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REPUBLICAN CHANGES OR THE EMPEROR'S AGENDA: THE PRESS'S OPPOSITION TO THE MONARCHY IN THE 1870S AND THE DISCOURSE ON EXPANDING CITIZENSHIP

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The 1870s are considered by historiography as a milestone in the crisis of the imperial regime. One of the reasons was the emergence of the Republican Party, already this year, which limited its appearance with the launch, in the press, of the Republican Party Manifesto. Other reasons were also considered to determine this beginning. But the performance of the press is, in this article, the source of study that aims to demonstrate that this opposition press that appeared in 1870 and serves as one of the central arguments justifying the beginning of the collapse of the Empire had a character that was not only ephemeral, as it was not continuous throughout this decade, as he acted in the role of the government. What I intend to prove with this statement is that the opposition press of the 1870s, at this point already republican, did not present its own proposals, but took a position based on criticism of the Empire's projects.

As a result of the results obtained in the development project throughout the doctorate, the main source of research was newspapers. Here, the newspapers opposing the monarchical regime that began to circulate in the Court from the 1870s onwards. Considering the initial milestone was the launch of the Republican Manifestation on December 1, 1870 and the other editions of the newspaper *A República*, a propaganda sheet for the Republican Party, which circulated until 1874. To evaluate the remainder of the decade, research was carried out in the National Library's periodical bank and the opposition newspapers that proposed regime change were selected and had a liberal character, since after the closure of the newspaper.

In the Republic, publications in the press, at least until 1880, no longer explicitly called themselves republican. The newspapers selected for research were: ``O Republicano``, ``Jornal do Povo``: ``Folha Democrática``,

``Gazeta da Noite`` and ``Liberdade``.

To assess the scope of the proposals or issues raised by so-called republican periodicals, it is necessary to compare them with the political agenda that was developing in the Chambers. This comparison was carried out based on the examination of the Speech from the Throne and the Vote of Thanks.

The Speech from the Throne was the speech with which the Emperor, or his representative, opened and closed the legislative session. This session, which brought together the Chamber and Senate, was called by the Constitution of March 24, 1824, the "Imperial Opening Session". It always happened on May 3rd. D. Pedro I inaugurated the Speech of the Throne in 1823 as a constitutional obligation.

In the Speech from the Throne, the Emperor presented an informative overview of the country's situation and suggested "provisions required for the public good". In other words, the Chief Executive expressed to the Legislature his representation of "serious or serious" national problems that required an urgent solution. This type of ceremony that established dialogue between powers, according to Pedro Calmon, was held in other countries. "This was also done in London and Paris, since Henry IV in the States General, and in Portugal." (CALMON, 1977, p. 7)

The moment of speech, as well as the entire ritual for its event, led to the construction of one of the symbols of the monarchy of the tropics. It was the "grand gala" outfit used at this time, and such attire only came into play, in addition to speaking, on important civic dates, such as Fico and Independence Days (SCHWARCZ, 1998, p. 90).

The response to the Speech from the Throne came through the Vote of Thanks. This reply almost always revealed the agreement between the majority of the Chamber and the political leadership of the Ministry and the amendments that were presented during the

discussion. (CALMON, 1977, p. 9)

The use of such documentation offers us material to identify issues that dominated the political scene in different phases of the Second Reign. And it will allow evaluating the press' reaction to the Emperor's proposals and comparing them with liberal demands.

It is important to remember that the Speech of the Throne was a frequent object of reproduction and analysis by the press. In many periodicals, editors responded and criticized the Emperor's positions and projects based on this statement, and also the position of the Chambers on fundamental issues of the national political debate.

In the ten years analyzed in the thesis and whose results are reproduced in this article, the Emperor's Speeches follow a pattern. He, or his representative, repeats, annually, specific issues relating to the country's situation. They are: international relations and treaties signed with nations; the sanitary conditions of the Empire; the situation of public order, reporting the events and places when it was disturbed; the state of the public accounts and the annual balance of the national coffers. Linked to public accounts, it also addressed issues relating to agricultural production. Reform proposals were also presented annually. In these years analyzed, the same proposals were repeated. They were: the review of the servile issue, which appeared especially between 1870 and 1871, before the promulgation of the Free Womb Law; electoral and National Guard reform, as well as concern with public education and training of qualified labor. The latter is clearly related to the project of putting an end to slave labor in the country.

In table 1, the reader will find a summary of the proposals presented by the Emperor in the annual opening speeches of the General Assembly of the Empire and the respective responses from the Legislature, through the Vote of Thanks.

The year 1870 is significant in the country's history, as it was the year in which the Paraguayan War ended. This conflict was decisive politically and economically and determined the direction the country would follow in subsequent years.

The Emperor's message at this year's solemn session, which took place on May 6th instead of the traditional 3rd, focused on matters relating to this war. He began his speech by mentioning the "glorious" end of the Paraguayan War; recognizing the cooperation of allies; mourning the death of the soldiers. He also continued to present the attempt to reach an agreement with the Republic of Paraguay to establish the permanence of peace based on the Treaty of May 1, 1865 (Treaty of the Triple Alliance);

Regarding the reforms, D. Pedro II requested the attention of the Chambers to the following issues: educational reform, stating that this was the only way to guarantee the moral and material progress of the Empire – an argument similar to that of the republican newspapers –; ease of communications and free-hand assistance with farming; electoral reform, improvement in the administration of justice, municipal organization and National Guard, census of the Empire's population. He did not specify how he intended these reforms to be carried out, leaving the details of drafting the bills to the legislators. Therefore, it is understood that the Chambers established the criteria for rearrangement, in accordance with what was publicly debated. Labor relations were present in the Speeches of 1870 and 1871. And the increase in "free arms" for farming, clearly related to the abolition process since in 1871 the Rio Branco Law, or Free Womb Law, would be enacted.

The moral and material development of the Empire depends essentially on the dissemination of education among all classes of society, on the ease of communications, on the help of free hands

Year	Emperor's proposals	Vote of Thanks
1870	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Educational reform; -Electoral reform; -Judicial reform; -Reform of the National Guard and municipal reorganization; -Census 	They state that they will pay attention to the issues raised by the Emperor, in particular electoral reform, the improvement of the administration of justice to the municipal organization and the national guard, the decree of the means for carrying out the population census and the reform of the penal code, the process military, which awaits resolution from the senate.
1871	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Electoral reform; -Reform of judicial legislation; -Reform of the national guard and military recruitment; -Reform legislation on the servile state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognize the need to reform judicial legislation; - Consider electoral reform essential; - They respond that "current servile property is an indispensable element of work; however, they want a dawn of regeneration to dawn for future generations". They defend slow gradual emancipation, as a measure of high prudence and humanity.
1872	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Electoral reform and -Reform of the national guard and military recruitment; - Improvement of public education (not necessarily reform). 	- Recognizes the importance of the reforms highlighted, states that parliament "will contribute to their implementation."
1873	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Electoral reform; -Reform of the national guard and military recruitment; -Improvement of public education and requests a plan for its dissemination. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The chamber said it would employ, "all your care in responding to so' important issues, which constitute the general aspiration of the country?" - Mention the existence of a recruitment project.
1874	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Electoral reform; - Reform of the national guard; -Education reform (reorganization of primary and secondary education). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Electoral reform: "the Chamber no effort will be spared to carry out this session the great reform, which is a true national aspiration."; - Reform of the national guard: they demand a law that regulates recruitment in a fair and effective way, avoiding insufficiency and abuses of the current system. - Popular education and instruction have become a subject of national commitment in our time.
1875	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Budget law; - Electoral reform. 	- Recognize the urgency of the budget law and electoral reform projects. They state that they will spare no effort to achieve their goals.
1876	There was no session.	There was no session.
1877	- He cites the electoral law, but calls for its reform.	-The Chamber of Deputies was satisfied with the implementation of the electoral law, and made itself available to examine its reform.
1878	-Electoral reform with direct elections and involving duly qualified citizens (first time that directly mentions the route of constitutional amendment).	- The Chamber stated that it would seek to reform electoral laws as "experience and reason advise," without mentioning the amendment to the constitution.
1879	- Electoral reform	- The Chamber assured the Emperor that it would work diligently to carry out this important measure.
1880	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crown offers the electoral reform project; - Calls an extraordinary session demanding the "imperative need" for a definitive solution to this reform. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chamber responded that it would try and commit itself zealously to the examination and adoption of the electoral reform project offered by the Executive; - Responds with "great satisfaction" to the extraordinary session to provide a definitive solution to electoral reform, as by improving electoral legislation, our institutions will be consolidated.

Table number 1 - Speeches from the Throne opening the legislative year and Vote of thanks (1870-1880).

Source: Prepared by the author based on data obtained in: D. PEDRO II, Speeches from the Throne at the opening of the Legislative Assembly. Brazil, 1870-1880 accompanied by the respective Vote of thanks.

Apud CALMON, Pedro. Speeches from the Throne. São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1977.

in farming, the main source of our wealth. I trust that you will pay careful attention to these matters, as well as to electoral reform, the improvement of the administration of justice, the municipal organization and the national guard, the decree of means to carry out the census of the entire population of the Empire, to the recruitment law and the criminal code and military procedure. Augustus and dignified representatives of the nation. If your dedicated and patriotic assistance to the government provided it with the extraordinary resources that the war required, your lights and love for the country will give vigorous impetus to all the internal improvements that the new era of peace promises us. The session is open. D. PEDRO II, CONSTITUTIONAL EMPEROR AND PERPETUAL DEFENDER OF BRAZIL. (D. Pedro II apud CALMON, 1977, pp. 660,661)

The Chambers' response, through the Vote of Thanks, came on June 3, signed by Dr. Antônio Ferreira Vianna, João José de Oliveira Junqueira and Dr. Domingos de Andrade Figueira. The speech began by congratulating the Emperor on the "glorious" end of the Paraguayan War; with a long salute to the soldiers and recognition of the cooperation of the allies, as well as the loss of the soldiers and also the permanence of the peace settlements. Regarding the reforms requested by D. Pedro II, they stated that they would pay attention to the issues raised by the Emperor, in particular electoral reform, the improvement of the administration of justice, the municipal organization and the National Guard, the decree of the means to carry out the census of the population and the reform of the criminal code and the military process, which was awaiting resolution from the senate.

The year 1871 also featured a speech full of requests and justifications for these demands. In May 1871, D. Pedro II opened the Legislative Session, congratulating himself on such an opening. As usual, his speech began by reporting the tranquility of public order and the health status of the Empire,

considered satisfactory; announced the death of Princess D. Leopoldina, Duchess of Saxe in Vienna; He also mentioned the signing of previous agreements by allied governments to negotiate a peace treaty with Paraguay. In 1872, the definitive Peace Treaty between Brazil and Paraguay would be signed.

An issue always present in his speech was regarding public accounts and the State's financial situation. In 1871, he pointed out the decrease in State income, but considered it transitory. As a solution, he proposed stimulating farming and commerce, with the introduction of free arms, to improve the economy. Regarding reforms, he insisted on electoral reform; reform of judicial legislation, reform of the National Guard and military recruitment.

However, this year, what he considered the most important reform was the legislation on the servile state. It was in 1871 that the Free Womb Law was enacted. The debate between the Emperor and the members of the Legislature on this subject, in this specific year, took place in order to accommodate the interests of the owners and the improvement of the social issue. According to the Emperor, it was time to resolve it in a way that reconciled respect for existing property with the social improvement that civilization required.

Considerations of the greatest importance advise that the reform of legislation on the servile state does not continue to be an indefinite and uncertain national aspiration. It is time to resolve this issue, and your enlightened prudence will know how to reconcile respect for existing property with the social improvements that our civilization and even the interests of property owners require. The government will inform you in due course of its thoughts on the reforms to which I have drawn your attention. (D. Pedro II apud CALMON, 1977, p. 669)

The Chambers, in a session on May 16th, presented the Vote of Thanks project in

solidarity with the death of the Duchess of Saxe. They responded with satisfaction to the maintenance of public and health order in the Empire. They also commented on the other issues mentioned by the Emperor and considered electoral reform to be essential, which would not happen anytime soon.

The Emperor's response to a solution to the "servile question", a topic of greater relevance at the time: they considered the "current servile property as an indispensable element of work". But they wanted a "dawn of regeneration" to emerge for future generations. Because they considered an element that was still fundamental for the maintenance and execution of work, they defended slow and gradual emancipation as a measure of high prudence and humanity.

On May 29, an amendment was offered to the Vote of Thanks, referring to the review of servile work. They stated that this review, relating to the Free Womb Law, which would be approved on September 28 of this year, would be the first step towards transforming society, but they insisted that it would be carried out gradually.

On September 30, the closing speech of that year's Legislative Assembly was led by Princess Isabel as Regent. The regent thanked the Chamber for the measures they took to meet what she considered to be in the public interest, such as the development of railways and the administration of justice. Regarding the promulgation of the Free Womb Law, she also thanked and highlighted the way in which the "extinction of the servile element" was being guided: gradually, since such an undertaking would require, according to Isabel, "prudence".

[...] and the gradual extinction of the servile element. This latest reform will mark a new era in moral and material progress in Brazil. It is a company that requires prudence, persevering efforts and the spontaneous participation of all Brazilians. (Princess:

Between 1872 and 1875, the opening of the Legislative Session continued as usual, dealing with the same issues, demonstrating the stability of the government and the tranquility of the Empire.

Regarding liberal reforms, as since 1870, D. Pedro II recommends preference in electoral reform measures and in those of the National Guard and recruitment:

Besides, in the *Speech from the Throne* of 1872, the Emperor mentioned the need to acquire workforce, especially after the Law of September 28th. Still on this Law that had recently been approved.

When dealing with the abolition process, unlike the Legislature and the Princess, D. Pedro II does not refer to the way it must be carried out. Both Princess Isabel, who led the promulgation of the Rio Branco Law as Regent, and the Chambers, argued that it must be carried out gradually. Allowing it to be reaffirmed that this was, in fact, an option of the Legislature.

The response of the Chambers through the Vote of thanks on the reforms proposed by the Head of State was respectful and in agreement, recognizing their need for the improvement of "national institutions". However, in contrast to the recognition of the need, no suggestion, project or possibility of meeting these demands had been presented. D. Pedro II, with these demands, demonstrates interest and concern in building a country aligned with many of the aspirations being debated during the period. But the Legislature treated such agendas with procrastination and carelessness, indicating that they were not of interest to the Chambers.

In the Speech of 1873, which was widely debated in the press, D. Pedro II announced the contracting, with the Portuguese government, of an electrical cable that would connect Europe and Brazil and that such a "wonderful instrument" could already be used in 1874.

In *Speech from the throne*, at the end of the General Assembly on September 15, 1873, D. Pedro II commented on the first reform adopted by the Legislature, which was the new National Guard Law. Approved on September 10 of this year, it amended Law 602 of September 19, 1850. The following year, the Emperor again highlighted the approval of new legislation on the National Guard. And he insisted on electoral and education reform.

At the close of this year's Assembly, on September 12, the Emperor once again demanded the implementation of projects to reform elections, aid to farming and reform education, considered by him as "of recognized public utility". This demand was repeated in an extraordinary session, held on March 16, 1875. However, the Legislative Assembly, once again, responded to the Emperor in a protocol manner, recognizing the need and urgency of both the electoral reform and the budget law, but not presenting No suggestions for driving both.

In 1875 the only novelty in relation to previous years was a decrease in public income between 1873 and 1874, but still maintaining the balance of finances.

The 16th Legislature took place between 1877 and 1878. The Speech from the Throne opening the 1st session was given on February 1st by the princess regent. The Speech begins by mentioning the long gap in the opening, as the previous year, 1876, did not feature a meeting of the General Assembly: "The meeting of the General Assembly, after the long period in which the nation was deprived of contest of your lights, increases the public rejoicing, which this solemnity always awakens." (Princess Isabel apud CALMON, 1977, p. 742)

In this opening speech, she discussed issues common to previous years, such as international relations, public order, State finances and popular education, in which

she discussed the creation of schools to train teachers at the Court. Regarding previous reforms, no comments.

On June 28, the Vote of Thanks Project was presented, highlighting public finances. The Chamber committed to saving without failing to provide the necessary resources for what had already been decreed. They also responded to the ordinary topics addressed by the Regent.

In 1878, the 17th Legislature began, which was in force until 1881. This cabinet replaced the previous one, headed by a president of the Conservative Party. This legislature was presided over by Viscount João Lins Vieira Cansanção de Sinimbu (1878/80), later followed by the cabinet of March 28, 1880, presided over by the also liberal Councilor José Antônio Saraiva (1880/1882). Its mission was to conduct electoral reform (FERRARO, 2010) and introduce direct elections in the country, already called for by Pedro II since the beginning of the 1870s, as demonstrated through previous Speeches.

After the approval of the Free Womb Law in 1871 by a cabinet that soon afterwards dissolved the Chamber and elected a more pro-government one, the conservatives opposed to the law also adhered to the thesis of direct election. With both parties agreeing on the issue, the Emperor in 1878 called on the liberals to get it approved. Unable to reach agreement on the method of voting on the law, and weakened by popular revolt against increases in tram prices, the liberal cabinet, the first after ten years of conservative rule, fell and was replaced by another from the same party, headed by José Antônio Saraiva. A skilled politician, Saraiva managed to approve the project in both houses without difficulty, transforming it into law in 1881. (CARVALHO, 2017, PP.118-119).

The *Speech from the throne* of the opening of the 1878 General Assembly was delivered

on December 15th. The Emperor began his speech by making observations regarding the representative system, considering it “an auspicious event for nations that are governed by representative forms of meeting the legislative body”. Next, he addressed the aspects that were always present in the opening sessions. However, it is in this session that he adopts a strong tone regarding the implementation of electoral reform and mentioning the “need to replace the current electoral system with direct election.” (D. Pedro II apud CALMON, 1977, pp. 764-765). The Vote of thanks of 1879 recognized the need, to obtain an accurate representation of the action, of electoral reform and committed to carrying it out. Regarding other reforms, the Chamber does not take a position.

The second session of *Speech from the Throne* was held in 1879, on the traditional date of May 3rd. Once again, he turned to the issue of electoral reform, which was about to come to fruition. On this issue, it said: “Decreeing direct elections with the aim of improving the free expression of votes; regulating the financial situation of the State, balancing expenditure with revenue, are purposes of the greatest importance, the achievement of which will satisfy the most vivid national aspirations.”

Election reform and calls for direct elections were nothing new. A demand from liberals since the 1860s, it remained present in discussions in the press. And as demonstrated through the Emperor’s speeches, it was one of the main topics of the monarch’s political agenda throughout the 1870s. José Murilo de Carvalho (2006, p. 393) states that there were three basic concerns that accompanied electoral regulation efforts: the definition of citizenship, that is, who can vote and be voted for, the guarantee of representation of minorities, that is, the prevention of the dictatorship of a party or faction; and

electoral truth. He also states that with regard to citizenship, evolution was an involution. There was a constant and consistent movement towards restricting participation, culminating in the direct election law of 1881.

The maintenance of low popular involvement was a constant feature in the logic of the monarchical and also the republican political system. The justification among theorists was the quality of voting and fairness in elections. They argued that comprehensive participation, especially that of the illiterate, was considered one of the main causes of electoral corruption. After all, according to these subjects, this population lacked understanding and independence to vote, which increased the manipulation and fraud of elections. This was the main argument used during discussions of the project that resulted in the law of 1881. The classic text by Fernando Belisário Soares de Souza (1979) is the best exposition of this perspective. The discussion in the Council of State in 1878 also revealed unanimity regarding the maintenance of the census vote. Only one of the councilors was against the exclusion of illiterate people from the right to vote. Even José de Alencar, an important thinker of the time on the electoral system, was against giving the vote to the illiterate, who he equated with the deaf-mute, incapable of knowing the government and expressing his will. It is also worth remembering his concern with extending the vote to women and slaves. (FERRARO, 2010).

The Emperor’s response to his desire to reform elections was given through the Vote of thanks on June 14, 1879 and the Chamber emphasized that decreeing direct elections would be the way to guarantee the free expression of votes. Regarding other issues in the country raised by the Emperor, how to regulate the financial situation and balance public expenses would be, together with electoral reform, the purposes to which the

Chamber focused “assisted by the government of Your Imperial Majesty.”

On October 30, 1879, D. Pedro II called an extraordinary session, with the aim of definitively resolving the change in electoral legislation. This new regulation of elections was proposed based on a constitutional reform, which intended to change the election regime to direct. On April 26, 1880, the Chamber returned and committed to carrying it out. The charge continued in the next sessions.

The third session held on May 3, 1880 maintained the Emperor’s demand regarding the replacement of the electoral system with direct election.

On October 9, 1880, an extraordinary session was called to request a definitive solution to the electoral reform. The Emperor says that “from your patriotism I hope the enactment of a law that guarantees the freedom of voting.” (D. Pedro II apud CALMON, 1977, p. 792). On January 9, 1881, the Saraiva Law, or Decree no. 3,029, which instituted electoral reform. The following day, D. Pedro gave the closing speech of the General Assembly, thanking the Chamber for its work in carrying out the electoral reform. He says that “[...] decreeing this reform, with the aim of ensuring the freedom and sincerity of elections, patriotically corresponding to national opinion.” (CALMON, 1977, p. 794)

In the period researched here, therefore, it appears that the Emperor himself, on successive occasions, was the one who had the initiative to propose reforms to the Legislature.

Reforms, in fact, that had been demands of the liberals since the 1860s. Likewise, D. Pedro II began submitting to Parliament changes in the organization of the National Guard, in the organization of the education system, in the structure of the judiciary, as well as in the regulation of labor, including proposing the end of servile work. The Emperor did not indicate how these reforms must be carried out. It left its management up to the Legislature, except for the issue of ending slavery, the abolition of which must reconcile the interests of property owners with those of “civilization” and “social improvement”, but it directed which reforms were necessary for the development of the nation, thus adopting a political agenda similar to that of the liberals of the 1860s, who identified such changes as urgent for the country to achieve progress, modernization and public well-being.

On the other hand, it is clear that the slowness in the process of approving the reforms was caused by the actions of the Legislature. As the most obvious example, we can mention the electoral reform: demanded by the Emperor throughout the 1870s, it was only carried forward after the ministerial change. In their responses to the Emperor, they did not fail to recognize the importance and need for its execution. However, the stability that the Empire had experienced since 1871 began to be undermined, including the imbalance in public accounts, demonstrated by the Emperor himself in one of his opening speeches.

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