholders have been derived from Carlos G. Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império* (Rio: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional, 1960). However, a systematic check of its three sections (alphabetical lists by title and by last name, and list by birthplace) reveals numerous discrepancies. Specifically, more than fifty titles and/or names are not cross-referenced in the birthplace section. Due to the unavailability of sources to this writer to identify these persons' origins, the reader forewarned that the following statistics are not completely accurate, although it is doubtful that general trends and relative proportions would be significantly altered in light of corrective research. It should also be noted here that the Seção de Pesquisa Histórica of the Arquivo Nacional in Rio has recently completed a multi-volume work on biographical dictionaries of the Brazilian nobility, thereby updating all existing works; at this writing, publication of the work is forthcoming.

export-oriented agriculture and by mining activities. Five economic zones can be delineated for nineteenth century Brazil ⁽²⁾. The far north, including the provinces of Amazonas, Pará, and Maranhão, was engaged primarily in cotton and rice growing. The northeast's economic mainstay was in sugar, especially in the key provinces of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Alagoas. A standard export item since the mid-sixteenth century that had witnessed periodic rises and declines, sugar enjoyed an era of revitalization in the second half of the nineteenth century. Mining and pastoral activities dominated in the center and center-west, particularly in the province of Minas Gerais. The post-1850 period also saw the rise of another export item, coffee, which was concentrated in the center-south provinces of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro-Guanabara, hereinafter referred to as Rio de Janeiro ⁽³⁾. Pastoral activities dominated the economy of the far south, particularly the frontier "garrison" province of Rio Grande do Sul. Bordering on the contested regions of the La Plata, this province attracted military personnel from throughout Brazil in the nineteenth century who subsequently dominated Rio Grande do Sul's political scene.

Three of the regions and activities identified here constituted the backbone of the imperial economy, namely, the sugar of the northeast (particularly the provinces of Bahia and Pernambuco); mining, and to a lesser extent, pastoral activities of Minas Gerais; and the coffee-growing zone of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Further, it is necessary to establish the fact that the rise of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo as key economic zones is a nineteenth-century phenomenon, Rio coming into prominence in the first half of the century and São Paulo in the second half. Conversely, both the sugar and mining zones had their roots in the colonial period (mid-sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, respectively).

One point of conceptual clarification should be made at this juncture. The terms "zone" and "region" as used in this study are not synonymous. For the purpose of this work, "zone" will denote a geographically unified area dominated by one or two economic activities. "Region", on the other hand, includes not only economic patterns but political and social affinities as well — in short, those factors that give rise to the phenomenon known as regionalism. In this context, it is essential to identify two major regional patterns exhibited in the nineteenth century: the northeast,

(2) For a general discussion of the economic structure and history of Brazil, see Celso Furtado, *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A Survey from Colonial to Modern Times*, trans. Ricardo W. de Aguiar and Eric Charles Drysdale (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968).

(3) In 1834 when the province of Rio de Janeiro was carved out from São Paulo and Espírito Santo, the city of Rio de Janeiro came to be known as "a Corte" (the Court). In legal documents, "the Court" was designated as "município neutro", functioning as an autonomous administrative district where the emperor was chief executive. For the purpose of this study, "Rio de Janeiro" will refer to both the Court and the province of Rio de Janeiro; thus, in order to facilitate matters, the total number of provinces discussed herein will be five rather than six. As one can surmise, the Court frequently served as the residence of the rural aristocracy of the province of Rio de Janeiro.

dominated by sugar interests and its well-entrenched aristocracy, and focused on the provinces of Bahia and Pernambuco; and the center-south, including not only the coffee-growing zones of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, but also the mining-pastoral zone of Minas Gerais. Thus, the five core provinces of this study have been selected on the basis of their economic importance, political domination, and population concentration.

A second reason for including the foregoing discussion of Brazil's imperial economic patterns lies in the composition of the nobility itself. A commonly-held generalization, for example, is that the majority of barons were landowners⁽⁴⁾. Another identifiable patterns reveals that a full third of the titleholders represented coffee-growing interests⁽⁵⁾. No similar trend has yet been established for the sugar zone.

These introductory comments are intended to serve as a background for the following statistical discussion, which is to be divided into two sections. The first considers the nobility in proportion to the general population and in terms of regional patterns that emerge from an examination of the number of individual titleholders. The second part focuses on the relationships to be found among the political nobility in terms of offices held, rank, and provincial-regional distributions.

No discussion of the nobility's position in the society at large would be complete without first placing it in the perspective of the overall population. During the existence of the Empire, the total population of Brazil more than tripled, rising from 3,960,866 in 1823 to 14,333,915 in 1890, the year after the collapse of the Empire (see Table 1)⁽⁶⁾. The five provinces under consideration here account for an average 62.3 percent of the total population over the course of the Empire. The remainder of the population was dispersed throughout fifteen to seventeen other provinces (two provinces, Amazonas and Paraná, were created during the Empire). Proportionately, regional percentages of the total population remained fairly consistent: Bahia and Pernambuco in the northeast averaged 24.1 percent of the total population, while the three provinces of the center-south accounted for an average 38.9 percent of the population.

In terms of individual titleholders, 690 (70.4 percent) of a total 980 were distributed throughout the five provinces (see Table 2). Of this number, 205 (20.9 percent) were from Bahia and Pernambuco, and 485 (49.5 percent) were from Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo.

(4) See, for example, Hélió Vianna, *Vultos do Império*, Brasília 339 (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1968), p. 211.

(5) Alberto Ribeiro Lamego, "A Aristocracia rural do café na província fluminense", *Anuário do Museu Imperial*, 7 (1946): 53-126.

(6) *Recenseamento do Brasil realizado em 1 de Setembro de 1920* (Rio: Ministério da Agricultura, Indústria e Commercio, 1922), I, pp. 404 and 418. The figures for 1823 are generally accepted to be exaggerated.

TABLE 1
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF BRAZIL (SELECT PROVINCES), 1823-90

Province	1823		1830		1854		1872		1890	
	Pop.	% of Tot. Pop.	Pop.	% of Tot. Pop.	Pop.	% of Tot. Pop.	Pop.	% of Tot. Pop.	Pop.	% of Tot. Pop.
NE										
BA	671,922	17.0	560,000	10.5	1,100,000	14.3	1,379,616	13.9	1,919,802	13.4
PE	480,000	12.1	620,000	11.6	950,000	12.4	841,539	8.5	1,030,224	7.2
Tot	1,151,922	29.1	1,162,000	21.8	2,050,000	26.7	2,221,155	22.4	2,950,026	20.6
CS										
RJ	451,648	11.4	591,000	11.1	1,200,000	15.6	1,057,696	10.7	1,399,535	9.8
MG	640,000	16.2	930,000	17.4	1,300,000	16.9	2,039,735	20.5	3,184,099	22.2
SP	280,000	7.1	600,000	11.2	500,000	6.6	837,354	8.4	1,384,753	9.7
Tot	1,371,648	34.6	2,121,000	39.7	3,000,000	39.1	3,934,785	39.6	5,968,387	41.6
Prov. Tot.	2,523,570	63.7	3,283,000	61.5	5,050,000	65.8	6,153,940	62.0	8,918,413	62.2
Total Pop. of Brazil...	3,960,866		5,340,000		7,677,800		9,930,478		14,333,915	

Source: *Recenseamento do Brasil*, 1920, pp. 404, 407, 409, 414, and 418.

Compared to the population of each region, the northeast's percentage of titleholders is on par with its percentage of the population: 20.9 percent of the titleholders compared to an average 24.1 percent of the population. It should be noted, however, that the percentage of the population living in the northeast generally declined during the period under consideration. By the same token, the center-south had 49.5 percent of the titleholders compared to an average 38.9 percent of the population, or a slight over-representation. The general trend for the center-south as a whole during the Empire was one of gaining in percentage of the total population.

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL TITLEHOLDERS

Province	No. of Individuals	% of 5-Province Total No. of Titleholders (690)	% of Total No. of Titleholders (980)
Northeast			
BA	115	16.7	11.7
PE	90	13.0	9.2
Total	205	29.7	20.9
Center-South			
RJ	224	32.5	22.9
MG	155	22.5	15.8
SP	106	15.4	10.8
Total	485	70.3	49.5
Grand Total	690	100.0	70.4

Source: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*.

Abbreviations: BA = Bahia; PE = Pernambuco; RJ = Rio de Janeiro; MG = Minas Gerais; and SP = São Paulo.

Despite a fairly close parallel in the percentage of individual titleholders and the populations of the regions under consideration, there is a significant disparity over time between regions in the *number* of titles conferred. Of a total 1,278 titles granted, 884 (69.2 percent) went to the five provinces under study. Over the course of the Empire, only 29.3 percent of the 884 titles went to northeasterners while the center-south accrued the bulk of the titles with 70.7 percent (see Table 3). If one looks at critical last two decades of the Empire, the gap between the

TABLE 3
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TITLES GRANTED BY PROVINCE AND BY REGION

Province	To 1870	% of Tot. No. of Titles Granted	1870-89	% of Tot. No. of Titles Granted	Combined Total	% of Tot. No. of Titles Granted
NE						
BA	86		69			
PE	48		56			
Tot.	134	15.1	125	14.1	259	29.3
CS						
RJ	114		188			
MG	59		121			
SP	40		103			
Tot.	213	24.1	412	46.9	625	70.7
Grand Tot.	347	39.3	537	60.7	884	100.0

Source: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*.

two regions widens. In the last nineteen years of the sixty-seven year empire, 60.7 percent of the total number of awards to the five provinces was granted. It is in this period that more blatant favoritism to the center-south surfaces: 76.7 percent of the 537 titles granted in these two decades went to persons from the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo (see Table 4).

TABLE 4
REGIONAL PERCENTAGES OF PRE — AND POST — 1870
TITLES GRANTED

Region	To 1870	% of Pre-1870 Total	1870-89	% of Post-1870 Total
Northeast	134	38.6	125	23.3
Center-South	213	61.1	412	76.7
Total	347	99.7	537	100.0

Source: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*.

It is not surprising to find a preponderance of titles being granted in the post-1870 era. Some of the immediate increase may be attributable to the rewarding of services rendered in the Paraguayan War (1865-70). More importantly, however, was the discussion and passage of the Law of the Free Womb (*Lei do Ventre Livre*) in 1871 as the first, though tentative step towards the eventual abolition of slavery in 1888. The years 1871-72 and 1888-89 all exhibit marked increases in the number of titles granted over the preceding years (see Appendix A).

A second time perspective can be developed by comparing the percentage of the total number of titles accorded each rank. Some major distinctions can be made between the First and Second Reigns (1822-31 and 1840-89, respectively). During the First Empire, there was no appreciable gap between the percentages of barons and viscounts, with 35.9 and 41.0, respectively (see Table 5). During Pedro II's reign,

TABLE 5
TITLE DISTRIBUTION BY RANK, FIRST AND SECOND EMPIRES

Rank	1822-31	Percent	1840-89	Percent
Baron	28	35.9	620	76.9
Viscount	32	41.0	137	17.0
Count	3	3.8	33	4.1
Marquis	14	17.9	15	1.7
Duke	1	1.3	1	.1
Total	78	99.9	806	99.8

Source: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*.

however, the percentage of baronial titles jumped to 76.9 percent of the total with viscounts comprising only 17 percent. Similarly, the rank of marquis atrophied from 17.9 percent in the 1822-31 period to only 1.7 percent during the second empire. There was no significant change in the distribution percentages for the post-1870 period (see Table 6).

TABLE 6
TITLE DISTRIBUTION BY RANK, 1840-69 AND 1870-89

Rank	1840-69	Percent	1870-89	Percent
Baron	213	79.2	407	75.8
Viscount	36	13.4	101	18.8
Count	13	4.8	20	3.7
Marquis	6	2.2	9	1.7
Duke	1	0.4	0	0.0
Total	269	100.0	537	100.0

Source: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*.

As the principal focus of this study is the political nobility, a closer examination of this segment within the general survey is necessary. The format will provide a breakdown of officeholders by province/region and by title.

Of the 980 individual titleholders, 117 (11.4 percent) held the four key imperial appointive offices of president of the council of ministers (or prime minister), cabinet minister, imperial senator, and counselor of state. Seventy-eight (66.7 percent) were natives of the provinces considered here. Unlike the near-agreement in the percentage of individuals from each region relative to the population of the same, there is no clear-cut dominance of one region over the other at this level. If anything, the northeast is proportionately over-represented. Of these seventy-eight officeholders, thirty-seven were from the northeast and forty-one from the center-south (see Table 7).

TABLE 7
TITLE DISTRIBUTION OF APPOINTIVE POLITICAL
OFFICEHOLDERS BY RANK AND PROVINCE

Province	Baron	Viscount	Count	Marquis	Duke	Total
NE						
BA	7	11	0	7	0	25
PE	4	6	1	1	0	12
Total	11	17	1	8	0	37
CS						
RJ	3	11	1	3	1	19
MG	2	8	1	7	0	18
SP	2	1	0	1	0	4
Total	7	20	2	11	1	41
Other	11	18	2	8	0	39
Grand Total	29	55	5	27	1	117

Source: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*, and *Organizações e programas ministeriais. Regime parlamentar no Império*, 2nd ed. (Rio: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional, 1962).

From the perspective of appointive imperial political offices, it is evident that those holding the rank of viscount and marquis were more likely to be involved in top-level imperial politics. Of 117 noblemen who held these offices, fifty-five, or 47 percent, were viscounts and twenty-seven, or 23 percent, were marquises, for a combined 70 percent. The remaining thirty were barons (25 percent), counts, and dukes, suggesting that the majority of titleholders in these three categories were socioeconomic rather than political elites (see Table 8). An examination of these numbers again indicates that neither region predominates: seventeen of a two-region total of thirty-seven viscounts were from the northeast, twenty

from the center-south; eight of nineteen marquises were northeasterners, the remaining eleven from Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo.

Within each region, certain tendencies should be noted. In the northeast, Bahia clearly dominated: of a total thirty-seven officeholders, twenty-five were from this province. Almost two-thirds of the viscounts were from Bahia (eleven of seventeen) as were eight of nine marquises. Of the centersouth provinces, late-blooming São Paulo was distinctly in the minority, contributing only four of forty-one officeholders, including only one marquis and one viscount. The remaining thirty-seven were fairly equally split between Rio and Minas with nineteen and eighteen nobility officeholders, respectively.

TABLE 8
POLITICAL OFFICE DISTRIBUTION BY TITLE, 1822-89

Political Office	Baron	Vis-Count	Count	Marquis	Duke	Total	% of Total No. of Officeholders
Pres. of Council of Ministers (Tot. 23) (a)	2	7	0	5	1	15	65.2
Cabinet Ministers (Tot. 219)	15	43	2	24	1	84	38.4
Council of State (Tot. 88) (b)	2	31	1	21	1	56	63.6
Imperial Senate (Tot. 235)	19	44	2	27	1	93(c)	39.6

Source: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*, and *Organizações e programas ministeriais*.

(a) Created in 1847.

(b) Combined total of First and Second Councils (1823-34 and 1842-89).

(c) The exact number of noblemen-senators is difficult to determine, given the available sources; for example, this researcher was able to identify eighty-eight from José Murilo de Carvalho, "Elite and State-Building in Imperial Brazil" (Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1975): ninety-three from *Organizações e programas ministeriais*; and 118 from Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, *O Senado do Império* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, [1941?]). For the purposes of this table, the median figure has been chosen.

As the foregoing tables indicate, the crown seems to have employed a demographic formula as the basis of distributing titles of nobility. If this assumption is correct, the crown's policy certainly created a potential source of regional conflict as well as zonal rivalries. It seems appropriate to introduce at this point a set of well-established historical assumptions for testing purposes. Gilberto Freyre and his followers have argued that throughout the nineteenth century the northeast (i.e., the sugar-producing region), played a monopolistic role in imperial politics. When measured by the distribution of two important political offices (prime minister and cabinet member) such an assumption does not hold true. As a recent study has demonstrated, the office of prime minister was indeed monopolized by the northeasterners while the cabinet minister offices were dominated by the center-south provinces⁽⁷⁾. When the regional control of imperial political offices as an assumption is applied to the distribution of titles of nobility, it is clear that the northeast did not assert itself disproportionately in this respect. Rather, seen through the distribution of titles, it is clear that regional balance based upon population served as one of the crown's guidelines in filling the nobility ranks.

(7) Eul-Soo Pang and Ron L. Seckinger, "The Mandarins of Imperial Brazil", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14:2 (March 1972) :215-44.

CHAPTER II

TITLEHOLDERS AS POLITICAL ELITES: A CASE STUDY OF THE NOBLEMEN-MINISTERS, 1822-89

As was indicated in the preceding chapter, a large percentage of the Brazilian political ruling class was comprised of noblemen. The purpose of the present chapter, therefore, is to focus on this segment of the titleholders, specifically, those who occupied the highest positions in the imperial government. The core group will be drawn from those noblemen who served as cabinet ministers, and additionally as councilors of state and/or senators. The selection of these posts for analysis in this study has been determined in part by the greater availability of data on persons occupying these positions. More significantly, however, is the fact that, outside the emperor himself, the greatest source of political power in terms of influencing decision-making was to be found in the consolidation of these three offices.

The rationale for selecting nobility cabinet ministers as the core group around which to build this discussion lies in the nature of the Brazilian imperial political system in which ministers were the single most important political elite group since they were "agents of executive power which was headed by the emperor who had complete freedom in selecting them",⁽¹⁾ as stipulated in the Constitution of 1824. A further examination of these ministers in their capacities as councilors of state and/or senators complements the ephemeral ministerial appointments since the term of the other two positions was for the duration of a lifetime. The composition of the cabinet, however, can be considered a more accurate barometer of the political scene, recording the impasses, conflicts, and resolutions that occurred therein. A total of 219 individuals served as ministers during the Empire, of which eighty-five (39.1 percent) were titleholders (see Appendix B)⁽²⁾. Twenty-three persons also served as president of the cabinet (in effect, prime minister), a most influential position since, after the creation of that post in 1847, the selection of cabinet ministers

(1) José Murilo de Carvalho, "Elite and State-Building in Imperial Brazil" (Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1975), p. 54.

(2) Identification of information concerning noblemen-ministers was compiled from the following sources: Carvalho, "Elite and State-Building"; A. Tavares de Lyra, "Os ministros de Estado da Independência à República", *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 193 (out.-dez. 1946): 3-104; *Organizações e programas ministeriais. Regime parlamentar no Império*, 2nd ed. (Rio: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional, 1962); and Octaciano Nogueira e João Sereno Firmo, *Parlamentares do Império* (Brasília: Centro Gráfico do Senado Federal, 1973), a work unfortunately marred by several omissions.

usually rested with the president in consultation with the emperor, rather than with the emperor alone as had been the case previously ⁽³⁾. Fifteen of the twenty-three were also titleholders.

The power invested in the cabinet was to a large extent rivaled by that of the Council of State, an advisory body to the emperor on both political and administrative matters. Many historians have considered this institution to be the chief centralizing force of the monarchy, with João Camillo de Oliveira Torres going so far as to credit national unity to that body ⁽⁴⁾. However, its potential power was weakened by the fact that it was dependent on a third party for convocation (either by the emperor or a minister) ⁽⁵⁾. The council was further hindered by its retention of both political and administrative functions, a stumbling block that received recognition and criticism by its contemporaries ⁽⁶⁾. The resurrection of the Council of State in 1842 after its 1834 demise (following strong opposition to its excessive conservatism as well as its pro-Portuguese stance) provided for twelve regular and twelve alternate members who would serve, for example, when a regular member secured a cabinet post that would have been incompatible with council duties ⁽⁷⁾. By virtue of an unwritten compromise, however, not all twenty-four positions were filled at a given time ⁽⁸⁾. Ministers were permitted to attend council sessions, unless the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies or the dismissal of the cabinet was under consideration ⁽⁹⁾. All sixteen members of the First Council of State were made noblemen as were forty (55 percent) of the seventy-two who comprised the Second Council of State; thus, a combined fifty-six of a total eighty-eight councilors, or 63.3 percent, were from the ranks of the nobility.

A determination of the relative power of each of these two bodies is perhaps a moot point here, however. As will be seen below, there was a significantly high degree of overlap between titleholders who were ministers and those who were councilors of state.

The third political position included in the present discussion is that of imperial senator. As a whole, more individuals served in this capacity than in the other two posts since their number was determined as being one-half of the population-based Chamber of Deputies. Over the course of the Empire, the number of senators serving at one time changed from an initial fifty to an ultimate sixty ⁽¹⁰⁾. Appointments were made by the emperor from three-name lists permitted to attend

(3) Carvalho, "Elite and State-Building", p. 54.

(4) William H. Quick, "The Second Imperial Council of State of Brazil 1842-89" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1973), p. X.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) Carvalho, "Elite and State-Building", p. 54.

council sessions, unless the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies or the dismissal of the cabinet was under consideration ⁽¹¹⁾. All sixteen members of the First Council of State were made noblemen as were forty (55 percent) of the seventy-two who comprised the Second Council of State; thus, a combined fifty-six of a total eighty-eight councilors, or 63.6 percent, were from the ranks of the nobility.

A determination of the relative power of each of these two bodies is perhaps a moot point here, however. As will be seen below, there was a significantly high degree of overlap between titleholders who were ministers and those who were councilors of state.

The third political position included in the present discussion is that of imperial senator. As a whole, more individuals served in this capacity than in the other two posts since their number was determined as being one-half of the population-based Chamber of Deputies. Over the course of the Empire, the number of senators serving at one time changed from an initial fifty to an ultimate sixty ⁽¹²⁾. Appointments were made by the emperor from three-name lists submitted by the provinces ⁽¹³⁾. It should be reiterated here that only those noblemen-senators who were also ministers are being considered here, rather than all the noblemen-senators of a total 235 imperial senators ⁽¹⁴⁾.

It should also emphatically be made clear at this point that the following discussion is not to be mistaken as a comprehensive or even superficial portrayal of the cabinet and its functions as a whole; rather, this institution is being employed as a vehicle or a means — not an end — of clarifying and detailing the participation of noblemen in critical imperial decision-making positions. Thus, those titleholders who were cabinet ministers will be examined in terms of their place of birth, educational background, other political offices held, party affiliation, and receipt of titles. Unfortunately, insufficient data for all the ministers are available on family and/or clan background, possible kinship and business ties among this group or with other influential political, economic, and social elites, and so forth, thus rendering the inclusion and ingestion of such information impossible. Also, brief discussion will be accorded those noblemen who were prime ministers.

As noted above, eighty-five of a total 219 ministers received titles during the Empire. For analytical purposes, this group may be further subdivided into four sections based on the various combinations of offices held: (1) minister, councilor, and senator; (2) minister and councilor only;

(11) Ibid.

(12) Carvalho, "Elite and State-Building", p. 54.

(13) Ibid. See also C.H. Haring, *Empire in Brazil: A new World Experiment with Monarchy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1958), and Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, *O Senado do Império* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, [1941?]).

(14) See note "c" Table 8, Chap. I, for total noblemen-senators.

(3) minister and senator only; and (4) minister only. By far, the largest of these four subcategories is comprised of the forty-seven noblemen who served in all three capacities, which represents over half (55.3 percent) of the ministers under consideration. The second category of minister/councilor includes only three persons (3.5 percent). The combination of these two categories yields fifty of the total fifty-six noblemen discussed previously who were also councilors. Thus, 60 percent of the titleholders included in this study functioned in the two most important political bodies. In order to determine whether such entrenchment was typical only of the nobility or whether it was a standard pattern among all imperial politicians would, of course, require an examination of the non-nobility as well. Although this is beyond the stated scope of the present study, it has been observed elsewhere that overlapping of this nature was not uncommon ⁽¹⁵⁾.

The remaining two subcategories include eighteen (21.2 percent) minister/senators and seventeen (20 percent) ministers only. Several factors combine to account for the limited variety and extent of service among latter group: eight of the seventeen were politically active primarily during the First Empire and the turbulent Regency period (1822-31 and 1831-40, respectively) only; two died within a few years of their first cabinet appointment; and five others did not become ministers until the final decade of the Empire, which left little time to realize one's full political potential. In addition, these seventeen men held only twenty-nine ministerial posts, or an average of less than two each. This same tendency is evident among the minister/senator group, also, where eleven of the eighteen served only once as minister.

The limited ministerial service among these latter two subcategories contrasts dramatically with the former two (the minister/councilor/senators and the minister/councilors) where the average number of ministries per individual was a combined 4.7, although each of the minister/councilors served only once. Also, it can be observed that appointments to both the First and Second Councils of State usually came at some point between one's first and last ministry (as was the case with thirty-four of the fifty) or after the final ministry (twelve of the fifty). In short, forty-six of the fifty had extensive experience in imperial politics prior to their appointments to the council; only four noblemen became councilors before ever having held a cabinet post (Inhambupe, Macaé, Monte Alegre, and Vieira da Silva). The nature of this service in terms of political import can be most clearly observed in the particular ministry held: these fifty noblemen were most concentrated in the commanding positions of minister of the empire (*império*) and of finance (*fazenda*), as well as of foreign affairs (*estrangeiros*) and of justice (*justiça*), as illustrated in Table 9.

(15) Carvalho, "Elite and State-Building", pp. 55-56.

TABLE 9

CABINET DISTRIBUTION OF FIFTY NOBLEMEN, 1822-89
(MINISTER/COUNCILOR/SENATORS AND MINISTER/COUNCILORS)

			Emp & PM	FAf*	Emp	Fin	FAf	Jus	War	Nvy	Agr	Tot.
No. of Indivs	8	2	24	22	20	19	13	9	5	124		
No. of Times in Post	16	2	49	51	38	34	29	25	6	250		

* Combined in 1822 and 1823.

Abbreviations: PM = Prime Minister; Emp = Empire; FAf = Foreign Affairs; Fin = Finance; Jus = Justice; Nvy = Navy; and Agr = Agriculture.

A survey of the birthplace of the eighty-five noblemen reveals a nearly even tradeoff between northerners and southerners as a whole (thirty-nine and thirty-six, respectively) and a decided predominance by the five major exporting provinces (72 percent). Among these five provinces themselves, the north-south balance was almost even: twenty-seven from Bahia/Pernambuco and twenty-four from Rio/Minas/São

TABLE 10

PROVINCIAL ORIGIN OF NOBLEMEN-MINISTERS, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE MAJOR EXPORTING PROVINCES

Category	BA/PE	RJ/MG/SP	5 Exp Prov. Total	Total All Provs *	% Held by 5 Exp Provinces
M/C/S	18	20	38	47	80.9
M/C	0	2	2	3	66.7
M/S	6	6	12	18	66.7
M	6	4	10	17	58.8
Tot.	30	32	62	85	68.3 Avg.

* Including non-Brazilian-born noblemen-ministers.

Abbreviations: M = minister; C = councilor; and S = senator.

Paulo. The entrenchment of noblemen from these five provinces in key power positions is even more evident when broken down into the four subcategories outlined above. As illustrated in Table 10, those titleholders from these five provinces were overwhelmingly in the majority, especially among the first group. The exporting provinces also maintained an edge in the minister/senator and minister only ranks, although to a slightly lesser extent.

With respect to political party affiliation among these noblemen-ministers active after the 1840s (when parties were established), neither the Conservative nor Liberal parties dominated disproportionately, although the Conservatives were in the majority with thirty-five as opposed to twenty-three Liberals (plus the perennial Olinda, who changed from a Conservative to a Liberal). Of the fifty-nine noblemen who established party affiliations, it can be noted that among the Conservatives, a slightly higher percentage came from the five major exporting provinces (80 percent) than among the Liberals (69.6 percent). However, both figures are well within the norm for representation from these provinces at the higher levels of imperial government ⁽¹⁶⁾. Neither the two northeast nor the three center-south provinces clearly dominated one party or the other among the titleholders, although the northerners held an edge in the Conservative party (sixteen as opposed to twelve), with the reverse being the case among the Liberals (nine southerners to seven northerners). Considering the same data from the standpoint of the four subcategories previously employed, the difference between the two parties remains minimal, as seen in Table 11, except for the first category of minister/councilor/senator in which there were twenty Conservatives and only seven Liberals (plus Olinda).

TABLE 11
NUMBER OF LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE NOBLEMEN-
MINISTERS BY SUBCATEGORIES

Category	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative to Liberal
M/C/S	22	9	1
M/C	0	2	—
M/S	7	4	—
M	6	8	—
Tot.	35	23	1

(16) Eul-Soo Pang and Ron L. Seckinger, "The Mandarins of Imperial Brazil", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14:2 (March 1972), pp. 235-37.

Educational backgrounds of the eighty-five noblemen-ministers also reveals notable distinctions among the subcategories. Of the fifty men in the first two groups, only one received no higher education, whereas eleven of the thirty-five in the second two groups — about one-third — had no formal training at this level. Thus, with all groups taken in conjunction, seventy-three of the total eighty-five ministers received higher educations. These findings would suggest, therefore, that one's education, or lack thereof, had an important bearing on the extent to which one's political career would progress.

The dominant subject specialization across the board was, not surprisingly, law (forty-nine of the seventy-three). Military training ranked a distant second (fourteen), followed by a variety of the exact sciences (seven) and medicine (three). No real distinction among the categories can be observed with respect to subject specialization beyond legal training, except that there was a higher concentration of militarymen in the minister/senator and minister only groups (eight of the twenty-four with higher education) than in the other two (six of forty-nine).

The location of training likewise holds no surprises. The sites of the law faculties — Coimbra, São Paulo, and Pernambuco — command a lion's share of 73.4 percent (Coimbra, 39.6 percent; São Paulo, 17.8 percent; and Pernambuco, 16.4 percent). Coimbra was also the source of instruction for those in the exact sciences (such as physical sciences, mathematics, and engineering). Military training was obtained variously in Portugal, the Court (Rio), and Rio Grande do Sul. Of the three noblemen specializing in medicine, one of each was educated in São Paulo, Rio, and Paris.

Perhaps the most revealing set of data relevant to the relationship between a titleholder's political career and his attainment of nobility status pertains to the date of receipt of titles. For those politicians in the first two subcategories, a key factor in becoming a nobleman appears to have been service as a councilor of state. All sixteen members of the First Council received titles of nobility in 1825 and/or 1826 (all but one would also serve as minister). Of these, only two received subsequent titles. Thirteen were *marqueses* and the remaining three, *viscondes*.

Of the seventy-two members of the Second Council of State, forty became noblemen, of whom all but five were also cabinet members. Between 1842 and 1889, the overwhelming majority received either their first or a subsequent title in one of three years: 1854, 1872, and 1888. The breakdown of the three periods is as follows. Between 1842 and 1854, sixteen of the forty became councilors, fifteen of whom received a title in 1854; twelve of these were first titles, three were elevations. The one person who did not receive a title in 1854 had been made visconde in 1847 and had died in 1850 (Macaé). During the second period, 1855-72, thirteen more became councilors, nine of whom received titles in 1872. Four of these were elevations, including one of the councilors

who had received his first title in 1854 (Sapucaí). The remaining four of the thirteen had become noblemen previously and were not promoted in 1872. The final period, 1873-89, saw the appointment of eleven noblemen-councilors, nine of whom received titles in 1888, one in 1889 (the remaining one had been ennobled earlier). Only one of these was a subsequent title and was awarded to a councilor who had also received a title in 1872 (Marquês de Muritiba). The ranks of nobility granted to these members of the Second Council of State were two *barões*, twenty-eight viscondes, one conde, eight marqueses, and one *duque*.

Among the other thirty-five noblemen-ministers who were never councilors of state, no similar discernable pattern emerges the dates titles were conferred. The type of imperial service rendered by these ministers that promoted their ennoblement reveals no commonality in background, such as service as councilor, so that no one contributing factor can be isolated in this instance.

Thus, the preceding discussion of the date of receipt of titles has, at this stage of research, provided only a small insight into the emperors' motivations for bestowing titles, that is, service as a councilor. It is of interest to note in the case of the members of the Second Council that the three years identified above — 1854, 1872, and 1888 — all correspond with politically significant periods in the Empire's history: 1854 marked less than a year into Paraná's critical "conciliation" cabinet; 1872 was the first full year after the passage of the 1871 Rio Branco Lei do Ventre Livre; and 1888 saw the final abolition of slavery to say nothing of a monarchy beset with ultimately insurmountable problems. What remains unanswered, however, is what additional factor set these forty members of the Second Council of State apart from the other thirty-two who never received titles; that is, why were not all of the councilors made nobles, as was the case with the First Council of State? One can, of course, speculate that part of the explanation lies in the different natures of the two emperors, Pedro I possibly using the European nobility system more extensively in an effort to retain a closer identification with Portugal than would be tolerated under the Second Empire. It is also known that some of the imperial elite refused titles offered them. Beyond such guesswork as this, however, more extensive research would certainly be required before credible generalizations could be offered and established.

The final section of this discussion of cabinet ministers concerns itself with the fifteen of the twenty-three prime ministers who were titleholders, as noted earlier. As was the case with all twenty-three⁽¹⁷⁾, the northerners did dominate disproportionately by a margin of two to one (ten northerners, five southerners). Bahia alone contributed seven noblemen-prime ministers. All but three of the fifteen were trained in

(17) For a more detailed discussion of all twenty-three prime ministers' sociopolitical backgrounds, see Pang and Seckinger, "The Mandarins of Imperial Brazil", pp. 234-37.

law, six at Coimbra, four in Pernambuco, and two in São Paulo. Two others were educated in the exact sciences at Coimbra, and one, Caxias, received military training in Rio.

In terms of nobility rank, there were two barons, seven viscounts, five marquises, and one duke. Four received their first title before becoming prime minister, three of whom served as president of the council within its first five years of existence. Ten others first became prime minister after receiving their first title, and one did so in the same year. Only five were promoted from their original rank, four of these coming after their first tenure as council president and one only a month beforehand.

All together, the noblemen-prime ministers held that post twenty-one times; only three men were council president more than once: Olinda (four times), Caxias (three times), and Itaboraí (twice). Their cumulative ministerial service amounts to some 117 appointments, for an average of 7.8 each, well above the average for all ministers. For six of these titleholders, their council presidency corresponded with their last ministry while the remainder served at an earlier point in their cabinet career. As was the case for all ministers, the offices most often held by the prime ministers were those of empire and finance, followed closely by foreign affairs and justice (see Table 12). All fifteen were imperial senators and only one, Cotegipe, was never a councilor.

TABLE 12
MINISTERIAL POSITIONS HELD BY FIFTEEN
NOBLEMEN-PRIME MINISTERS, 1847-89

	PM	Emp	Fin	FAf	Jus	War	Nvy	Agr	Tot
No. of Indivs	15	9	11	9	9	5	3	1	62
No. of Times in Post ...	21	28	28	21	18	9	11	2	138

In conclusion, the significance of the foregoing discussion lies in the nature of imperial politics as has been revealed through the examination of the noblemen-ministers. Specifically, the sociopolitical backgrounds of the top level political nobility tend to support the Pang-Seckinger mandarin thesis which holds that, by a system of political elite circulation at local and national levels, a coterie of politicians whose loyalty was

directed foremost to the crown was created ⁽¹⁸⁾. As demonstrated by Pang and Seckinger, the result was twofold: first, in the earlier years of the Second Empire, the system was instrumental in forging national unity following a series of regional rebellions; later, however, the same system proved incapable of coping with the regional demands fostered by an active export economy that arose during the second half of the century. Whereas a decentralized political system would have been more appropriate and responsive under these conditions, the centripetal mandarin system persisted ⁽¹⁹⁾. Not only were the imperial ministers an integral part of this structure, but those with nobility titles retained a special link and perhaps closer identification with the monarchical system. In terms of their roles in key decision-making capacities, the preceding discussion has demonstrated that there was a preponderance of titleholders in these positions with repeated service by an even more select few (in particular, the noblemen who were minister/councilor/senators). Also of significance is the remarkably close balance maintained between northerners and southerners (except among the prime ministers) which may be interpreted as yet another measure taken to strengthen and emphasize national unity by avoiding domination by any one region. In short, although this is but a preliminary case study, it lends at least one supportive dimension to the mandarin thesis of the functional role of the Brazilian imperial political elite.

(18) Pang and Seckinger, "The Mandarins of Imperial Brazil".

(19) *Ibid.*, pp. 237-44.

CHAPTER III

THE INSTITUTO HISTÓRICO E GEOGRÁFICO BRASILEIRO AND ITS NOBILITY MEMBERSHIP: AN OVERVIEW, 1838-89

The purpose of this third and final chapter is to ascertain the extent of the nobility's participation in the nation's most important cultural institution, the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (hereinafter referred to as the IHGB) during the nineteenth century. The intent of this study is twofold: one, to explore the nature of a cultural-intellectual association in which a significant number of noblemen were engaged outside of a strictly political setting; and two, to determine whether the IHGB served as the noblemen's sociocultural forum for the free expression of various ideas, separate from or adjunct to political realities. The primary method of investigation employed consisted of a systematic reading of select volumes and issues of the IHGB's *Revista* from 1839 to 1905. The group under consideration here includes 124 of the total 980 titleholders, a figure derived from the numerous *sócios* lists published in the *Revista*. These noblemen were among some of the most influential of the Empire's titleholders, especially in politics and society. In other words, many from these ranks were instrumental in shaping and contributing to an identity for the newly-founded Empire of Brazil.

The IHGB has been selected as the vehicle of study for the following reason: after its creation in 1838, the IHGB soon became the source of Brazil's "official" history. That is, it became an institution of, by, and for the imperial elite and, in particular, the dominant nobility elite. Titleholders monopolized the presidency of the IHGB from its inception until 1886 and were among its other key officers. Even after the fall of the Empire in 1889, two more Brazilian and one Vatican titleholder would serve as president of the IHGB until as late as 1938, thus carrying on in an indelible, even monarchist vein.

As will be seen in the discussion below, the IHGB began as a scholarly organ devoted to research and the collection of historical and geographical data, thus remaining true to its Enlightenment origins. This initial creative force would suffer a decline in time, however, almost to the point of stagnation. The new nativistic elite of the 1820s and 1830s had imparted to the IHGB its ways, beliefs, and objectives; but, by the 1870s and 1880s, it had degenerated into status-quo oriented conservatism, thus losing its original vigor and purpose. More and more, the IHGB would serve as a political tool of the dominant elite, continually lending vocal support to the Emperor while carefully resisting the pressures emanating from those issues that were potentially disruptive to the monarchy.

Three major themes will be explored in this chapter. First, the ideological background — both French and Brazilian — of the creation of the IHGB will be discussed. This will be followed by a section designed to place the extent of the nobility's presence and participation in the IHGB in its proper perspective. The third section, as an extension of the discussion from the previous chapters, will focus and expand on the politician-noblemen who were IHGB members and whose numbers represented the bulk of all nobility *sócios*. While the discussion presented herein sheds some light on the inner workings of the IHGB, it is far from being comprehensive; only a careful accounting of the IHGB's entire membership would achieve such a goal. However, it is hoped that this effort will have provided at least a glimpse of how the analysis of an elite through its participation in certain institutions can enhance the overall understanding of that elite's contribution to and role in the formation and direction of the society in which it lived.

The Founding of the IHGB: Philosophical Underpinnings

The formation of the IHGB in 1838 was the result of a blending of both Brazilian and French philosophical elements that were an extension of the Age of the Enlightenment. Thus, even the creation of Brazil's oldest learned society was made in the time-honored Brazilian tradition of miscegenation. The impetus for the establishment of an historical and geographical institution came from within the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional (SAIN) ⁽¹⁾, a physiocratic-inspired organization dedicated to the greater utilization of land resources for commercial agriculture, at a time when the young Empire's political future seemed at best uncertain. However, the two SAIN members who sponsored the proposal, Cônego Januário da Cunha Barbosa and *marechal-de-campo* Raimundo da Cunha Matos, patterned their design for a new learned society on the Institut historique de Paris, of which they were both members. Although SAIN and the IHGB would appear to have clearly separate functions, the organization of Brazil's history and geography (mostly through document collection and primary investigation, respectively) served to complement SAIN's goals as well as the broader objectives

(1) Olegario Herculano d'Aquino e Castro, "O Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro desde a sua fundação até hoje. Memoria apresentada ao Sr. Ministro de Justiça e Negocios Interiores pelo Presidente do Instituto Dr. Olegario Herculano d'Aquino e Castro", *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (hereinafter cited as *RIHGB*) 60:2 (1897), pp. 171-72. See also Max Fleiuss, *L'Institut Historique et Geographique du Brésil. (Edition préparée par la commémoration du centenaire du même Institut. Bulletin)* (Rio: Imprensa Nacional, 1938), pp. 6-7.

of the new Empire ⁽²⁾. In his proposal, Cônego Januário stated that the pursuit of knowledge was an "absolute and indispensable necessity" in a constitutional monarchy and that the study of history and geography would "furnish great assistance to public administration and to the understanding of all Brazilians ⁽³⁾. A fuller understanding of the forces behind the creation of the IHGB however, requires a closer examination of those institutions which served as its models and parents.

The historiographical trend prevalent in France in the nineteenth century stressed the study of local history, an expansion of the provincial academies of the second half of the eighteenth century ⁽⁴⁾. Although these efforts were shunned by those advocating that the only true history was "general" history (that is, political, military, diplomatic, administrative, and ecclesiastical), local history's premature demise has recently enjoyed a revival, but more in the context of a social rather than purely elitist history that was previously in vogue ⁽⁵⁾. The basic premise of local history, however, has probably not been altered significantly. For the nineteenth-century French historian, the rationale was that "a thesis or interpretation, however ingenious, needs to be supported by precise facts", such as can be obtained only at the local level ⁽⁶⁾. By extension, the local or regional element becomes the basic component in the realization of the nation-state.

It was, then, in this intellectual setting that the Institut historique de Paris faltered into existence a scant five years before the IHGB. Its founder, Eugène Garay Monglave, has been described as an intelligent but superficial writer of controversial novels and political satire ⁽⁷⁾. A man of combative spirit and sarcastic temperament, Monglave became enthralled with the idea of establishing an erudite learned society to the point of sacrificing his own time and money to bring the Institut historique de Paris into being in 1833 ⁽⁸⁾. Monglave had visited Brazil some twenty

(2) In the first issue of the *Revista*, Cônego Januário issued a directive to the IHGB members as to what their "duties" would be. Among other points, he included: reporting to SAIN all pertinent aspects of commercial agriculture, such as new processes, products suitable to certain regions, planting and harvesting times, and so sending to SAIN seeds of plants and trees of all types; and reading SAIN's publication, *O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional*, for the latest ideas and information on agriculture. "Lembrança do que devem procurar nas províncias os socios do Instituto Historico Brasileiro, para remetterem á sociedade central do Rio de Janeiro", *RIHGB*, 1:1:1 (1839), pp. 142-43.

(3) "Documentação. Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional, 1838", *RIHGB*, 300 (jul.-set. 1973), p. 274.

(4) For a good discussion of the background and resurgence of local history, see Pierre Goubert, "Local History", in Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard, eds., *Historical Studies Today* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972) :300-14; see especially pp. 301-02.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 302-04.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 302.

(7) Maria Alice de Oliveira Faria, "Os brasileiros no Instituto Histórico de Paris", *RIHGB*, 266 (jan.-mar. 1965), pp. 72-74.

(8) *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

years earlier in 1814 as an officer of the French Army general staff and as the director of Public Instruction in France ⁽⁹⁾. His interest in *les choses brésiliennes* was intense and eventually extended to inviting Brazilians to join his new society ⁽¹⁰⁾. Like Abbé Raynal and others of the French intellectual tradition, Monglave considered the New World worthy of being inseminated with the new French ideas by means of societies such as the Institut historique. Between 1834 and 1856, forty-eight Brazilians were admitted to the Institut whose total membership was upwards of a thousand ⁽¹¹⁾. In addition to Cônego Januário and Cunha Matos, other notables included Dom Pedro II, the Marquês de Olinda, the Visconde de São Leopoldo, frei Francisco de Monte Alverne, the Visconde de Araruama, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and the Visconde de Abaeté ⁽¹²⁾. The Brazilian membership was composed primarily of poets, diplomats, writers, politicians, and *homens públicos*, all of whom presented a united front to convey "o mundo oficial do Império" to their European colleagues ⁽¹³⁾.

The Institut as a whole also seemed favorably inclined toward the Brazilian presence. Notification of the founding of the IHGB was openly applauded by the Paris society, which saw fit to publish in its *Journal* the new institution's statutes and Cônego Januário's accompanying discussion. The *Revista Trimestral* (the original name of the IHGB's publication) was also well received by its French counterpart ⁽¹⁴⁾. In addition, the *Journal* published eighteen articles relating to the Americas, five of which were devoted exclusively to Brazil ⁽¹⁵⁾.

The Institut historique was, however, plagued by fierce internal dissention — ideological, administrative, economic — of which Monglave himself was a frequent target. His power by virtue of his position as the society's secretary was sharply curtailed by the mid-1850s and, as the import of his presence waned, so too did the Brazilian participation ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Although the Brazilians of the Institut historique were never among the most active members (due mostly to geographical distance) nor did they ever engage in the internal controversies (with one minor exception), their link with the French society did have an unmistakable bearing on the form and orientation of the IHGB. Such characteristics of the IHGB as its affected dignity, the importance accorded insignificant acts and routine administration, its generally pompous air, and the creation of an

(9) Ibid., pp. 72-73.

(10) Ibid., pp. 106-07.

(11) Ibid., p. 106.

(12) Ibid., pp. 147-48.

(13) Ibid., p. 106.

(14) Ibid., p. 112.

(15) Robert de Lasteyrie, *Bibliographie générale des travaux historiques et archéologiques publiés par les Sociétés savantes de la France*. 6 vols. (1888-1918; reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1972), 4:108-24.

(16) Faria, "Os brasileiros", p. 80.

atmosphere designed to lend further prestige to the imperial aristocracy have been attributed by one observed to the influence of the Institut historique ⁽¹⁷⁾.

In short, the French intellectual influence on the IHGB by way of its common members was of no small consequence. The IHGB was not, however, merely the creation of an Old World institution a New World setting: Brazil's need to establish a national identity and to maintain its viability were more pressing objectives than simply emulating and erudite society. As Cônego Januário lamented in 1838, foreigners and Brazilians alike held erroneous and inexact impressions of Brazil and its history. An institute, such as he proposed, would serve as a vehicle for dispelling these misconceptions and would demonstrate to "cultured" nations that Brazilians, too, held the glory of their country in esteem ⁽¹⁸⁾.

The IHGB was not without its native precedents, too, however. The eighteenth century had witnessed an anthesis of intellectual activity in the form of such learned societies as the Academia dos Esquecidos founded in Bahia in 1724; the Academia dos Renascidos, also Bahian, in 1759; the Sociedade Científica do Rio de Janeiro, the first dedicated to the applied sciences, in 1772; and an outgrowth of the latter, the Sociedade Literaria do Rio de Janeiro, founded in 1786 ⁽¹⁹⁾. Although all were short-lived and the victims of colonial political suppression, the disbanding of the Sociedade Literaria do Rio de Janeiro by the Conde de Resende sounded a dissonant chord that echoed through succeeding decades ⁽²⁰⁾. In the eyes of the members of the IHGB, the evil spell of intellectual persecution was decisively broken when Pedro II reached majority in 1840 and a new era of intellectual freedom was ushered in ⁽²¹⁾.

The accession of Dom Pedro II and the initiation of a "new era" of intellectual freedom in the 1840s were fitting in the sense that Brazil was born anew politically. The Lusophobia that bedeviled the elite in the 1820s was virtually eliminated by 1830s as the "Brazilians" succeeded in securing a firm grip on politics in various social, politico-administrative, and economic experiments introduced during the Regency period, which

(17) Ibid., p. 123.

(18) Castro, "O Instituto... desde a sua fundação", pp. 174-75.

(19) Alexander Marchant, "Aspects of the Enlightenment in Brazil", in Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., *Latin America and the Enlightenment*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1961):95-118.

(20) Even as late as 1865, orator Joaquim Manoel de Macedo recalled in an anniversary speech the last decade of the eighteenth century as one of intellectual suppression and referred to Resende as "o vice-rei suspeito, violento, e perseguidor, para quem foi um crime o ser literato, poeta, ou sábio..." "Sessão magna anniversaria. Discurso do orador o sr. dr. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo", *RIHGB*, 28:2 (1865), p. 344.

(21) This belief was often expounded in anniversary sessions of the IHGB. See for example, "Relatorio do primeiro secretario o dr. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo", *RIHGB*, 17:Supp. (1854), p. 50; and "Discurso do orador o sr. dr. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo", *RIHGB*, 33:2 (1865), pp. 343-44.

had the effect of shifting the balance of power to the Brazilians. The fashionable trend of adopting Indian names to replace Portuguese surnames still continued in the 1830s, and by the 1840s, "new Brazilians" such as Montezuma, came to dominate national politics as well as intellectual movements. In this age of the Brazilian rebirth, Dom Pedro Alcântara Brasileiro emerged as the patron and moving spirit ⁽²²⁾.

But despite the previous existence of the earlier learned societies and the influence of the French, the IHGB was foremost a brainchild of SAIN. Its membership comprised the three social groups of critical importance in maximizing — and modernizing — commercial agriculture: provincial landowners, urban merchants, and government officials. The association, therefore, became a central depository for agricultural and scientific information, acting as a pressure group for the interests of commercial agriculture. A companion historical and geographical institute could, therefore, perform valuable services. The numerous expeditions undertaken by many IHGB members rendered geographical and geological data; biographies of prominent individuals were instrumental in identifying landowners; the collection of documents from all corners of the Empire for deposit in the Court contributed to a sense of unity; and regional and provincial histories provided valuable information for policy-making. Although such efforts may have been ephemeral, they directly stimulated the provincial elites to found their own historical institutes in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In short, the varied and diverse investigations of the IHGB began to bring a vast empire into focus.

The Nobleman as an IHGB Member

The core membership of the IHGB was drawn from the parent association ⁽²³⁾. This founding group of twenty-seven was selected on the basis of distinction attained in both intellectual and social circles ⁽²⁴⁾. Among these twenty-seven, seven were or would become imperial noblemen: the Visconde de São Leopoldo (José Feliciano Fernandes Pinheiro);

(22) For a discussion of the Lusophobia phenomenon, see Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História militar do Brasil* (Rio: Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1965), pp. 105-06. The case of Montezuma's name-change is documented in Hélio Vianna, *Vultos do Império* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1968), pp. 74-114.

(23) Rollie E. Poppino, "A Century of the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 33:2 (May, 1953), p. 307. Among those holding membership in both SAIN and the IHGB were: the second Marquês de Barbacena, the Visconde de Abaeté, the Marquês de Abrantes (vice president, 1847, and president, 1849), the Duque de Caxias, the Visconde de Uruguai (vice president, 1849), and the Barão de Macaúbas. *O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional*, 6:1 (1838), pp. 34-40; 1(n.s.):10 (1847), pp. 356-62; 3(n.s.):2 (1848), p. 41; and 4(n.s.):2 (1849), p. 74.

(24) Castro, "O Instituto... desde a sua fundação", p. 172.

the Visconde de Jerumirim (marechal-de-campo Francisco Cordeiro da Silva Torres Alvim); the Marquês de Sapucaí (Cândido José de Araújo Viana); the Visconde de Maranguape (Caetano Maria Lopes Gama); the Visconde de Sepetiba (Aureliano de Sousa e Oliveira); the Visconde de Jequitinhonha (Francisco Gê Acaiaba de Montezuma); and the Barão de Cairu (Bento da Silva Lisboa)⁽²⁵⁾. Only the Visconde de São Leopoldo, the IHGB's first president, was already titled in 1838. The rest would receive their first title between 1844 and 1855⁽²⁶⁾. The IHGB's second president, the Visconde de Sapucaí, also came from the ranks of the original twenty-seven.

Whereas titleholders did not constitute a majority among the founding members, their influence was very much felt as presidents of the IHGB during the course of the Empire and, to a lesser extent, under the Old Republic. The IHGB's first three presidents, one of whom was the Emperor's childhood friend and political confidant, served a total of forty-eight consecutive years: the Visconde de São Leopoldo (1838-47), the Marquês de Sapucaí (1847-75), and the Visconde de Bom Retiro, the Emperor's friend (1875-86)⁽²⁷⁾. In addition, the second Marquês de Paranaguá (prime minister, 1881-82), served briefly early in the twentieth century (1906-07), followed by a short tenure by the Barão do Rio Branco (1907-12)⁽²⁸⁾. It should also be noted that another nobleman, the Conde de Afonso Celso (the son of the Visconde de Ouro Preto) served as president of the IHGB from 1912-38, although his title was not a Brazilian one⁽²⁹⁾.

Apart from these two positions of distinction — that of a founding member and that of president of the IHGB — the nobility comprised an appreciable portion of the IHGB's membership in general. Since this membership changed yearly with the addition of new members and the death of others, no attempt was made by this researcher to determine what percentage of the *sócios* were noblemen at any given time. However, other observations can readily be made. There were some 124 Brazilian-titled noblemen who entered the IHGB between 1838 and 1905⁽³⁰⁾,

(25) Ibid., pp. 172-74.

(26) Carlos G. Rheingantz, *Títulos do Império* (Rio: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional, 1960), pp. 38, 53, 38, 64, 70, 75, and 88.

(27) Castro, "O Instituto... desde a sua fundação", p. 198.

(28) Fleiuss, *L'Institut*, pp. 15-16.

(29) Vianna, *Vultos do Império*, p. 223.

(30) This figure was arrived at by surveying each volume of the *Revista* for notation of new and deceased members which was made on a fairly regular basis from the first volume onward. The first comprehensive list of members was published in 1884 but was concerned only with those deceased prior to that date. The first listings of all current members was published in 1888 and continued to be a regular feature of the *Revista* until 1923 when the IHGB reverted to publishing the names of new and deceased members only. As can best be determined by this researcher, the last nobleman to become a *sócio* was the Barão de Paranapiacaba in 1905. It should be noted that there were several Brazilian nationals who held non-Brazilian titles of nobility. These have not been included in this count for the purpose of this study.

which represents a little more than 10 percent of a total 980 individuals who received imperial titles of nobility during the course of the Empire. More than half of these 124 individuals (sixty-five, to be exact) had established membership in the IHGB within its first three years of existence (1838-40). By the end of the IHGB's first decade in 1848, this percentage had swollen to almost three-fourths of the total nobility membership (eighty-nine persons, or 72 percent). Only twenty-five more noblemen would enter during the next forty-one years before the fall of the Empire in 1889, an ten thereafter until 1905 when the last titleholder, Paranapiacaba, was admitted.

However, it was not common for these men to have received their first (and perhaps only) title upon being admitted to the IHGB. In fact, only forty-two of the 124 had already joined the ranks of the noble elite at the time of their admission to the Instituto. More than 60 percent of the forty-two who already held titles became members either within the first two years of the IHGB's founding (thereby having already belonged automatically to the social elite of the time), or after the fall of the Empire⁽³¹⁾. In brief, only 13 percent of the IHGB nobility admitted during the Second Reign (1840-89) had received their titles upon becoming members of the IHGB.

The fact that so few had been granted titles before becoming sócios might cause one to wonder whether participation in the IHGB enhanced one's chances for being singled out for imperial honor. After all, Dom Pedro II was one of the IHGB's most active members, attending some 506 sessions from 1849 to 1889 and having participated in the IHGB's affairs since 1845⁽³²⁾. However, computation of the time interval between entering the IHGB and receiving one's first title indicates that a twenty-, thirty-, and even forty-year differential was not uncommon. If the IHGB did serve as a breeding ground for future titleholders, the gestation period was long indeed.

A more revealing observation of this elite within an elite can be made from an examination of their occupational backgrounds. In 1884 and 1891, two lists of deceased sócios appeared in the *Revista* recording date of admission, date of death, and occupation of each member⁽³³⁾. The lists were compiled by the treasurer Tristão Alencar Araripe for his own purposes in an attempt to bring some order in budgetary matters⁽³⁴⁾. Araripe's decision to publish the lists appears to be due to a good deal of foresight on his part, as he noted that it might be potentially

(31) Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*.

(32) Fleiuss, *L'Institut*, pp. 12-13.

(33) "Lista alfabética dos socios nacionaes do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro falecidos desde o anno de 1838 até 31 de dezembro de 1883 com declaração da data da admissão e do obito", *RIHGB*, 47:2 (1884):525-45; and "Lista alfabética dos socios nacionaes do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, falecidos desde 1 de janeiro de 1888 até 31 de dezembro de 1891", *RIHGB*, 54:2 (1891):314-18.

(34) "Lista alfabética...desde...1838 até...1883", pp. 525-26.

useful for "qualquer investigação" ⁽³⁵⁾. From an examination of the two lists, it can be determined that, by 1891, eighty of the 124 IHGB noblemen (64.5 percent) were deceased ⁽³⁶⁾. Thus, a representative cross-section of the occupations of a majority of titleholders can be derived from these two lists and is summarized in twelve major occupational categories in Table 13. Nobility members of the legal profession clearly dominated the field (twenty-six) with "agriculturalists" ranking a distant second (twelve). Beyond these two groups, it is readily seen that, like the balance of the Brazilian nobility, titleholders within the Instituto came from diverse occupational backgrounds.

A "secondary" occupational category was also noted by Araripe, namely, that of imperial senator. While thirty-seven "senador" entries were recorded in the two lists, the degree of political involvement on the part of the IHGB's noblemen is only partially disclosed by this entry. Sixty-one of the eighty noblemen accounted for in these two lists can be identified as having held some imperial political office and, when all 124 are considered, a total of eighty-three titleholders falls into this category (see Table 14) ⁽³⁷⁾. It is this portion of the IHGB nobility that will be focused on in the next section, with particular reference to the extent and degree of their involvement in imperial politics.

The IHGB Nobleman as Imperial Politician

The preponderance of imperial politicians among the nobility sócios was evident from the IHGB's inception. All seven of the previously-identified titleholders that were among the original twenty-seven had begun their careers as imperial politicians by 1838 ⁽³⁸⁾. A survey of the sixty-five sócios who were admitted within the first three years (1838-41) reveals that forty-nine can be identified as imperial politicians. Only nine

(35) Ibid. The complete phrase was as follows: "...que pareceu-me conveniente publicar, a fim de que em outra ocasião possa servir para qualquer investigação".

(36) Actually, eighty-three — not eight — of the IHGB nobility were deceased by 1891. Two of these had left the IHGB before their deaths (the first Visconde de Albuquerque and the second Visconde de Goiana), and one was admitted posthumously (the Marquês de Erval).

termo de Vila Rica, comarca deste nome. O último código corresponde aos moradores da Vila de Nossa Senhora da Piedade de Pitangui, comarca do Rio das Velhas.

(37) Two sources utilized to identify imperial political officeholders (which is taken to include provincial president, deputy, senator, councilor of state, and minister): Octaciano Nogueira and João Sereno Firmo, *Parlamentares do Império* (Brasília: Centro Gráfico do Senado Federal, 1973); and *Organizações e programas ministeriais. Regime parlamentar no Império*, 2nd ed. (Rio: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional, 1962).

(38) The term "career" is least applicable here to Jerumirim, who held only one ministerial post (1827) but served as councilor of state from 1842 to 1856; and to Cairu, who held only two ministerial posts (1832 and 1846). The remainder held from four to seven other positions over an extended number of years.

TABLE 13
OCCUPATIONAL SUMMARY OF DECEASED SÓCIOS, 1838-91*

Occupation	Nobility Sócios					Non-Nobility Sócios	
	B	V	C	M	D	Tot	
agriculturalists	6	3	1	2	—	12	8
clergy	—	—	3	1	—	4	55
commercialists/financiers ...	2	2	—	1	—	5	16
diplomats	4	5	—	—	—	9	13
educators	3	2	—	—	—	5	15
empregados públicos	1	—	—	—	—	1	42
engineers	—	2	—	—	—	2	9
lawyers/judges	9	13	—	4	—	26	130
medical doctors	3	3	—	—	—	6	46
militarymen	2	2	1	3	1	9	51
proprietários	—	2	—	3	—	5	4
senators	3	21	2	13	1	40	34
unknown/miscel	1	—	—	—	—	1	7
Total	34	55	7	27	1	124	430

Source: Adapted from "Lista alfabetica dos socios nacionaes do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro falecidos desde o anno de 1838 até 31 de dezembro de 1883..." and "Lista alfabetica dos socios nacionaes do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, falecidos desde 1 de janeiro de 1888 até 31 de dezembro de 1891", *RIHGB*, 47: 2 (1884): 525-45, and 54: 2 (1891): 314-18, respectively.

* Figures are for number of occupations, not individuals.

TABLE 14
IHGB NOBILITY: POLITICAL OFFICEHOLDERS BY
PLACE OF BIRTH

Birthplace	Nobility Sócios 1838-1905	Imperial Office- holders, 1822-89
Alagoas	2	2
Bahia	18	16
Ceará	2	1
Maranhão	1	1
Minas Gerais	17	12
Pará	4	4
Pernambuco	11	8
Piauí	2	1
Rio Grande do Sul	10	6
Rio de Janeiro	33	16
São Paulo	6	5
France	2	1
Portugal	11	6
Unknown *	5	4
Total	124	83

Sources: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*; Nogueira and Firmo, *Parlamentares do Império*; and *Organizações e programas ministeriais*.

* Three of these are suspected of being from Rio, one from Minas Gerais, and one unknown.

of these did not hold or had not held an office upon becoming a sócio ⁽³⁹⁾. Of the remaining sixteen who were not politicians, nine were or would become diplomats, a profession that certainly falls within the sphere of influence of imperial politics ⁽⁴⁰⁾. In fact, for the rest of the nobility members, four others — in addition to the Barão do Rio Branco — can also be classified as diplomats, bringing the total number of nobility sócios serving the Empire in a political capacity to ninety-seven, or approximately 78 percent of all nobility sócios. In addition, diplomats

(39) The nine are as follows, the dates in parentheses referring to date of admission to the IHGB and date of first imperial position, respectively: Araguaia (1838, 1846); Inhomirim (1838, 1845); the second Baependi (1839, 1843); Itanhaem (1839, 1844); Itaúna (1839, 1853); Quaram (1839, 1841); São Diogo (1839, 1853); Nogueira da Gama (1841, 1843); and Penedo (1841, 1848).

(40) Alhandra, Itabaiana, Itajubá, Japurá, Javari, Lopes Neto, and Ponte Ribeiro can all be identified as career diplomats. Porto Seguro (Varnhagen) combined his career as an historian with that of a diplomat. Of the nine identified as diplomats, only Santo Angelo cannot be considered to have made it his career although he did hold a few diplomatic positions. See Argeu de Segadas Machado Guimarães, *Dicionário bio-bibliográfico brasileiro de diplomacia, política externa e direito internacional* (Rio: Edição do autor, 1926).

certainly provided an excellent medium by which to dispel the misconceptions held by foreigners about Brazil that so vexed Cônego Januário. They would also serve as collectors of valuable historical materials during their tours abroad. The Visconde de Porto Seguro (Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen) was one of the IHGB's outstanding examples of the contributions rendered by diplomats. However, since their number in the IHGB are few and their functions separate from the imperial politician, they will be excluded from the core group being examined here.

The titleholders who served as the IHGB's president were also among its distinguished politicians. The Visconde de São Leopoldo, who was sixty-four years of age when he became the IHGB's first president, had been a delegate to the Portuguese constitutional convention in 1821 and to the Brazilian constitutional convention two years later. Besides being an honorary councilor of state, he also served as provincial president, senator, and cabinet member three times ⁽⁴¹⁾. His successor in 1847, the Visconde de Sapucaí, was forty-five years of age at the time. His debut in politics came at the early age of thirty when he also attended the Brazilian constitutional convention in 1823. Afterwards, he pursued a long political career, his portfolio including positions as provincial president, deputy, senator, president of the senate, minister on three occasions, and councilor of state ⁽⁴²⁾. Sapucaí was the only one of the three to receive his first title (1854) during his presidency rather than before. Following his death in 1875, the Visconde de Bom Retiro assumed the presidency until 1866. By that time, he was already a well-established politician, having also begun his career as a deputy to the Brazilian constitutional convention. After a thirty-seven-year tenure as a deputy, during which time he also served as a provincial president, Bom Retiro held the position of senator for nearly twenty years. He was also a councilor of state and held one post as cabinet minister ⁽⁴³⁾.

The two other noblemen who served as presidents of the IHGB after the fall of the Empire did so very briefly in comparison to their predecessors. The shorter term of the two was that of the second Marquês de Paranaguá, 1906-07. His career as an imperial politician had run a much longer course, however, spanning almost forty years from 1850 to 1889. During that time he had been deputy, provincial president, senator, seven times minister, president of the council of ministers and councilor of state ⁽⁴⁴⁾. His predecessor, the Barão do Rio Branco (1907-12), served as deputy during the Empire, but later distinguished himself as a diplomat ⁽⁴⁵⁾.

(41) Nogueira and Firmo, *Parlamentares do Império*, pp. 340-41.

(42) *Ibid.*, p. 349.

(43) *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

(44) *Ibid.*, pp. 320-21.

(45) *Ibid.*, pp. 322-23.

The preceding discussion clearly indicates an accentuated level of political activity among the early nobilit members of the IHGB as well as among its presidents. But what political trends can be discerned in general for the eighty-three of the 124 who held imperial political offices? Looking at the relationship between when an individual first held office and when he was admitted to the IHGB, it can be determined that the majority was already engaged in politics upon becoming a member of the IHGB. Of the sixteen who do not fit into this category, at least ten were under thirty years of age. In fact, the average age at the time of admission for the political nobility as a whole was a relatively young forty-four years.

On the basis of the above information, one could assume that, as a rule, the IHGB did not necessarily serve as a springboard for political careers. But did membership in the IHGB help promote those careers already under way? After all, the IHGB political nobility was hardly a run-of-the-mill representation of imperial politicians. Three fourths of these eighty-three held the rank of senator or higher. Fifty were cabinet ministers, from whose ranks came fifteen of the Empire's twenty-three prime ministers (see Table 15) ⁽⁴⁶⁾. To come closer to answering this question, two perspectives can be developed: first, the extent and degree of political advancement by these individuals over the course of the Empire and, second, the level of political participation within given time periods.

With respect to political advancement, it can be determined that the majority (fifty-one of the eighty-three, or 61.4 percent) went on to hold higher offices after being admitted to the IHGB. For more than three-fourths of these fifty-one this advancement was to the more-important imperial posts of senator and cabinet minister. Of these two categories, it was the more prestigious and powerful position of minister that was attained by 60 percent of these fifty-one. With the inclusion of those who became senators, the percentage is brought to nearly 80. In short, it can be said that not only did the majority of the IHGB political nobility enjoy advancement after becoming members, but also that within this group advancement led to higher imperial political offices. It should also be noted here that of those thirty-two who did not hold a higher office after becoming IHGB members than they had beforehand, eighteen were individuals who became *sócios* within the first three years of the IHGB's existence. Many of these had begun their careers in the independence and immediate post-independence era and had therefore reached their political apogee prior to the founding of the IHGB.

(46) There was only a total of twenty-three prime ministers during the Empire. Of the remaining eight — who were never titleholders — two were also members of the IHGB.

TABLE 15
IMPERIAL OFFICES HELD BY IHGB NOBLEMEN

Office or Position	No. of Individual Holding These Positions (Total: 83)
Deputy, Portuguese Constitutional Convention, 1821-22	4
Deputy, Brazilian Constitutional Convention, 1823	13 (a)
Imperial Deputy	62
Provincial President	38
Imperial Senator	56
President of the Senate	12
Councilor of State	39 (b)
Cabinet Minister	50 (c)
President, Council or Ministers (Prime Minister)	15
Total	287

Source: Nogueira and Firmo, *Parlamentares do Império: Organizações e programas ministeriais*.

Note: Only eighteen of the eighty-three (less than one-fourth) never held the position of senator or higher.

(a) Including the president of the assembly, Santo Amaro.

(b) Two of which were honorary.

(c) These 50 ministers held a total of 222 cabinet posts.

Further light can be shed on this particular question by examining the nobility's political participation over time on the basis of five periods: 1822-31 (First Empire); 1831-40 (Regency); 1840-53 (consolidation of the Second Empire); 1853-71 (era of Paraná's political conciliation); and 1871-89 (from Rio Branco's cabinet to the fall of the Empire). The number of noblemen included in each of the periods was calculated on the basis of the date when a given individual first held a particular position and is summarized in Table 16. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that tenure in any one position could possibly – and frequently did – extend beyond the artificial confines of the periodization herein imposed. Table 17, however, does provide this information, having been computed on the basis of the full span of each politician's career in any given post.

TABLE 16
DATE OF ASSUMING NEW POLITICAL POSITIONS BY IHGB
POLITICAL NOBLEMEN FOR GIVEN TIME PERIODS,
1822-89

Position	1822-31	1831-40	1840-53	1853-71	1871-89
Deputy	17	13	17	11	4
Prov. Pres.	5	12	11	9	1
Senator	13	5	16	14	6
Pres. of Sen.	1	0	5	2	4
Councilor	8	0	13	12	5
Minister	13	11	8	11	7
Prime Minister	—	—	5	5	5

TABLE 17
IHGB POLITICAL NOBLEMEN HOLDING OFFICES FOR GIVEN
TIME PERIODS, REPRESENTING TOTAL POLITICAL
ACTIVITY, 1822-89

Position	1822-31	1831-40	1840-53	1853-71	1871-89
Deputy	17	30	38	23	13
Prov. Pres.	5	16	19	13	5
Senator	12	17	33	35	26
Pres. of Sen.	1	0	5	2	5
Councilor	7	7	19	24	16
Minister	13	15	22	21	12
Prime Minister	—	—	5	7	6

A number of observations can be made on the basis of this data and the accompanying summary Table 18. The first notable trend is that of a high degree of political participation by IHGB noblemen during the immediate post-independence period. This tendency appears to be very much in keeping with criteria employed in the selection of founding members and early members of the IHGB, namely, that of selecting socially and intellectually eminent citizens. A distinguished political career would certainly qualify as one measure by which an outstanding citizen in these categories might be identified.

TABLE 18
SUMMARY: AGGREGATES OF TABLES 16 AND 17
(NEW POSITIONS AND TOTAL ACTIVITY)

	1822-31	1831-40	1840-53	1853-71	1871-89
No. of Noblemen Admitted to IHGB	—	62	27	13	12
Total New Pol. Positions	56	42	75	64	33
Total Political Activity (i.e. Accumulation of Offices Held)	56	81	141	126	83

An examination of the second major time block, the Regency of 1831-40, indicates that few of the future IHGB noblemen-politicians began their political careers in the years immediately preceding the IHGB's founding, especially with reference to the positions of deputy, senator, and counselor of state. At a time when the power of the imperial government was at a low point and that of provincial and regional politics was on the rise, it is not surprising to find an increase in the number of individuals who first became provincial president over those of the previous era. Only the number of those who would hold ministerial posts for the first time during the Regency remained constant from the previous period. In short, the politicians of the Regency were for the most part the same persons from the previous era rather than a new set of faces.

The next two periods, those of 1840-53 and 1853-71 represent the time of greatest political activity on the part of the IHGB political nobility. Again, a kind of delayed reaction may be observed for those who were to attain ministerial posts for the first time; a decline in this

number during the consolidation period as those becoming deputies, senators, and councilors of state for the first time increased, followed by a rise in ministers during Paraná's cabinet (1853-57), with a marked decline in deputies, a slight decline in senators, and a constant number of new councilors of state. The number of first-time provincial presidents declined steadily, perhaps reflecting the increasing centripetalism of the monarchy. It should also be pointed out that it was during this time of heightened political activity that the new membership from the nobility ranks was falling off significantly while the number of those continued to be involved in such key posts as councilor of state, senator, and prime minister peaked in the 1853-71 period, with the number of ministers declining by only one. Meanwhile, the number of IHGB noblemen-politicians assuming new first time positions began to decrease.

It is also interesting to note that, during this era of Paraná's conciliation cabinet (the marquês had been a member of the IHGB since 1839), of eleven IHGB noblemen who served as ministers for the first time during this period, seven had been sócios prior to their assuming the new posts.

From the inception of Rio Branco's cabinet in 1871 to the fall of the Empire in 1889, the number of IHGB political nobility who undertook new posts fell drastically. At the same time, a parallel decrease in aggregate political activity, unlike the previous period, can also be observed. This sudden downturn can be accounted for in large part by the fact that about half of all the IHGB noblemen were deceased by 1884, this percentage increasing to 64.5 by 1891.

The foregoing discussion — centered around political advancement and political activity by periods — was presented in an attempt to determine whether membership in the IHGB helped to promote one's political career. To advocate a definitive "yes" or "no" would be presumptuous. No one's political career is dependent on any one factor and, although "whom one knows" can be an important unseen power, it is also a difficult one to measure. This observation holds true even more so in this case since no attempt was made to establish personal and professional friendships that existed among this particular group. Nevertheless, based on the data presented above, one can at least conclude that the IHGB did not hinder the progress of a political career. In addition, it must be kept in mind that the IHGB was graced by the presence of a very prestigious and influential set of imperial politicians who were most active during the height of the Empire. This situation alone should have provided an excellent medium for contacts.

The prevalence of these eminent statesmen also causes one to speculate about their bearing on the functioning of the IHGB: Did it eventually come to serve as an indirect — or direct — sounding board for the monarchy and its policies? Did it perhaps provide an informal setting for political

debate? To what extent did the presence of prominent politicians shape and mold the IHGB's direction? A partial answer to these queries may be derived from an examination of two relevant factors: the degree of financial support the IHGB received from the imperial government and the IHGB's stand on key issues that threatened to unravel the Second Reign.

One indication of the close relationship between the imperial government and the IHGB is to be found in its budgetary matters. From almost the outset, the IHGB sought monetary assistance from the crown. It was in May of 1839 that Cônego Januário proposed that the IHGB approach the legislature about securing a government subsidy⁽⁴⁷⁾. Perhaps Cônego Januário had been all too painfully aware of the financial woes that disrupted the harmony of the Institut historique de Paris and thereby sought to avoid similar trouble by obtaining governmental support. At any rate, the subsidy was granted, although the annual contribution was not tallied in the *Revista* until the 1860s. In the meantime, references such as the following from 1853 were made in the sessions:

O governo imperial, que reconhece os serviços, que o Instituto presta ao país, e que constantemente o anima com a sua desvelada proteção, podendo em fim atender aos nossos reclamos, aumentou com mais um conto de reis o subsídio anual, concedido à nossa associação, e dessa maneira melhorou sensivelmente o nosso estado financeiro⁽⁴⁸⁾.

From 1861 on, when the accounts were published, it may be seen that the imperial government was the IHGB's largest single financial contributor, both before and after the fall of the Empire. Table 19 presents an abbreviated version of the budget over a forty-year span at regular ten year intervals which indicates the magnitude of the governmental subsidy.

The imperial subsidies to learned institutions, such as the IHGB, the Faculties of Law in São Paulo and in Olinda-Recife, and the Faculties of Medicine in Rio and in Bahia, fell under the administrative jurisdiction of the Minister of the Empire. The personal devotion to the intellectual growth of the IHGB on the part of the Minister of the Empire was always helpful in releasing governmental subsidies, and it is no accident that twenty-six noblemen *sócios* served in this capacity (nineteen *efectivos*, seven *interinos*)⁽⁴⁹⁾.

(47) "11.ª Sessão em 4 de Maio", *RIHGB*, 1:1:1 (1839), p. 146.

(48) "Sessão publica anniversaria. Relatorio do primeiro secretario dr. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo", *RIHGB*, 41:App. (1853), p. 569.

(49) *Organizações e programas ministeriais*, pp. 251-57.

TABLE 19

IHGB RECEIPTS FROM NATIONAL TREASURY, SELECT YEARS,
1861-1901

Year	Receipts	Total Expenditures
1861	Nat'l Treasury 5:000\$000 Total 13:782\$402	13:782\$402
1871	Nat'l Treasury 7:000\$000 Total 9:527\$200	8:977\$840
1881	Nat'l Treasury 6:995\$377 (a) Total 9:829\$377	9:829\$377
1891	Nat'l Treasury 9:000\$000 Total 64:163\$400 (b)	46:226\$580
1901	Gov't Lottery Subsidy 14:000\$000 (c) Total 22:522\$840	16:000\$100

Source: *RIHGB*, years indicated.

(a) Entered as 3:495\$377 *dinheiro entregue*, and 3:500\$000 *consignação*.

(b) An unusual year in that donations exceeded the national treasury subsidy by 6:000\$000.

(c) The 1895 entry is the first reference to the subsid's having been derived from the government lottery and amounting to 9:000\$000 in that year.

In order to assess the IHGB's attitude toward contemporary issues of the Second Reign, the *atas das sessões* were read selectively from the 1850s to the 1880s for this study. In general, it can be stated that the IHGB avoided discussion of sensitive issues that might have revealed weaknesses in the monarchy, while it openly embraced others that were a source of support for the imperial system. This conclusion must, of course, be tempered by the fact that it is based only upon what published in the *Revista*; there is no accounting for what an editor chose to exclude or a secretary not to record. At the same time, it must be recalled that Dom Pedro II was almost an omnipresent figure at the IHGB's meetings. In addition to his physical presence, Pedro perhaps exerted considerable influence in the collective thinking of the IHGB members. This, of

course, inadvertently resulted in restraining the free expression of divergent views in all likelihood. It is doubtful that many men would be so bold as to openly criticize the Emperor and, in his absence, the Princess Regent, under such circumstances. Also, in the stormy years of 1875-86 when Bom Retiro, a close personal friend of the Emperor, was president of the IHGB, it is likely that his presence in that capacity may have stifled discussion of delicate political and social issues. In fact, Bom Retiro came close to being a surrogate emperor. It is a moot question if the preeminent role of Bom Retiro substantially contributed to the closed atmosphere that prevailed in the latter part of the Empire.

What examples can be provided to support the conclusion drawn above? A reading of the *atas* for the mid-1850s, for instance, reveals no mention whatsoever of the major political reform that was accomplished by the establishment of Paraná's conciliation cabinet in 1853. Yet, between 1865 and 1870, the Paraguayan War was a frequent topic of discussion. When the outbreak of the war temporarily deprived the IHGB of its "magnanimous protector" who, upon hearing "the moans of the victims of São Borja, Itaquí, and Uruguaiana, sped to the southern extremity of the Empire to castigate the audacious and dastardly invader" ⁽⁵⁰⁾, the IHGB sent the following message:

... foi apresentada na sessão 7 de Julho, para que o Instituto exprimisse a S. M. o Imperador a sincera gratidão que se achava possuído pela magnanima resolução... de dirigiu-se à província do Rio Grande do Sul a animar as operações de guerra em que o Brasil se acha empenhado contra o ditador do Paraguay ⁽⁵¹⁾.

By 1866, one of the IHGB's members, Dr. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, was already portions of his work, *Memoria sobre a guerra do Paraguay*, at several sessions ⁽⁵²⁾. In the following year, the IHGB defended Brazil's involvement in the war, stating that the nation's only objective was "to avenge unmerited affronts, to crush the walls of this new China, to allow free passage on their rivers, that are also ours, to the flags of all peoples" ⁽⁵³⁾. To show that Brazil practiced what it preached, the speaker went on to make mention of the fact that the Amazon River had been opened to all nations for commercial purposes ⁽⁵⁴⁾. In general, the members of the IHGB apparently followed the progress of the war closely.

(50) "Sessão magna anniversaria. Relatório do primeiro secretario o sr. conego dr. J. Caetano Fernandes Pinheiro", *RIHGB*, 28:2 (1865), p. 334.

(51) *Ibid.*, p. 337. For the actual proposal itself and its sponsors, see "4ª Sessão em 7 de Julho de 1865", *RIHGB*, 28:2 (1865), pp. 286-87.

(52) "Actas das sessões", *RIHGB*, 29:2 (1866).

(53) "Sessão magna anniversaria. Relatório do primeiro secretario o conego dr. J. Caetano Fernandes Pinheiro", *RIHGB*, 30:2 (1867), pp. 495-96.

(54) *Ibid.*, p. 496.

After the victory at Humaitá in 1868, the general, Visconde de Inhauma, was elevated to *sócio honorário*. His fellow, the Duque de Caxias, was already *sócio honorário* and therefore could not be promoted further, although recognition of his efforts was made with equal fervor⁽⁵⁵⁾. The IHGB also offered moral support in the form of letters of encouragement. On one occasion in 1869, the Conde d'Eu replied that the words of the IHGB had "inspired the victories obtained by the national army"⁽⁵⁶⁾. In 1870, the seemingly interminable war was even blamed for having so distracted the spirits of the *sócios* that research and writing had suffered measurably as a consequence⁽⁵⁷⁾. And when victory finally did come in 1870, the IHGB was quick to appoint a special committee to decide on who might best congratulate the Emperor and celebrate along with the rest of the nation⁽⁵⁸⁾.

The decades of the 1870s and 1880s were also trying years for the Empire, to say the least. Among the many issues it had to contend with were the church-state confrontation, the increasing debate against slavery, the rise of the Republican party and of positivism, electoral reforms, and the desire for decentralization of the monarchy. Of these, only two received much attention: the abolition of slavery and, to a lesser extent, the advent of positivism. At this time, the IHGB's major preoccupation was to become even more vocal in its support of the Emperor (and the cause of the *imperialismo*, in the words of Joaquim Nabuco), and to emphasize its role as a patriotic national institution⁽⁵⁹⁾.

The abolition of slavery in 1888 was received with overwhelming enthusiasm by the IHGB. In particular, Dr. Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, a member of the IHGB, was singled out for special mention because his book *Escravidão no Brasil*, was instrumental in the abolitionist movement⁽⁶⁰⁾. Perdigão Malheiro, an imperial deputy from Minas Gerais, had read his work at the 1866 sessões and, at the anniversary session of that year, first secretary J. C. Fernandes Pinheiro paid special attention to the work, stating that it seemed to him of unquestionable benefit as a solution to one of the greatest and most momentous problems of the time⁽⁶¹⁾. Fifteen years later, Franklin Távora also hailed the

(55) "Sessão extraordinária em 5 de Março de 1868", *RIHGB*, 31:2 (1868), pp. 314-15.

(56) "15ª Sessão em 3 de Dezembro de 1869", *RIHGB*, 32:2 (1869), p. 288.

(57) "Sessão magna anniversaria. Relatório do segundo secretario o dr. José Ribeiro de Souza Fontes", *RIHGB*, 33:2 (1870), p. 423.

(58) "Sessão extraordinária em 21 de Março de 1870", and "Sessão extraordinária em 4 de Maio de 1870", *RIHGB*, 33:2 (1870), pp. 359 and 360, respectively.

(59) See, for example, "Sessão magna anniversaria. Relatório do sr. 1.º secretario interino dr. Joaquim Pires Machado Portella", *RIHGB*, 49:3:4 (1886), p. 515. Also, upon the Emperor's return to Brazil after his health-related trip abroad, the IHGB sent a delegation to his ship as a part of the welcoming ceremonies. See "6ª Sessão ordinaria em 31 de agosto de 1888", *RIHGB*, 51:2 (1888), p. 260.

(60) "Relatório dos trabalhos annuaes de 1888 apresentado na sessão magna anniversaria de 15 de Dezembro pelo 1.º secretario interino dr. João Severino da Fonseca", *RIHGB*, 51:2 (1888), p. 329.

(61) "Sessão magna anniversaria. Relatório do primeiro secretario o sr. conego dr. J. C. Fernandes Pinheiro", *RIHGB*, 29:2 (1866), pp. 444-45.

work as "[the] book that initiated a humanitarian reform, a most eminent revolution that is being realized in our country" (62). As a final gesture of esteem, the IHGB placed a statue of Perdigão Malheiro in its hall (63). Another symbolic project which related to abolition undertaken by the IHGB in full vigor was the production of a medallion commemorating the May 13 law, which was eventually distributed to both national and foreign dignitaries, including, of course, Dom Pedro and the heiress to the throne (64).

The proponent of the commemorative medallion, Maximiano Marques de Carvalho, was also the one who mounted an attack on positivism. He brought up the issue at an 1884 meeting in a rare display of ideological — as opposed to issue-oriented — debate among the annals of the *Revista* (65). His basic argument was that Brazil had been getting along very nicely with the philosophies of Descartes, Kant, and Cousin, among others. The then most recent French school of thought, which he labled pantheism, was dangerous because "the scientific teachings and the social organization of our country are not yet as firmly founded as in France and Germany; they could of course be jolted and destroyed by false ideas transmitted by a *literatismo* without foundation very similar to that of Gongorism" (66). Carvalho suggested that the IHGB appoint a committee to translate from French and German those works he found to be ideologically acceptable. He even went so far as to suggest that the proposed translations be sold at prices below those of the new Portuguese works to assure a wider audience (67). Such a blatant thought-control on the part of some IHGB members attested to the conformist view of upholding imperialismo. If anything ever came of this proposal, no mention was ever made of it in the atas over the next five years. In fact, the secretary did not even make mention of the proposal in his annual report.

Curiously, Carvalho seems to have done an ideological about-face three years later in 1887. It was then that he came up with a new proposal, this time for a university that would teach the practical physical sciences, modeled after those of Berlin and Munich (68). He was now complaining that all of Brazil's *faculdades*, *escolas*, and *colégios* were too theoretical in orientation and that, if Brazil was ever to realize its industrial independence, it must begin to emulate European institutions of higher learning (69). This proposal seems to have met with greater approval by the members

(62) "Relatorio...de...1888...pelo 1.º secretario...Fonseca", pp. 329-30.

(63) *Ibid.*, p. 330.

(64) The proposal for the medallion was made by Maximiano Marques de Carvalho on June 15, 1888. See "1ª Sessão ordinaria em 15 de Junho de 1888", *RIHGB*, 51:2 (1888), p. 218.

(65) "9ª Sessão aos 10 de Outubro de 1884", *RIHGB*, 47:2 (1884), pp. 592-94.

(66) *Ibid.*, p. 593.

(67) *Ibid.*, p. 594.

(68) "8ª Sessão ordinaria, em 9 de Novembro de 1887", *RIHGB*, 50:4 (1887), p. 357.

(69) "10ª Sessão em 23 de Novembro de 1887", *RIHGB*, 50:4 (1887), p. 366.

of the IHGB, one of whom had already taken it upon himself to start the necessary proceedings in the legislature ⁽⁷⁰⁾.

How did the IHGB react to the overthrow of the Empire, the ousting of its cherished protector? If the *Revista* is an accurate guide, then it can be said that the IHGB was only slightly ruffled, although it clearly felt a profound sense of loss. Pedro had attended the November 7 session of the IHGB, the last one before the fifteenth of the same month, although rumors of an impending coup were already rampant ⁽⁷¹⁾. The next session, which should have been held on the twenty-first, was delayed until the twenty-ninth. At that time, apart from the usual business, only two brief discussions about the demise of the Empire were delivered. Neither was bitter and only one really concerned itself with the political situation. The speaker, Dr. João Severiano da Fonseca, a brother of Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, pointed out that the Emperor's departure was not a punishment but "an inevitable necessity;" the IHGB's response would be to submit gracefully to "the new state of things" ⁽⁷²⁾. João Severiano, like Bom Retiro before him, was simply continuing the tradition of speaking for the head of state, in this particular case, the founder of the Republic, Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca. The Sessão Magna Aniversária was not held that year. It had been customarily celebrated on the fifteenth of December since 1849, when Dom Pedro first "took this chair" at the IHGB.

Conclusion

It is ironic that the IHGB began as a novel, learned society whose principal purpose was to disseminate nonpartisan historical truth. The elite domination of its membership, such as by the Emperor and the nobility, took its toll on this Enlightenment-inspired institution, however. The energetic spirit of the new elite of the 1830s and the 1840s later faded away as the maturing imperial elite felt the need to defend the values it had come to hold and had helped develop over succeeding decades. In a parallel response, the IHGB degenerated into a staid organ of the mainstream views of the ruling elite. According to Olegário Herculano d'Aquino e Castro, president of the IHGB in the 1890s, the IHGB and SAIN separated as affiliates in 1851 ⁽⁷³⁾. The reasons for this move were

(70) *Ibid.*, p. 367. This researcher was not, however, able to ascertain the fate of this project.

(71) Lídia Besouchet, *Exílio e morte do Imperador* (Rio: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1975), pp. 362-64.

(72) "21ª Sessão ordinária celebrada em 29 de Novembro de 1889", *RIHGB*, 52:2 (1889), pp. 534-35 and 537-38.

(73) Castro, "O Instituto...desde a sua fundação", p. 176.

not disclosed by Castro, however, nor are they to be found among the atas das sessões for 1851 or even the next few years thereafter. One could speculate, however, on the basis of the material presented herein, that by that time (only two years after the Emperor had become a permanent figure), the IHGB was no longer directly fulfilling the original objectives SAIN had outlined for its offspring in 1838 and had instead come to function foremost as a gentleman's club of the social elite.

In light of this characterization of the IHGB, it should be remembered that within the first decade of its founding, more than three-fourths of all noblemen-sócios had been admitted. Even though they may not have already received their titles, they had probably begun the performance of those services to the Empire for which Dom Pedro II later rewarded them. The greatest positive contribution by these noblemen-sócios to the IHGB was to nurture its growth. They lent their social and political prestige to the young institution and obtained governmental subsidies to assure its continued operation, such as the publication of the *Revista*. However, the fact that current events were worthy of its members' attention in addition to its regular duties suggests that the IHGB provided a superficially non-political setting where entrenched support of the monarchy was vocalized and ingeminated.

CONCLUSION

In its broadest sense, this brief statistical and descriptive study confirms that political power in imperial Brazil was indeed vested in the crown and a group of political elites, the mandarins. Additionally, it has demonstrated that members of the nobility were among the cream of the crop of imperial politicians in significant numbers. At least one pattern in the granting of titles has been established, that of service as counselor of state, a fact that offers a challenge to those who would scoff at the credibility of the nobility system. The discussions of the noblemen-politicians in general also lend support to the hypothesis that the title system was beneficially employed in achieving and, to an extent, maintaining national unity.

Beyond providing some preliminary glimpses into the nature and composition of the nobility, this study contributes further information on the nature of the distribution of political power by means of the regional elite. Specifically, it has documented a demographically "democratic" system of office distribution, that is, an evidently calculated north-south parity, presumably designed to lessen the intensity of regional differences at the national level. By extension, no one economically strong region was able to dominate the national scene, although, as it was also suggested, the persistence of economically disparate regions eventually undermined the centralized monarchical system.

Finally, it has been demonstrated that ideological support for the imperial system was cultivated outside of the political setting in the form of a sociocultural institution. The role of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro in supplying the nation's official history and underwriting the views of the ruling elite is a theme worthy of further investigation.

In brief, this introductory inquiry into the Brazilian nobility has verified that the role of the nobility in imperial Brazilian society is one that not only deserves further attention but one that also should not be discounted in future studies of the social background, economic wealth, and political power of the elites of the Empire of Brazil.

APPENDIX A

TOTAL NUMBER OF TITLES GRANTED BY YEAR AND
BY PROVINCE, 1822-89

Year	BA	MG	PE	RJ	SP	Total
1822	1	—	—	1	—	2
1823	—	—	1	1	—	2
1824	2	—	1	—	—	3
1825	11	7	—	3	—	21
1826	12	9	1	7	3	32
1827	—	—	—	—	1	1
1828	2	—	—	3	—	5
1829	2	1	—	3	—	6
1830 *	4	—	1	1	—	6
1840	1	—	—	1	—	2
1841	3	2	2	5	—	12
1842	—	—	—	—	—	—
1843	2	1	1	1	—	5
1844	1	—	—	1	—	2
1845	—	—	3	1	—	4
1846	1	3	—	4	2	10
1847	1	—	—	3	1	5
1848	2	5	—	3	3	13
1849	2	—	—	5	3	12
1850	—	—	—	2	—	2
1851	—	1	—	1	1	3
1852	1	1	—	4	1	7
1853	—	—	2	3	—	5
1854	6	8	8	16	8	46
1855	1	1	—	2	—	4
1856	—	—	—	2	1	3
1857	—	1	—	1	—	2
1858	2	—	2	1	1	6
1859	2	—	—	—	—	2

* No titles were granted during the Regency (1831-40).

(continua)

Year	BA	MG	PE	RJ	SP	Total
1860	14	1	9	3	1	28
1861	1	4	1	4	—	10
1862	1	1	—	—	1	3
1863	—	—	—	1	1	2
1864	2	—	—	—	—	2
1865	—	—	—	—	—	—
1866	7	3	3	4	1	18
1867	1	8	10	23	6	48
1868	1	2	1	3	5	12
1869	—	—	—	1	—	1
1870	3	—	3	1	2	9
1871	9	8	2	4	2	25
1872	7	11	—	14	5	37
1873	1	3	4	6	1	15
1874	—	4	1	8	4	17
1875	2	—	1	5	1	9
1876	1	5	3	8	2	19
1877	1	—	1	10	7	19
1878	1	—	—	—	—	1
1879	5	11	—	5	9	30
1880	4	—	6	3	6	19
1881	2	13	—	12	—	27
1882	4	4	6	22	2	38
1883	2	—	4	15	4	25
1884	3	1	1	4	4	13
1885	1	5	1	4	8	19
1886	3	4	—	6	1	14
1887	3	5	—	9	26	43
1888	9	16	13	30	11	79
1889	8	31	10	22	8	79
Tot.	155	180	104	302	143	884

Source: Adapted from Rheingantz, *Titulares do Império*.

APPENDIX B

NOBLEMEN-CABINET MINISTERS, 1822-89

Rank	Title	Name	Birth- place	Dates of Titles	Offices
V	Abaeté	Antônio Paulino Limpo de Abreu	PO	1854	M/C-2/S/PM
M	Abrantes	Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida	BA	1841; 1854	M/C-2/S
V	Albuquerque	Antônio Francisco de Paula e Holanda Cavalcanti de Albuquerque	PE	1854	M/C-2/S
V	Alcântara	João Inácio da Cunha	MA	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
M	Aracati	João Carlos Augusto de Oeynhaus	FR	1825; 1826	M/S
V	Araxá	Domiciano Leite Ribeiro	MG	1872	M/C-2
M	Baependi	Manoel Jacinto Nogueira da Gama	MG	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
M	Barbacena	Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes	MG	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
V	Beaurepaire Rohan	Henrique de Beaurepaire Rohan	RJ	1888	M/C-2
V	Bom Conselho	José Bento da Cunha Figueiredo	BA	1888	M/C-2/S
V	Bom Retiro	Luís Pedreira do Couto Ferraz	RJ	1867; 1872	M/C-2/S
V	Cabo Frio (1.º)	Luís da Cunha Moreira	BA	1858	M
V	Cachoeira (1.º)	Luís José Carvalho de Melo	BA	1825	M/C-1/S
B	Cairu	Bento da Silva Lisboa	BA	1844	M/S
V	Camamu (2.º)	José Egídio Gordilho de Barbuda	PO	1830; 1856	M/S
M	Caravelas	José Joaquim Carneiro de Campos	BA	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
V	Caravelas (2.º)	Manoel Alves Branco	BA	1854	M/C-2/S/PM
V	Caravelas (3.º)	Carlos Carneiro de Campos	BA	1872	M/C-2/S

(Continua)

Rank	Title	Name	Birth- place	Dates of Titles	Offices
V	Cavalcanti	Diogo Velho Cavalcanti de Albuquerque	PB	1888	M/C-2/S
D	Caxias	Luís Alves de Lima e Silva	RJ	1841; 1845; 1852; 1869	M/C-2/S/PM
B	Cotegipe	João Maurício Wanderley	BA	1860	M/S/PM
V	Cruzeiro	Jerônimo José Teixeira Júnior	RJ	1888	M/C-2/S
M	Ervai	Manoel Luís Osório	RS	1867; 1868; 1869	M/S
V	Goiana	Bernardo José da Gama	PE	1830; 1845	M
B	Homem de Melo	Francisco Inácio Marcondes Homem de Melo	SP	1877	M
B	Iguape (1.º)	Antônio da Silva Prado	SP	1848; 1854	M/S
M	Inhambuque	Antônio Luís Pereira da Cunha	BA	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
V	Inhaúma	Joaquim José Inácio	PO	1867; 1868	M
V	Inhomirim	Francisco de Sales Torres Homem	RJ	1872	M/C-2/S
V	Itaboraí	Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres	RJ	1854	M/C-2/S/PM
B	Itamaracá (2.º)	Antônio Peregrino Maciel Monteiro	PE	1860	M
B	Itapicuriúmirim	José Félix Pereira de Burgos	MA	1829; 1846	M
V	Itaúna	Cândido Borges Monteiro	RJ	1867; 1872	M/S
V	Jaguari (2.º)	José Hildefonso de Sousa Ramos	MG	1867; 1872	M/C-2/S
V	Jaguaripe	Domingos José Nogueira Jaguaribe	CE	1888	M/S
V	Jequitinhonha	Francisco Gê Acaíaba de Montezuma	BA	1854	M/C-2/S
V	Jerumirim	Francisco Cordeiro da Silva Torres e Alvim	PO	1834	M/C-2
B	Ladário	José da Costa Azevedo	RJ	1885	M

(Continua)

Rank	Title	Name	Birth- place	Dates of Titles	Offices
M	Lages	João Vieira de Carvalho	PO	1825; 1826; 1845	M/C-1/S
V	Lamare	Joaquim Raimundo de Lamare	RJ	1888	M/C-2/S
V	Lima Duarte	José Rodrigues de Lima Duarte	MG	1889	M/S
B	Loreto	Franklin Américo de Meneses Dória	BA	1888	M/S
V	Macaé (2.º)	José Carlos Pereira de Almeida Torres	BA	1847	M/C-2/S/PM
M	Macció	Francisco (Afonso Maurício) de Sousa Coutinho	IT	1825; 1826	M
B	Mamoré	Ambrósio Leite da Cunha	PÁ	1883	M/S
V	Maracaju	Rufino Enéias Gustavo Galvão	MT	1874; 1883	M
M	Maranguape	Caetano Maria Lopes Gama	PE	1854	M/C-2/S
M	Maricá	Mariano José Pereira da Fonseca	RJ	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
M	Monte Alegre	José da Costa Carvalho	BA	1841; 1843; 1854	M/C-2/S/PM
M	Muritiba	Manoel Vieira Tosta	BA	1855; 1872; 1888	M/C-2/S
M	Nazaré	Clemente Ferreira França	BA	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
V	Niterói	Francisco de Paula Nogueiros Salião Lobato	RJ	1872	M/C-2/S
M	Olinda	Pedro de Araújo Lima	PE	1854	M/C-2/S/PM
V	Ouro Preto	Afonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo	MG	1888	M/C-2/S/PM
M	Paraná	Honório Hermeto Carneiro Leão	MG	1852; 1854	M/C-2/S/PM
M	Paranaguá (1.º)	Francisco Vilela Barbosa	RJ	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
M	Paranaguá (2.º)	João Lustosa da Cunha Paranaguá	PI	1882; 1888	M/C-2/S/PM
V	Pelotas (2.º)	José Antônio Correia da Câmara	RS	1870	M
B	Pereira Franco	Luís Antônio Pereira Franco	BA	1888	M/S
B	Pinto Lima	Francisco Xavier Pinto Lima	BA	1888	M

(Continua)

Rank	Title	Name	Birth- place	Dates of Titles	Offices
C	Porto Alegre	Manoel Marques de Sousa	RS	1852; 1866; 1868	M
M	Queluz	João Severiano Maciel da Costa	MG	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
V	Rio Branco	José Maria da Silva Paranhos	BA	1870	M/C-2/S/PM
V	Rio Comprido	José de Oliveira Barbosa	RJ	1829; 1841	M/S
C	Rio Pardo	Tomás Joaquim Pereira Valente	PO	1825; 1826	M
M	Sabará	João Gomes da Silveira Mendonça	MG	1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
V	Santa Teresa	Polidoro da Fonseca Quintanilha Jordão	RJ	1870; 1871	M
M	Santo Amaro	João Egídio Álvares de Almeida	BA	1818; 1825; 1826	M/C-1/S
V	São Leopoldo	José Fernandes Pinheiro	SP	1825	M/C-1/S
V	São Lourenço	Francisco Gonçalves Martins	BA	1860; 1871	M/S
M	São Vicente	José Antônio Pimenta Bueno	SP	1867; 1872	M/C-2/S/PM
M	Sapucaí	Cândido José de Araújo Viana	MG	1854; 1872	M/C-2/S
V	Sepetiba	Aureliano de Sousa e Oliveira Coutinho	RJ	1855	M/S
V	Sinimbu	João Lins Vieira Consaço de Sinimbu	AL	1888	M/C-2/S/PM
V	Sousa Franco	Bernardo de Sousa Franco	PA	1872	M/C-2/S
V	Suassuna	Francisco de Paula Cavalcanti de Albuquerque	PE	1841; 1860	M/S
B	Surui	Manoel da Fonseca Lima e Silva	RJ	1854	M/S
B	Tramandaí	Antero José Ferreira de Brito	RJ	1855	M
V	Uruguai	Paulino José Soares de Sousa	FR	1854	M/C-2/S
B	Uruguaiana	Ângelo Moniz de Silva Ferraz	BA	1866	M/C-2/S/PM
M	Valença	Estêvão Ribeiro de Resende	MG	1825; 1826; 1848	M/C-1/S
V	Vieira da Silva	Luis Antônio Vieira da Silva	CE	1889	M/C-2/S
B	Vila Bela (2 ^o)	Domingos de Sousa Leão	PE	1866	M/S
M	Vila Real da Praia Grande	Caetano Pinto de Miranda Montenegro	PO	1825; 1826	M

ABBREVIATIONS, APPENDIX B

Rank:

B	—	Barão
V	—	Visconde
C	—	Conde
M	—	Marquês
D	—	Duque

Birthplace:

AL	—	Alagoas
BA	—	Bahia
CE	—	Ceará
FR	—	France
IT	—	Italy
MA	—	Maranhão
MG	—	Minas Gerais
MT	—	Mato Grosso
PÁ	—	Pará
PB	—	Paraíba
PE	—	Pernambuco
PI	—	Piauí
PO	—	Portugal
RJ	—	Rio de Janeiro
RS	—	Rio Grande do Sul
SP	—	São Paulo

Offices:

M	—	Minister
C-1	—	First Councilor of State
C-2	—	Second Councilor of State
S	—	Senator
PM	—	Prime Minister

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