POLITICS IN RIO DE JANEIRO PROVINCE UNDER THE EMPIRE

(1822 - 1889)

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation adds a new dimension to the understanding of Brazilian politics under the Empire (1822-1889), a highly centralized political and administrative system, by offering one of the first detailed analyses of provincial politics. In contrast, a large number of regional studies are already available for the period of the Old Republic (1889-1930).

The province of Rio de Janeiro is taken as the research’s case study. Its geographic proximity to the country’s national capital placed the province at the heart of national politics. The period in question witnessed the rise, apogee and decline of Rio de Janeiro province’s national political and economic preeminence. Internally, the province is unusually interesting because of its economy based on coffee, sugar and foodstuffs, supplying export and domestic markets.

The main contribution of this research to the debate on the nature of Brazilian politics under the Empire is its analysis of the vital role played by Rio de Janeiro provincial (fluminense) politicians in linking the various provincial economic and social interests behind a program for the defence of export agriculture based upon slave labour. After 1870, it was a matter of maintaining and defending the province’s dominant economic and social structures during a period of decline. At the same time, they attempted to sustain the province’s leading position on
the national political scene.

The study is organized in three main parts. Part One considers the general background to fluminense politics. First, a general survey is presented of the economy and society of Rio de Janeiro province under the Empire. Secondly, the operation of the fluminense provincial administrative system (Camaras Municipais, Provincial Legislative Assembly, Provincial Presidency and various provincial administrative offices) is described. Part Two analyses the debates that took place in the fluminense Legislative Assembly, the principal provincial political forum. This focuses on the way in which local sectors were represented and how they related to each other. The data on which this section is primarily based was obtained from the Anais (published proceedings) of the Provincial Assembly. Part Three examines local participation at various levels in the provincial political and administrative machinery. A database was created using data supplied by the Almanack Laemmert - an annual publication of the period, which recorded the names of all politicians and administrative personnel nationally, including the province of Rio de Janeiro.
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I owe special thanks to the staff of the Sala Mattoso Maia (Niterói), Arquivo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), The British Library (Official Publications Library), the Senate House Library (University of London) and, in a very particular way, the Institute of Latin American Studies (London).

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This dissertation examines provincial politics in nineteenth century Brazil through a study of Rio de Janeiro province.

The dissertation is organized in four sections. The Introduction (Chapter I) considers the history of Brazil during the last century, the main trends in the historiography of that period and the subject of Brazilian nineteenth century politics. It also discusses how the proposal of this research came about and the way in which it has been organized.

Part I, presents the general background to Rio de Janeiro provincial politics. In Chapter II, the history of Rio de Janeiro province in the nineteenth century is outlined. Chapter III considers the institutional framework within which fluminense provincial politics operated. It examines the setting-up of the provincial administrative machinery and the way in which fluminense political institutions were established in the province. Provincial legislation on these matters was the main source of information.

Part II examines the way in which fluminense political debate evolved in the province under the Empire. Three chapters (Chapters IV, V and VI) consider the different stages of political exchanges within Rio de
Janeiro's Provincial Legislative Assembly.

In the third and final part of the dissertation, Chapter VII considers the way in which political debate in the province can be related to variations observed in the fluminense Provincial Assembly's membership. Issues discussed in Part II are re-examined in conjunction with the results obtained of an analysis of the Assembly’s membership in the period under consideration. This part also comprises the main conclusion of this dissertation. It does this by relating the main issues discussed throughout the text to the results obtained from a database analysis of the membership of the fluminense Assembly.
Map 1-1
Brazil in the mid Nineteenth Century
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

In this first chapter three different points will be considered in order to establish the basic premises upon which this study is to be pursued.

First of all, it is necessary to establish the main events in Brazilian history of the period covered by the proposed study. This will provide the reader with a basic understanding of the most relevant events that surrounded-and in many ways, marked-the provincial history under consideration here.

Secondly, the main features that marked the historiography of the subject under discussion are examined. This will provide the study with basic guidelines for use in the argument of later chapters, as well as determining the way in which the study defines itself.

Finally, it is necessary to describe how the idea of developing such a study came about. The initial proposal and the inevitable alterations that took place during the course of the research are also worthy of discussion. This exercise will pose the questions that this dissertation aims to answer.
The beginning of the nineteenth century brought radical changes to Brazil. The year 1808 saw the transfer of the Portuguese Court to the city of Rio de Janeiro. The colony was incorporated into a 'united kingdom' with Portugal, creating a turning point in the relations between metropolis and colony. It was not until 1822, however, that Brazil achieved formal independence from Portugal.

The population of Brazil at the time of Independence is thought to have been between 4 to 5 million inhabitants. This total was to rise to 7.23 million in 1850, and to 9.8 million in 1870. By the end of the century, it had almost reached 18 million.

The economy was dominated by export agriculture, based mainly on sugar and, to a lesser extent, cotton and coffee. The latter was just beginning to establish itself.

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as a viable export crop based in the southern region of the country. There were also sectors devoted to a subsistence economy, which linked areas of the country economically.4 In the particular case of Rio de Janeiro province, a growing economic sector - based on the supply of foodstuffs - started to gather importance in response to the political events taking place in the country's capital city, Rio de Janeiro. This was a crucial element in the emergence of an economic and political sector in a position to promote the consolidation of the Empire as a viable political system in the country. The combination of these two aspects was a crucial element in explaining further political developments in the aftermath of the declaration of Independence.5

Most historians would agree that Independence in 1822 was not the result of a political consensus in the country. Nonetheless, the event motivated the whole of Brazilian society - or the various conglomerations which made up the former colony - in pursuing what would become the Brazilian nation-state. The conflicts among the leading groups in the country marked the period of the 1820s, and most of the 1830s, with extreme political tension. The bitterness of the power struggles among the various factions was further reinforced by the lack of a strong sector to


5 See in particular the work by LENHARO, Alcir. As tropas da moderapão, o abastecimento da Córte na formapão politica do Brasil, 1808-1842. (São Paulo, 1979). More on this issue in Chapter II.
clearly dominate the country’s economy. Nonetheless, it is generally accepted that the existing leading sectors shared an important common element, which helped to strengthen the fragile ties linking most of them: the need to safeguard the agro-export productive structures they had all inherited from the colonial period, and, in a very special way, that of slavery.

Conflicts surrounding the early stages of the national legislature led to the imposition of a constitution by D. Pedro I in 1824, and finally culminated in his abdication early in 1831. Despite the tension which resulted from that imposition, the text of the constitution remained untouched during the entire monarchical period.

Dominant factions based in the north-east region of the country played a crucial role in securing a process of political adjustment in Brazil, after the declaration of Independence. The region had a strong role in the economy, due to the importance of the sugar export sector based in the region. Another very important element was the large number of 'qualified' men the region had, who possessed vital expertise for the exercise of power in that crucial period. They, together with the new group of politicians

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8 In an extremely interesting study 'Au nouveau monde: une province d'un novel Empire. Bahia du XIXe siècle'; Ph.D., Paris, 1986, part of which came to the attention of the author as this thesis was nearing completion, Kátia M.
emerging in the central southern region of the country, managed to put together crucial resources to pave the way for the consolidation of the monarchical system.

This they basically did through the establishment of a complex system of administrative and political institutions in the country. To achieve this, various pieces of legislation were passed by the central government. This mainly took place under the conflicting administrations that marked the regency period between 1831 and 1840. By the end of the 1830s, the underlining features defining the new state were almost completely established. A common agreement was found in the need to safeguard a programme to defend the basic export productive structures they had all inherited from the colonial period. This process of political adjustment was orchestrated by the Saquaremas, who emerged as the leaders of a new coalition which dominated the country after 1837.9 This period is traditionally known de Queiros Mattoso has looked very carefully into the history of Bahia province in the nineteenth century. She shows how politicians coming from Bahia province accounted for most of the people who had a crucial role in the formation and consolidation of the Brazilian Empire. She argued that this had to do with the fact that members of the dominant sectors in Bahia possessed the necessary skills - basically higher education - to exercise power during the period. The lack of qualified personnel resulted in the accumulation of the basic institutional powers in society by the country's elite. In this way, she refutes the argument regarding political centralization as the cause for the accumulation of posts in the state machinery. At the same time she re-examines the role of Bahia province in the country's state-building process.

9 Saquarema was a traditional term used to refer to leading traditional Conservative Party members, who mainly came from Rio de Janeiro province. See MATTO, Ilmar R. de. 'O tempo Saquarema'. Ph.D. São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo, 1984. p. 156. In this study, Ilmar Mattos examined
as the phase of the Regresso, a political struggle for the implementation of strict centralizing and repressive measures.10 It could be argued that this phase ended with the approval of the reform of the Code of Criminal Procedures, in 1841.11

The 1824 constitution laid down the first basic institutional elements for political organization in the country. The definition of a concept of citizenship was the main premise established by that text. It was based upon the attributes of freedom and property. This also implied a differentiation between 'active' and 'non-active' citizens, a direct consequence of the perception of different levels of wealth and freedom. As Ilmar R. de Mattos argued, this was a key concept in establishing the boundaries between 'civil' and 'political' society in the country.12 In a way, this was an element that established a kind of dual frequency in which society was to operate. Although one must not go as far as to speak in terms of two Brazils - a 'real' and an 'official' one - there seems to be little


11 Some critics would argue that the end of the Regresso could only be seen in the appointment of the 1848 ministerial cabinet, which brought all the Saquarema leaders together in this administration, in full control of the central government.

doubt that the 1824 Constitution safeguarded the very central elements in which Brazilian society was to develop itself during the nineteenth century: a constitutional monarchy in which citizens were organized in a highly hierarchical structure. This made possible the legalization and protection of slavery by the imperial government.

In 1828, the Camaras Municipais bill was issued, establishing a reasonable level of local autonomy, expressed for example in the decision to have elections for local justices. At the same time, the law also defined the elements that ultimately turned this local institution into a mere administrative office, abolishing its former political powers inherited from the previous Portuguese legislation. Despite having some of its major aspects later modified by the Additional Act and the Interpretation Act, the 1828 law was never revoked and it was always referred to as an important piece of local legislation.

Later on, the 1831 Regency bill was passed, establishing repressive powers to be exercised by the

13 These are the terms used in an interesting, but controversial, recent study by Roderick J. Barman, Brazil, the forging of a nation, 1798-1852 (Stanford, 1988). Unfortunately, this book was published too late to be fully taken into account in the organization of this dissertation.

14 Camaras Municipais are in charge of the government of the municipios. Vereadores are their members, elected every four years to serve on it. They are more or less the equivalent of the local councils and councillors in Great Britain.

15 See LAXE, João B. Cortines. Regimento das Camaras Municipais, ou lei de 01 de janeiro de 1828. (Rio de Janeiro, 1885). p. XXII.
Ministry of Justice. As Paulo Ferreira de Castro pointed out, this made possible for a future 'conservative' revision - the Regresso - of the constitution and other central pieces of legislation.16

Meanwhile the Guarda Nacional was being organized, receiving its first code of procedures later in 1832. The great liberal aspect in this move, was the decision to once again rely on elections as a means of appointing officers to the higher ranks. Later in the same year, the central government issued the first Code of Criminal Procedures, which was said to be 'the most audacious attempt ever made by the liberal legislation' when granting local autonomy and self-government to municipios in matters related to the judiciary.17

Despite this, the Additional Act was to bring a major set back for the recent liberal victories in 1834. Under this piece of legislation, Rio de Janeiro province was re-organized and the municipio neutro was created.18 The Act also determined that all provinces were to have legislative assemblies to assist the provincial presidents in the


17 Ibid. p. 27.

18 Until then, province and city of Rio de Janeiro had been kept together under the administration of the Ministry of Empire, the equivalent to an interior ministry. From 1834 onwards, the fluminense province was to have its own provincial presidency and legislative Assembly. Fluminense is the adjective used for Rio de Janeiro province, as opposed to carioca, which stands as an adjective for Rio de Janeiro city.
running of provincial affairs. However, the important thing established by this Act was the end of elections for posts in the local judiciary. This resulted in the Camaras Municipais being made completely dependent on the provincial administration for the running of local affairs. Nevertheless, the centralization was yet to be totally accomplished, since the Provincial Assemblies and Presidencies remained - to a large extent - quite free to conduct their provinces' administration.

The movement to restrain liberal gains in the existing legislation took another major step in 1837. This was the result of the consolidation of a southeastern conservative group - this included planters, politicians, bureaucrats and merchants. The group put forward two very important legislative proposals in that year. In the first they proposed the redefinition of the entire political and administrative system, according to more strict centralizing and repressive measures. The bill for the revision of the Additional Act (lei de interpretação) called for the end of power as exercised by the Provincial Assemblies over officers of the National Treasury and Ministry of Justice working in the provinces. This proposal was presented together with another vital to the success of the consolidation of the political system in very centralized

19 Thomas Flory argued that from this year onwards 'an imperial elite gained substance and identity' as a result of a 'new type of connection between public and private interests'. See: FLORY, Thomas. Judge and Jury in Imperial Brazil, 1808-1871, social control and political stability in the new state. (Austin, 1981). p. 203.
terms: the reform of the Code. This second proposal argued for the transformation of the justice of the peace into a mere notarial officer, ending its political and police powers, which were to be transferred to police chiefs and their officers, who were directly subordinated to the central government. In addition, the judicial powers of the office came to be transferred to municipal magistrates, who were also more closely related to the central government. It is easy to see how these proposals would bring the elective element, which had previously characterized the judicial system, to an end since it was to become completely subordinated to the higher ranks of the country’s Magistrature.20 The leading Saquarema, Paulino Soares de Sousa, later Visconde do Uruguai21, was the man responsible for elaborating the first legislation proposal, and he also participated in the debates on and the revision of the second.22 His role was fundamental to the organization of both projects, showing how prepared the conservatives were


21 In the Brazilian Empire there were several noble titles. Barão (baron) was the most common one followed by Visconde (Viscount). In this dissertation the original Portuguese term will be used.

22 According to Alberto G. Ramos, Paulino Soares de Sousa was one of the best examples of a politician who not only intervened on the political scene in support of the construction of a 'national project', but who also worked on the formulation of the theoretical fundamentals of this political goal. Paulino’s defense of a centralizing system was the result of his understanding of the conditions prevailing in Brazilian society rather than a decision to simply copy available European models. In: RAMOS, Alberto G. Administração e contexto brasileiro. 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1983). p. 260.
to take a leading role in the national political scene. They were so much aware of this fact, that they could even afford to wait for the premature declaration of D. Pedro II’s majority, so that he could take over his role as the supreme head of the central government. Liberal attempts to use this as a means of stopping the passage of the two bills failed, given the already strong position of the conservatives. The Saquaremas had already managed to establish themselves as the core of a new leading political alliance emerging in Brazilian politics. Their strategy to use these pieces of legislation had already gathered enough strength to reinforce their commitment in favour of centralizing and repressive strategies, which appeared to be the ultimate guarantee for protecting the leading interests at the time.

By the end of 1841, those two crucial legislative proposals were approved and finally put into force, setting up and defining the political and administrative structures that were to prevail during the rest of the monarchical period. Despite a few later alterations to legislation, the system remained basically the same throughout the entire period. Generally speaking, the system seemed to have embarked on a phase of stability.23

Nonetheless, it is important not to forget that this process of political adjustment took place amidst strong

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23 ‘At the same time, the political unity and stability of the Empire was underpinned by the rapid growth of the coffee sector centred on Rio de Janeiro, during the 1830s and 1840s’. In: BETHELL, Leslie & CARVALHO, José Murilo de. Op Cit. 1985. p. 718.
conflicts and tensions in most regions of the country. The centralizing conservative advance met strong opposition from local factions. The fact that the country was still in a process of defining its dominant groups also helped to create a unstable situation in which liberal sectors could easily find room to express their discontent and so express local tension. The distinguishing elements in these revolts ‘reflected the different conflicts and tensions within a variety of provincial social (and racial) structures. All, however, were federalist, and several, including the most serious and prolonged, were frankly secessionist or at least had distinct separatist overtones’. 24 In the 1840s, however, a completely new kind of conflict took place in Brazil, which really threatened the consolidation of the centralized state. Up to that point, most revolts had been related to conflicts within specific sectors of society, where local divisions helped to neutralize the effectiveness and potential of those conflicts. In 1842, however, a new kind of conflict emerged that divided most landowners in the country. The final approval of those pieces of legislation in 1841, as described above, led important sectors of the landed class in Minas Gerais, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro to rise in fierce opposition to the recent gains achieved by those who favoured more centralizing and repressive

strategies. The fact that the latter were able to contain and repress the revolt resulted in their final consolidation in controlling the central government. This authority became indisputable, and the Empire finally found a means of achieving stability and the pursuit of economic development under the terms defined by the landed sector. Slavery was safeguarded, as was the means for its continuation.

Later on another serious liberal revolt was to take place in Pernambuco, the Praieira revolt in 1848. By then, however, the southeastern group had already established its sway over national politics. Despite the serious threat that the revolt represented to the central government, most critics agree that by the end of that decade the Brazilian state had become almost completely consolidated in the hands of that southern group, which managed to solidify its dominant position with its relations with the leading northern sectors. These pieces of legislation and the establishment of key institutions, such as the Guarda Nacional, produced a situation of equilibrium, conducive to the programme for centralization which was to be implemented by that strong conservative coalition. Proofs of this were the creation of the post of Presidente de Conselho (the president of the Council of Ministers) in 1847, and the conservative composition of the 1848 ministerial cabinet. By then, it only remained to strengthen the Guarda Nacional.

as a strong agent of the central government.26 After that, the country would be ready to deal with other more general issues, such as the threat to the Atlantic slave trade.

Coffee production began to boom in Brazil during the first half of the last century. Its growth played a very important role in consolidating the southeastern group's position as the country's dominant sector. Fluminense coffee production doubled during the 1830s, and by the end of the 1840s it had already trebled.27 This had an enormous impact on Brazil's export revenues, as shown in TABLE I - I. However, this economic growth was being jeopardized by the slave labour issue. This was the vital component for the success and continuation of export agriculture.

Once internal conflicts were relatively under control, the next task requiring the attention of Brazil's dominant group was the need to deal with international opposition to Brazil's involvement with the Atlantic slave trade. Brazil had made agreements with Great Britain, since Independence, that it would abolish the 'illicit' trade by 1831. The matter remained unresolved, and the traffic remained the main source of labour supply for the agricultural export sector. By the mid 1840s, however, Great Britain had begun pressing the Brazilian authorities


TABLE I

VALUE OF MAJOR BRAZILIAN EXPORTS IN RELATION TO TOTAL EXPORTS: 1821 - 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sugar (1)</th>
<th>Cotton (2)</th>
<th>Coffee (3)</th>
<th>(1)+(2)</th>
<th>Hides</th>
<th>Others* (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1821-30</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831-40</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-50</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Tobacco, cacao, rubber, maté, etc.

to implement the previously signed agreements. Relations between the two countries entered a new phase, given the fact that Brazil had begun to implement new import tariffs as a means of protecting its national industries. This deeply upset British trading interests, and the British government began to impose aggressive retaliatory measures on Brazil from 1846 onwards.28

At the same time, Brazil was accumulating very large
numbers of slaves as a result of the rise in coffee production and the necessary increase in the Atlantic slave trade. 29 The huge increases in the country's slave population may partially explain why the Brazilian authorities decided to end the importation of African slaves to the country. The imbalance between the white and black populations was a matter of general concern and helped generate support for this move. Fears of major slave rebellions were strong. Another element, suggested at the time, was the incompatibility between the ideal of building a civilized nation and the use of slaves as the main source of labour in the country. Yet despite these, and other justifications put forward at the time, one must look for more comprehensive reasons to explain the landowners' readiness to accept that decision, especially in the case of those based in the heart of the coffee-growing areas. Luiz-Felipe de Alencastro produced an interesting article on the subject, in which he sought reasons to better explain this phenomenon. 30 According to him, there were a number of factors driving Brazilian landowners to find a solution to the slavery problem. A number of issues had been accumulating since the end of the 1840s, causing tension among all those involved. British pressure was one, whilst from the landowners' point of view, there were the strong fears over the growth in the slave population. Another


issue was the landowners increasing dissatisfaction with the slave dealers, to whom they were increasingly and heavily indebted.31 There was also a need to find a solution to the legal position of the slaves who had entered the country after 1831, when the traffic was made illegal after the signing of the treaty with Britain.32

These issues helped the Brazilian authorities to convince the landowners to accept a deal to stop the Atlantic traffic in slaves. In anticipation of this, 1848 saw for the first time a debate in Parliament on a proposal to build a railway link in the coffee regions. In the following year, slave dealers were given six months' warning to find alternative activities, as the central government was to finally make the move to completely end their 'illicit' trade. This decision was finally formalized in 1850, after several secret sessions of the Brazilian Parliament.33 The move not only implied the promise of the railway link in the southeastern coffee region, but also two other very important concessions. Firstly, the year of 1850 saw the approval in Parliament of Lei de Terras, the Land Bill, which defined legal conditions to expropriate small

31 Also see CARVALHO, José Murilo de Teatro das sombras: a politica imperial. (Rio de Janeiro, 1988). pp. 59-60.


33 In later chapters, the fluminense case will also show that in very critical situations the provincial legislative would work in secret sessions as a means of protecting the formulation of deals among the various groups attending the Rio de Janeiro Provincial Assembly. See ALENCASTRO, Luiz-Felipe. Op Cit. 1979. p. 416.
farmers occupying lands without property deeds and to make sure access to land would be put under strict control. This was a basic requirement since the introduction of European immigrants would have to be the ultimate solution to the labour issue. Secondly, the central government passed another bill to please the entire group of large landowners in Brazil, a 25.5% lowering of agricultural export duties in 1853. These features when pieced together can be the only possible explanation for the speed and effectiveness with which the Atlantic slave trade was brought to a halt in Brazil. In reality, this was the only path for the government and landowners to follow which would not undermine the defence and continuation of the export agriculture in the country. This time they managed to please the entire group of landowners in the country. In short, a new era had begun in Brazil's history.34

During the second half of the nineteenth century, coffee production continued to grow steadily. As coffee production boomed, new areas in and around the Paraíba river valley area were given over to it and São Paulo province also became more and more involved in the activity. Nevertheless, the 1850s saw the consolidation of Rio de

Janeiro province as the leading producer in coffee exports for the country. The crop remained responsible for producing the largest part of the country's export revenue, as shown in TABLE I – II. The combination of economic and political stability made possible an era of 'Conciliação' (conciliation), as Brazilian politicians expressed it at the time. The process to create the state and a dominant class had finally managed to reach a phase of equilibrium, reinforced by a successful economy. The formation of the 1853 ministerial cabinet, headed by the Marquês do Paraná, was the expression of this situation, where political party labels were pushed aside as means of attesting to the country's political and economic stability. In 1861, divisions inside the Partido Conservador, the Conservative Party, led to the formation of the Partido da Liga Progressista, a coalition of discontented conservatives and

35 Figures published in the 1860 Rio de Janeiro Provincial Presidential Report, indicated that between 1852 and 1859 the fluminense province was responsible for at least 78% of the total coffee production in the country, whereas Minas Gerais province accounted for almost 7% and São Paulo province swung between 10% and 13%. APUD CARDOSO, Ciro Flamarion Santana. 'Atlas histórico do estado do Rio de Janeiro'. Rio de Janeiro, 1984. (Typewritten). p. 65.

36 Despite this economic boom, the country was to face three financial crisis at the end of the 1850s, in 1864, and in 1872-73. The first two culminated in scarcity and large price increases in foodstuffs, and the bankruptcy of many banking firms. All were linked to a financial crisis in Europe in conjunction with internal events, such as the Paraguayan War. See page 142, in PINTO, Virgilio Noya. 'Balanco das transformações econômicas no século XIX'. In: MOTA, Carlos Guilherme, ed. Brasil em perspectiva. 9th ed. pp. 126-145. (Rio de Janeiro, 1977). pp. 142-143.
members of the Partido Liberal, the Liberal Party. This party was to control the central government until 1868. It is commonly held that this period, as Francisco Iglésias argued in the final part of one of his articles, was to mark the end of an era. The Saquarema era had reached its

TABLE I - II

MAJOR EXPORTS OF BRAZIL (by decade) - 1841-1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Products</th>
<th>1841-50</th>
<th>1851-60</th>
<th>1861-70</th>
<th>1871-80</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COFFEE</td>
<td>46.99</td>
<td>53.67</td>
<td>50.38</td>
<td>59.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUGAR</td>
<td>30.23</td>
<td>23.35</td>
<td>13.56</td>
<td>12.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COTTON</td>
<td>8.51</td>
<td>6.85</td>
<td>20.22</td>
<td>10.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIDES</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>7.95</td>
<td>6.64</td>
<td>5.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOBACCO</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUBBER</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>5.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CACAO</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATé</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


eclipse, as Ilmar R. de Mattos described it:

'the dynamic of the internal traffic [in slaves], the opposition to the practice of share-cropping, the difficulties of enacting the provisions of the 1850 law [the Land Bill] characterised the limitations of the chosen path and the contradictions contained in the force of the expansion. It also characterised the historical trajectory of a class, which ended by carrying the seeds of its own destruction in the very mechanisms which had shaped its constitution.'39

In order to impose itself as dominant, the Saquarema group had to rely on the establishment of a highly centralized government, as a means of creating the conditions in which slavery could be maintained as the dominant productive structure in the country. This in turn had determined the very limitations of the groups' power. It was this web of economic strategies and political alignments that closely bound the Brazilian Empire to slavery. As Ilmar R. de Mattos put it, they were the two faces of the same coin.40

In addition, Brazil had yet to face up to the full implications of its involvements in the affairs of neighbouring countries. Mounting conflicts in the southern cone of Latin America led the way to the Paraguayan War.41

The war also came to exacerbate the existing tensions in Brazilian society at the end of the 1860s. The Army was deeply discontented with the central government. This led to a series of internal uprisings, which finally culminated

40 Ibid. p. 88.
41 According to one critic, the war 'resulted from the step-by-step escalation of conflicting interests, complicated by a series of mistaken but understandable judgments on all sides... Wrongheadedness on all sides had provoked war', in: GRAHAM, Richard. Op Cit. 1985. p. 786.
in the Army's participation in the final overthrow of the Empire.

The handling of the war also contributed to the break up of the coalition supporting the Liga Progressista. The way in which the last 'ligeiro' cabinet, led by Zacarias, was replaced exposed the many problems within the imperial political system. Clashes between the Parliament and the newly appointed Conservative cabinet appear to have further highlighted the lack of cohesion in the constitutional monarchical system.42

The issue of ending the war was also the cause of deep divisions inside the Conservative Party, a key element in the formation of a Dissidência, the Conservative Dissidence in 1871. The 'young' wing of the Party openly opposed the 'old' wing, in its intention of fighting the war to the bitter end, and wanted the government to make deals with the enemy, so that the war could be brought to an end as soon as possible. The war was costing far too much, in political terms even more than in material ones.43 The young Conservatives appeared to sense this, as well as understanding that the Army's disaffection was also related

42 See quotes from the debates at the National Assembly at the time in: IGLÉSIAS, Francisco. Op Cit. 1969. p. 110.

43 Although there is no doubt that the war was to leave terrible financial wounds in Brazil's economy. See PINTO, Virgilio Noya. Op Cit. 1977. p. 142. According to him, the economic burden caused by the war was one of the main factors leading to the 1875 economic crisis.
to another very serious issue: slavery. How could a 'civilized' nation fight a war with an army made up of slaves? To prolong the war was to further expose the deep tensions in Brazilian society at the time.

The first years of the 1870s were marked by the effects of all these tensions. One early result, was the formation of the Partido Republicano, the Republican Party in 1870. A clear indication that Brazilian politics were entering a new phase, where a direct challenge to the monarchical political system was made possible, and even legalized. An important reminder of the inevitable changes yet to come.

The situation was made even more critical with the stepping up of the debate over labour transition. The end of slavery was inevitable, it was only a matter of time. The events of the preceding decade had had a big impact on speeding up the abolition debate. A major step was taken by the central government, when presenting the Free-Birth bill for Parliament approval in 1871. The cabinet's handling of the debate led to the formation of the Conservative Dissidence. Another vital element which arises from the debates is clarification that the dominant groups no longer all shared the common vital economic goals of an earlier period. This differentiation was made even more evident


at the 1878 Congresso Agricola. Although the need to obtain more capital for investment in farms around the country was a necessity attested to by all areas, labour shortage was not a matter of concern for the north-eastern landowners, since they had a plentiful supply.46

Incentives to attract European immigrants to Brazil were improved. The newly occupied areas, particularly in the western areas of São Paulo province, were particularly successful in attracting the bulk of the incoming flow of immigrants.47 Despite the new influx of migrants, landowners in all areas still relied on slavery as their main source of labour. Up until the very end of slavery, in the 1880s, slaves were still being purchased by landowners in both the long-established and the newly-settled areas of the country. Although accepting the 'political death' of slavery, they relied on it as long as it was economically sound to do so.48 So much so, that most landowners participated in the organization of a series of regional

46 So much so, that the north-east region was able to continuously supply an inter-provincial traffic of slaves in the country. See CARVALHO, José Murilo de. Op Cit. 1988. pp. 75-76. Also see MARTINS, Ismênia de L. 'Problemas da extiça do tráfico africano na província do Rio de Janeiro'. Ph.D. São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo. 1972.

47 See MELO, Pedro Carvalho de. 'Aspectos econômicos da organização do trabalho da economia cafeeira do Rio de Janeiro, 1850-88'. In: Revista Brasileira de Economia. Rio de Janeiro, 1978, 32 (1): 19-67. p. 60. According to the author, immigrants preferred to stay in newly occupied areas, since in these areas they had the option of growing foodstuffs in the areas around the coffee trees, an option not available in the other areas due to the land's poor condition

48 Ibid. p. 56. Also see CARVALHO, Jose Murilo de. Op Cit. 1988. p. 77.
agricultural clubs, or societies, to promote the defense of slavery.49 The export agricultural sector was by then differentiated within itself. Each of these groups had to find their own solution. A diversity of resources inevitably led to the emergence of different kinds of response from all sectors. The new coffee areas of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo and Paraná were in a better position to attract free workers. In the regions which had been occupied longer, such as many sectors in the Paraíba river valley in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo provinces, landowners relied on the use of slaves and Brazilian free workers and on proposals for agricultural diversification which appeared to be the solution to their growing problems. Poor resources, mainly associated with land and labour conditions, marked the limits within which these sectors could act to find a solution to the labour and economic crisis.50 In support to this, Pedro Carvalho de Melo has described the way in which slavery remained a viable and sound economic investment in the 1870s.

49 See PANG, Laura J. 'The state and agricultural clubs of imperial Brazil, 1860-1889'. Ph.D. Nashville, Vanderbilt University. 1981. This author argues that the formation of those clubs was an expression of the structured inadequacies of the patrimonial state and capitalist agriculture in the long process of redefining and adjusting to 'corporativist interests and the parameters of power in Brazilian society'.

50 See SANTOS, Ana Maria dos. 'Agricultural reform and the idea of "decadence" in the state of Rio de Janeiro, 1870-1910'. Ph. D. The University of Texas at Austin, 1984. In this impressive study, the author looks at the ideological strategy used in the fluminense province to overcome the financial crisis at the end of last century. By diverting fluminense society’s attention, most fluminense landowners managed to maintain their estates untouched.
According to him, a coffee planter who purchased a young slave in that decade, at the prevailing market price, expected to earn at least what he could have earned in other alternative investment opportunities at that time. In this sense, in the 1870s, slavery was still thought to be a viable enterprise for the foreseeable future, given the slaves' life expectancy. Nonetheless, the 1880s would introduce new signs of the move towards the real abolition of slavery. 51

Brazilian society was to face more changes in the 1880s. Coffee still remained as the chief source of Brazil's export revenues. Nevertheless, conditions marking the various areas in the sector became more visible. Newly and former occupied regions contrasted with each other in many ways, given the nature of coffee production for the export market. At the same time 'the improvements in the means of transportation, the growth of the internal market, capital accumulation, and most important of all, higher import taxes, which the government was forced to adopt to

51 MELO, Pedro Carvalho de. Op Cit. 1978. Another vital argument put forward by this author was the point that during the process of final disorganization of slavery, facing increasing abolitionist pressure, fluminense coffee planters were found to have a large number of slaves but, at the same time, were making efforts to attract immigrants to their farms. Their failure, vis-a-vis their counterparts in São Paulo province, was due to their poor resources, rather than to their 'pre-capitalist' mentality, which some critics had previously indicated as the issue behind their lack of success. One has also to remember that the many areas within Rio de Janeiro province differed in a widely. This could explain many of the features which marked the province in the wake of the labour transition. In Chapter II, this will be considered in more detail, when analyzing the variations in land occupation in the province and the results it had in that process of change.
increase its revenues, all favoured the development of industries’.52 This was another element to reinforce differentiations among the various dominant sectors in Brazilian society.

Another crucial issue dividing the sectors was related to the growing imbalances in what each province was paying the central government annually - in the form of impostos gerais, or taxes to the national treasury - and the amount of investments the national government was making in the provinces in return. This is a subject that has not received much consideration in the literature. According to Evaldo Cabral de Melo, there was a process of constant transference of financial resources from the north to the south during the second half of the last century.53 This was done through the transference of governmental funds, when the various administrative levels - municipal, provincial and national - were operated in such way that every municipal or provincial financial surplus would be transferred to the central government. This in turn, concentrated its investment of surplus in the areas that were most closely associated with the country’s leading dominant groups. In the mid 1880s, northern representatives at the Assembleia Geral, the National Assembly, argued that the surplus from their provinces was responsible for many of the improvements being undertaken in the southeastern region


of the country, whereas the north remained completely ignored by the central government.54 One critic argued that:

'the inability of successive imperial governments to encompass the revision of the tax system offers a powerful argument in support of the thesis that the process of institutional sclerosis in the Empire had reached the point at which it was no longer possible to salvage it or reform it.'55

The campaign for the abolition of slavery also gained a new momentum, when popular participation and slave rebellion pressed very strongly for the final blow against slavery in 1888. Already a steady flow of European immigrants was arriving in the country, and so slavery was becoming more and more obsolete in the eyes of leading landowners, its time was running out. In the year after abolition, the Empire itself came to an end. Their relationship - Empire/slavery - no longer met the

54 Quotes from Costa Aguiar speeches, in: Ibid. p. 254. Edvaldo Cabral de Melo also gives another interesting example: in 1884, while Bahia had retained 51% of what it had paid as impostos gerais, in the form of central government investments in the province, Pernambuco retained 36% and Pará only 15%, one of the lowest in the country. The disproportion seen among the northern provinces themselves is confirmed by Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso's argument about the role Bahia province had in Brazilian politics during the last century. By actively participating in the management of the central government, politicians from Bahia could secure a large repatriation of taxes the province had paid to the national treasury back to itself. Also see footnote number 8.

55 MELO, Edvaldo Cabral de. Op Cit. 1984. p. 281. According to the author, this imbalance led most provinces to rely very heavily on loans as a means of meeting their financial obligations. As a result, they also had to implement a policy of large rises in provincial import taxes. This made the tax system unworkable, at the same time as it reinforced the need for more provincial borrowing. A vicious circle was established and reform was made impossible.
requirements of the dominant groups in Brazilian society.

1.2 - Historiography.

The proposed study of politics in Rio de Janeiro province is, to some extent, related to the debate on state building in Brazil during the last century. Up to fifteen years or so ago, the political life of the Empire was traditionally explained in terms of the harmony that existed among the various social groups in society. Authors like Oliveira Viana, Gilberto Freire and Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda - in his youthful phase - generally viewed politicians, planters, slaves and freemen as co-existing peacefully during the last century. This approach had a tremendous influence on Brazilian historiography.

From the late 1940s onwards, a new trend started taking shape in the literature, when works such as those of Raimundo Faoro and João Camilo de Oliveira Torres discussed some of the differentiations among social groups in Brazil

They both identified the dominant Brazilian group as a compact one. They came, however, to different conclusions. According to Faoro, there were a number of common elements between the 'elite' and the bureaucracy forming an estamento, which through the status apparatus acted as the nation’s arbitrator and symbolized national sovereignty. In this analysis, political parties were socially differentiated. Agrarian interests were basically represented by the Liberal Party, whilst the Conservative Party was mainly drawn from the bureaucracy and controlled the real power in the country. In this way, the rural sector is seen as traditionally oppressed by an 'autonomous bureaucratic state'. For Oliveira Torres, the Conservative Party was also the one responsible for producing the core of the Empire’s policies. However, he argued that the Liberal Party was the expression of urban dominant interests. As José Murilo de Carvalho has pointed out, the Brazilian Empire defied such simplistic approaches, since its organization and composition was much more complex than these authors had presupposed.

As a result of such concern, major new studies have been carried out on the subject over the last decade. The works of Thomas Flory, Fernando Uricochea, José Murilo de Carvalho, and others have shed new light on the social dynamics of the Brazilian Empire.
Carvalho and Ilmar R. de Mattos have moved the debate a step forward. Their studies established new trends and raised new issues for studies yet to come. By looking at the Magistrature, the Guarda Nacional, and the administrative, judicial and political bureaucracy among others, these authors were able to indicate the role those institutions had in promoting the organization of the new state and the formation of a dominant group in the country.

In doing so, they all agree upon the central basis of that process: the existence of common interests among those groups founded on slavery and the ownership of large estates catering for export agriculture. To a large extent, it might be argued that Ilmar R. de Mattos took the debate even further, in discussing the close relationship between the creation of a dominant class and the building of a state. By indicating the various ways in which these two processes were interrelated, this author was able to explain the strategies and mechanisms that were developed so that some concept of nationhood could be generated and diffused throughout the country. He argued that it was through this double process that a key group - the Saquaremas - could promote themselves as the winners of that intense political struggle. They did so by organizing a defence of their economic system, particularly that of slavery, on which almost every single group across the country depended. By doing so, the southern group could define itself as the

59 These works were quoted in the first section of this chapter.
guardian of the nation, so that the structures they had all inherited from the colonial period could be adopted and confirmed in the new society.

Thomas Flory has looked into the reforms carried out in the Judiciary. These led to the emergence of a 'professional district magistracy', thus establishing an 'ideal' connection between public and private interests in the Empire. The legislation passed after 1837, instituted it as an element of political integration in the country. It did so by defining the kind of institutional ties necessary to link local groups with the central government. At the same time, the constitution of the Guarda Nacional provided the country with a grass roots agent to occupy the administrative vacuum in the state machinery at the local level. This was a key element in the early stages of consolidating the imperial political system. Resources were scarce, particularly when faced with the need to unify many diverse groups and areas dispersed across a large geographical area. At the same time, Brazil had also inherited a coterie of 'well-trained' men. They had been brought up in the traditions of law and order, and studied Law at Coimbra University, in Portugal, before pursuing a common career pattern to reach top-level positions in the government. This shared background helped them to fulfill the roles required by the organization of


the new state machinery. A few of these men, however, shared a common ideology and aims which enabled them to exercise an executive role in the early stages of that construction process. They were those few who were able to redefine and adapt earlier concepts of nation, state and civilization to the Brazilian situation immediately following the Independence. They managed to establish a hierarchical organization of society, where 'chaos' — slavery — could survive side-by-side with 'civilization' — wealth and progress. Patronage and status were basic elements in welding these elements together under centralized control.

Despite this tremendous shift in approach to nineteenth century Brazilian history, one might still argue that there is a paucity of studies on the subject which subscribe to different perspectives. In most cases, the literature has tackled this debate from a national, point of view; that is, how the various sectors in Brazil related to each other and established the parameters of the new state. In opposition to this, one still cannot explain how the many social groups in society responded to the major adjustments taking place at the top of the political hierarchy. In other words, how the power bargaining process operated among local and regional groups at the same time as the most


powerful group was adapting itself to its new boundaries. The literature still lacks studies in which Brazilian society is considered from a vertical point of view, in which regional and local disputes could be taken as a starting point to consider the way in which local groups stayed together and reacted to the state building process taking place elsewhere. A few people have begun to develop research projects along these new lines of enquiry. Major examples are to be found in the works, previously quoted, of Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso and Ana Maria dos Santos.

The first of these took the province of Bahia as a case study in analyzing provincial politics under the Empire. Despite her concern with the role played by the province's dominant sector in the overall process of state building, she does provide a major contribution in her analysis of the way that the imperial political machinery operated at a provincial level. Ana Maria dos Santos offers a completely new kind of study, concerned with the final period of the imperial system and its subsequent implications for the fluminense province. She is mainly concerned with the way in which the fluminense dominant group perceived the economic crises of the time, and how they chose to construct a concept of 'decadence' as the means of implementing a political and economic re-orientation process in the management of provincial affairs. As she put it, the fluminense landowners were thus able to safeguard their estates and divert society's attention from the main dilemmas arising from the completion of the labour
transition process. From 1870 to 1888, decadence was related to the failure of the plantation system. The need to implement agricultural diversification was the chosen path for dealing with the economic crisis. After 1888, the decadence concept evolved into the debate on the disorganization of labour brought about by the abolition of slavery.64

From a different historiographical perspective, Rio de Janeiro province has also been the basis of a number of new studies taking a provincial/regional point of view. To date, a major new contribution has been made in the study of key municípios in the province.65 All these studies argue the need for further development of regional studies which really devote themselves to the concerted analysis of


regional/local issues.66

It is here that the central focus of this research project rests, the study of this political adjustment and the way in which it took shape within Rio de Janeiro province. In pursuit of this, a study of fluminense politicians was chosen as the central element in the research. There seems to be little doubt regarding the vital role of politicians in drawing together the various sectors, both in the country as a whole and in the provinces, and so piecing a nation together out of an enormous jigsaw. The task here is to evaluate the various strategies used to do this with regard to Rio de Janeiro province.

Having said this, it is important to point out that the present study will not go any further in the debate over state building in Brazil. Instead this study devotes itself to politics at the provincial level. However, it is taken as given that events at this level made a contribution to the national scene. In the course of this study, attention will be focussed upon the way the various fluminense groups shared provincial political space, under the Empire.

66 The historiography on Brazil has seen a number of the so called ‘regional’ studies which in the final analysis only use regional studies as means of focusing Brazilian national history. See in particular the recent American trilogy: LEVINE, Robert M. Pernambuco in the Brazilian federation, 1889-1937. (Stanford, 1977); LOVE, Joseph L. São Paulo in the Brazilian federation, 1889-1937. (Stanford, 1980); and, WIRTH, John D. Minas Gerais in the Brazilian federation, 1889-1937. (Stanford, 1977).
1.3 – The proposed case study.

1.3.1 – Why Rio de Janeiro province?

Most critics would agree with the proposition that Rio de Janeiro province provides ideal conditions for the study of provincial politics under the Empire for a number of reasons.

Firstly, its colonial heritage. This marked fluminense province in many ways. The exploitation of gold and sugar, the first in Minas Gerais and the second in Rio de Janeiro, provided the region with communication systems and a growing sector devoted to the production of foodstuffs as early as the mid-eighteenth century. The close proximity to the colony’s capital, Rio de Janeiro, was highly conducive to the latter, due to the city’s continuous growth in population and the availability of capital for investment in new activities. Another important feature was the relationship that fluminense groups were establishing with sectors of a fast growing administrative bureaucracy in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Given this close relationship with the central government, it is interesting to observe that the province shared and exchanged a large number of personnel with the national administration based in the capital city.

Another challenging feature of the study of Rio de Janeiro province is the fact that for most of the period its
The economy was primarily based on two major industries: coffee and sugar. Sugar was an old crop, inherited from the colonial period. It was based around the northern area of Campos, and seemed to have been closely related to a small sector devoted to the production of other foodstuffs. Sugar was mainly produced for local consumption, although the surrounding local areas and the city of Rio de Janeiro were also supplied. Although serving internal markets, Campos was given over to the intensive cultivation of a single crop, which also characterized export agriculture. This was true to such an extent that the area was heavily dependent on slavery, and always held the largest number of slaves in the province throughout the period.

Against this, coffee was a more recent addition to the fluminense economy. By the 1840s it provided a major share of provincial income. It was mainly cultivated in the Paraíba river valley, but was also grown elsewhere in the province on a smaller scale. By the end of the period, coffee cultivation had moved into new areas in a larger proportion, the northwestern fluminense area also becoming heavily committed to this activity. It is not necessary to discuss coffee production's involvement with the export sector. Despite their common operating structures, these two sectors aimed to supply two different markets. However, their similarity can provide an interesting context for discussing the process of power-sharing within the province against a background of differing economic factors.

It is also important to point out the limitations of
the analysis of the fluminense region in the current historiography. Major concern has always been devoted to the area in its heyday, when it was responsible for the bulk of Brazil’s coffee production. As soon as coffee production in the region started to decline, critics seem to shift their attention in the same direction as the coffee did in the past, their studies shift to the new zones of coffee production. This seems to show a vital omission in the attitude of most studies towards the study of the past. In the case of this research, it seems even more important to understand how those less vital economic areas managed to survive in the face of the political adjustments taking place with the consolidation of the new state. Again, Rio de Janeiro province offers an interesting insight in this respect, when it had to start facing the reorientation of its economy during the 1870s and 1880s. Once again, politicians seem to have been the key element in securing this reorganization to the advantage of dominant sectors in society.

1.3.2 - The research proposal.

In the early stages of formulating this research project, the initial idea was to develop a study of the
fluminense political elite under the Empire. Works by Roderick Barman, Eul-Soo Pang, and Eugene Ridings among others, displayed conflicting views on the constitution of a political elite in Brazil, at the time. The idea was to re-examine José Murilo de Carvalho's analysis, from a regional/provincial point of view, so that the criticism of those other authors could be further re-considered from another perspective. Later on, the idea evolved into a project to study the organization of the fluminense political elite, given the province's particular economic characteristics. The aim was to consider how this political elite was divided up to represent the province's main economic sectors. There were basically three of them: coffee, sugar and foodstuffs. The fact that the main one of these, coffee, operated to supply the export sector and the others were oriented towards the internal market, made the project very challenging. This was particularly the case as the sugar sector held a key position in provincial affairs, despite not being directly associated with the export sector. In this way, when analyzing the debates in the Rio de Janeiro Assembléia Provincial, the fluminense Provincial Assembly, one expected to gather information mainly on the

ties between politicians and provincial economic sectors. However, this proved impossible, since deputados provinciais did not indicated their interests in any special way, apart from in a few isolated cases that were found. As it is going to be argued later in the course of this study, the impossibility of finding this type of data within those debates, revealed the very particular role played by the deputados provinciais - those attending the Provincial Assemblies in the country - in the political scene in imperial Brazil.

Instead, the material being gathered offered a tremendous opportunity for analyzing the development of provincial politics under the Empire. This was an important step in analyzing the formation of a political elite in the country, at both provincial and national level, since very little is known regarding the way provincial politics and public administration were inter-related. The study that follows is even more important given the fact that Rio de Janeiro was a leading province in the process of forming and consolidating the imperial political system. At the same

68 The previously quoted work by Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso is the first major piece of research to date to be carried out on the history of a nineteenth century Brazilian province, in which provincial politics has been taken into consideration.

69 Ilmar R. de Mattos dedicates a whole section of one chapter in his major work to studying educational policies in the fluminense province, which he argued was the Saquarema testing ground. In other words, he argued that the Saquaremas - the core of the Conservative Party - envisaged the province as a testing site for many of the strategies and policies later to be implemented in the country as a whole, such as in the case of the Guarda Nacional and education. See Mattos, Ilmar R. de. Op Cit.
time, the material gathered also offered the possibility of carrying out a study on the background of the people who attended the Provincial Assembly. This was made possible by the use, for the first time, of information available in the Almanack Laemmert on fluminense provincial administrative personnel and vereadores who attended the Camaras Municipais in the province during the period. This analysis would be of assistance in discussing two vital components in the development of provincial politics: local participation and the inter-relation between public administration and politics in the overall management of provincial affairs.

In this way a new research project was organized, which attempts to focus four main questions:

Firstly, the dissertation is conceived as a study of fluminense provincial politics. In this way it aims to analyze the main issues discussed in the province and the way political debate evolved in the main provincial political forum: the fluminense Provincial Assembly. In doing this, the research also aims to study the role played by Provincial Assemblies in nineteenth century Brazil.

Secondly, the research is concerned with the way dominant fluminense groups responded to the profound alterations taking place in provincial export agriculture during the period. The province's own internal conditions

set up a number of barriers to the continuation of that activity as practiced in its original form.

Thirdly, the period was marked by a number of changes in the prevailing provincial modus vivendi. This dissertation aims to analyze how fluminense provincial politicians responded to changes affecting the relations between the various dominant provincial groups.

Fourthly, the dissertation also investigates the provincial political debate and the way it helps to explain how the whole of fluminense society reacted to the changes affecting export agriculture. This will explain how the province saw itself during the different periods analyzed here, as well as the way the provincial relationship to the central government changed.

The set of questions presented in the new study proposal is also a valid one to help explain how provincial politics was integrated in the overall political context in the country. Nevertheless, the research's main concern is to implement analysis from a provincial point of view. By managing to do so, this research examines a crucial agent in the consolidation of the imperial political system: the professional provincial politician. In the case of Rio de Janeiro province there were a number who were responsible for the success of many provincial strategies and policies that the dominant groups wanted to see implemented in the province. Although abandoning the study of an elite
political formation in the province, and its relations with the various economic sectors in the region, the research focuses on the organization of a political programme for the consolidation in power of key dominant groups in the province. Doing so, it still manages to indicate many of the ties linking areas in the province with issues found in the Provincial Assembly debates themselves.
PART I
In this chapter it is important to consider major events that marked the history of Rio de Janeiro province during the last century. If a general line has to be established, as the key element characterizing fluminense history in the period, it is the fact that events which took place within the province were very much related to a process of land settlement. As already indicated in Chapter I, this took place as a result of establishing a successful new export commodity in the southern regions of the country and its links with the consolidation of the imperial political system. The period under consideration here saw not only the initial success of this venture in the region, but also its later decline in the second half of the last century. This section will offer a more detailed discussion of this process of economic occupation of the fluminense area. It will examine how new municipios were set up, the spread of coffee production in the province, the relationship of this process to other economic sectors in the region, the establishment of a provincial transportation network, the relations between this overall process and the consolidation of a dominant sector in the province, as well as considering the extent to which fluminense society was
trapped in a set of crisis conditions from the 1870s onwards.

Two points, however, should be made here before moving on to the discussion. Up to now, very few studies have considered various key aspects of the history of Rio de Janeiro province in the last century. The first of these is the issue of the relations between the city and the province of Rio de Janeiro. Questions such as the social political boundaries between the two areas have been not considered as thoroughly as one might have expected. Only one major study has examined the issue, concluding that the fluminense province played the vital role of a testing ground for policies devised by leading national politicians, before they were later implemented throughout the country as a whole.

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1 The history of Buenos Aires (province and city) in the nineteenth century provides an interesting comparison to the case of Rio de Janeiro. The Buenos Aires case is much more closely related to the need to collect tax and export revenues than is that of Rio de Janeiro and is an illustration of how an area supported a city in becoming the core of a newly formed Latin American country. See LYNCH, John. 'The river Plate republics from independence to the Paraguayan war'. In: BETHELL, Leslie, ed. Op Cit. Volume III. pp. 615-676. 1985.

2 During the course of this research, only one reference has been found regarding border disputes between the two regions. In this study, the author argues in favour of the city which he believed had rights over surrounding areas, which in some cases the province claimed to be part of its own territory as early as 1833 - e.g. the Pavuna canal. See SANTOS, Noronha. Memórias acerca dos limites do Distrito Federal com o estado do Rio de Janeiro. (Rio de Janeiro, 1919).

3 MATTOS, Ilmar R. de. Op Cit. Part I, Chapter III.
A second issue is related to the complexity of the fluminense provincial economy. On the one hand, coffee provided the basic element for the economic and political consolidation of the province in many respects. On the other, the sugar sector which was already established in the province, counted for a great deal in the development of internal provincial affairs, at both an economic and a political level. Not only that, but fluminense province also had a vital and growing economic sector based on commercial food supply. Despite the many changes in the balance of power among these sectors, they greatly affected provincial history in a very distinctive way, as this chapter will attempt to show.

The arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro city, in the early nineteenth century, came to reinforce a number of aspects affecting economic and political development in the areas surrounding the city, the capitania of Rio de Janeiro.4 In 1799, the population of the region was said to have been 43,376 inhabitants. By 1808, the figure is thought to have increased to something between 60,000 and 80,000 inhabitants, of whom more than

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4 Colonial Brazil was divided into capitianias, as means of providing an administrative structure for the colony's government. In Rio de Janeiro province's case, the former capitania covered the majority of the later province.
half were slaves.5

With the decline of the gold boom in Minas Gerais, a number of changes started taking place in the region. People formerly involved in the extraction of gold had accumulated large amounts of money and expertise in dealing with commercial enterprises in the region. They knew the structures left by the gold economy well and seemed in a position to make the changes necessary to re-establish their position in the region. There was a trend towards investment in local farming, mainly in response to the need to find an alternative for investments of previously accumulated capital. A number of farms started to appear along the routes linking Minas Gerais province to Rio de Janeiro city. The changes brought by the rapid growth in the city’s population strengthened the move and provided better conditions for this economic re-location of funds.

Prior to 1808, most members of the Portuguese colonial bureaucracy based in Brazil had already established relations with Brazilian dominant sectors, particularly those in the growing economic sector based in the southern region of the colony.6 The bureaucracy basically consisted


of Portuguese magistrates in charge of the administration and government, whereas the southern economic sector was mainly made up of the leading Brazilian-born farmers, referred to above, and a group of successful Portuguese merchants. In 1808, a number of opportunities became open to these two factions. They were both responsible for accommodating the newly arrived Portuguese court and its adherents. A great deal of work was required to organize not only accommodation, but also to provide information on the way of life in the region, resources and sometimes extra personnel for the reorganization of the city, so that it could fulfill its new role, as the centre of the Portuguese empire. A good example of this, can be found in the case of Paulo Fernandes Viana, who was appointed Intendente de Policia, the city’s police chief. This was a key position in the Portuguese government, which in Brazil’s case was made even more important, due to added powers assigned to the post when the incumbent also became responsible for the opening of new roads and maintenance of the existing ones in

7 It is believed that at least 24,000 people arrived with the royal family in the city, at that time. See: MANCHESTER, Alan K. ‘The growth of the bureaucracy in Brazil, 1808-1821’. Journal of Latin American Studies, \textit{4}(1): 77-83. pp. 77-78.

8 Joao F. de Almeida Prado in his classic study, \textit{D.\textbf{J}o\textbf{\textit{\textbf{\textit{o} VI e o inicio da classe dirigente do Brasil (S\textbf{\textit{\textbf{\textit{\textit{o} Paulo, 1968)}, has described in a very detailed way how the Portuguese royal family was received by leading sectors in Brazil at the time. Initially, they were very glad to lodge the royal personnel. As the time went by, the situation started to change, since those already established in Brazil began to realize their loss in status by not being able to keep up with the urban life in R\textit{\textit{i}o de Janeiro city, after having to 'lend' their houses to the newly arrived Portuguese. See Chapters 9 and 10 of his book.}
Rio de Janeiro capitania. According to Joao F. de Almeida Prado, his nomination was due to his family background, a fundamental asset in obtaining the necessary funds in advance, so that public works in the region could be speeded up until the government was able to provide the cash required. This was especially important given the frequent cash shortages experienced by the Public Treasury.9 At the same time, Paulo Fernandes Viana was able to use his position to promote his family's interests in the region. He had married one of the daughters of Bras Carneiro Leão, one of the biggest merchants in Brazil at the end of the eighteenth century.10

Curiously enough, the Carneiro Leão family was also the example cited by Alcir Lenharo when describing the development of 'monopolistic enterprises' in the southern area of Brazil in the same period. People like those in the Carneiro Leão family were of vital economic importance, given the previous experience of many of them in the gold trade. This common past, as indicated above, seemed to have enabled them to combine commercial food supply activities

9 Ibid. pp. 104-105. This is one of the many illustrations of the way in which the colonial government, and later the imperial one as well, would rely on people like Paulo Fernandes Viana to set up basic social and political structures in the country.

10 According to Joao F. de Almeida Prado, marriage played a vital role in relating Portuguese magistrates, based in Brazil since before 1808, and the rich merchants and farmers in the colony. It was a key element in combining wealth and power, and the constitution and consolidation of a group based on common interests within the colony. See PRADO, João F. de Almeida. Op Cit. p. 154. Also see SCHWARTZ, Stuart B. Op Cit. p. 726.
with export agriculture in the southern area of Brazil at the turn of the century. The Carneiro Leao family was composed of big farmers, who through a series of marriages, came to own large tracts of land along the Paraiba river valley, as well as in the south of Minas Gerais province - the zona da mata.11 This economic sector as a whole, began as small producers and commission agents. They bought land very cheaply or obtained land concessions from the government - the sesmarias - and started producing foodstuffs, using slave labour on a large scale. Later on, in response to incentives from Rio de Janeiro city, they went on to produce coffee on a small scale, merely intending to supply local and regional markets. In this way, many of them grew into 'monopolistic merchants', organizing new farms along the traditional roads leading from Minas Gerais province to Rio de Janeiro city. Most of them employed their own relatives in their enterprises, looking after the mule troops used to transport their crops and helping to set up commercial houses in the city.12 They were later to become the most successful in pushing the development of coffee as a major export agricultural enterprise, which was to dominate the economic life in the region within a few decades. Apart from this rush to supply foodstuffs to Rio de Janeiro city, economic life in the fluminense capitania

11 LENHARO, Aloir. As tropas da moderação. (São Paulo, 1979). p. 67. The author also added that the route chosen for the construction of the Policia road was taken as a result of the family's interests, through the influence exercised by Paulo Fernandes Viana in his administrative post.

remained very much within the parameters of local activities in a subsistence economy, as may be seen in MAP II - I.13

Economic and political development at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, made possible:

'...the creation of a mechanism of a sovereign state in Brazil, parallel to and co-equal with the prototype in Lisbon, [which] produced a centralized, national bureaucracy which looked to Rio de Janeiro as the source of authority. At the same time, the bureaucracy of the provinces was expanded within the framework of the traditional absolutist colonial administration with its focus now in Rio de Janeiro. This bureaucracy, both national and provincial, provided a ready-made administrative structure with experienced personnel for an independent Brazil'.14

At the same time, the geographical proximity between the capitania and the city facilitated the access of leading Portuguese figures and members of the growing bureaucracy to the region. At first, the area was viewed by these people as a kind of holiday or recuperative resort.15 Yet others had had to find alternative accommodation, after having to 'lend' their houses in the city to the newly arrived court. Many of this group went to live on the family farms in the fluminense countryside, further reinforcing the links

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13 The maps used in this chapter were extracted from: CARDOSO, Ciro Flamarion S. Op Cit. 1984. The access to this Atlas has been kindly provided by the author, to whom this researcher is very grateful.


The Economy of Colonial Rio de Janeiro

Legend:
- Cattle raising
- Sugar Mills (also producing aguardente)
- Ports
- Coasting trade routes
- Panning for gold
- Foodstuffs

Map II.1

Export
Imports

Infiltration of settlers from Minas Gerais

Areas occupied by various hostile native Indians

1801:

Campos do Goitacazes

Campos de Fatima

Fisheye

S. Joab Marcos

Cabo Freio

Salines (eighteenth century)

Shipyard (eighteenth century)

Manufactures (D. Joao Pedro)

0 50 km 100 km
Relations between Rio de Janeiro province and city gained a new dimension from 1820s onwards. Although the relationship between the two areas was to remain a 'special' one for most of the imperial period, by the end of that decade, Rio de Janeiro province was beginning to develop some kind of self identity. This was to be formalized in 1834.

In 1822 Brazil was declared independent from Portugal, and in the following year a Constitutional Assembly met for the first time. According to Dylva A. Moliterno, representatives from Rio de Janeiro - province and city - appeared to have been closely linked to D. Pedro I. This was probably due to the fact that some of them had been part of the former colonial administration, reinforcing their acceptance of a more authoritarian monarch. The author stressed, however, that the group was

16 The cost of living in Rio de Janeiro city was said to have soared after 1808, allowing only a few people to afford to live in the big city, another contributing factor in a move to the countryside. See PRADO, João F. de Almeida. Op Cit. p. 142.

17 MOLITERNO, Dylva A. 'A atuação dos fluminenses na Constituinte de 1823'. In: RIO DE JANEIRO. Universidade Federal Fluminense. Ensaios sobre a politica e a economia da provincia fluminense no século XIX. pp. 214-244. (Rio de Janeiro, 1974). She also added that the close geographical relationship between city and province led the Emperor to exercise his power more strongly over the fluminense group.
by no means entirely associated with D. Pedro I. They were more or less equally divided into three main wings: conservatives, moderates and liberals. After the closure of the Assembly, fluminense conservative members were often given posts in the national government, a clear sign of their prestige with the Emperor.18

At the same time, the fluminense provincial economy was expanding at a very dramatic pace. This was clearly reflected in the process of land occupation in the province.19 Greater numbers of new settlers were coming into the province from São Paulo and Minas Gerais, as already indicated in MAP II - I. As Alfredo Escragnolle Taunay described, a great number of mineiros (natives of Minas Gerais), whole families, were pouring into the fluminense plateau area - the common border between the two provinces.20 There were also large numbers of people coming to Rio de Janeiro province from São Paulo. In this process the south west region of the province became the main area of occupation. Various new municipios were set up

18 Ibid. p. 235.

19 See PEIXOTO, Léa Q. Cortines. Principais antigos caminhos fluminense para as Minas Gerais. (Rio de Janeiro, 1951). In this study the author examines provincial road development as the vital element in studying social and economic development in the province. See pp. 75-95.

20 See TAUNAY, Alfredo E. Op Cit. 1945. 117-118. He describes how quickly they became coffee pioneers, hundreds of them ended up in the imperial records of nobility. Their names represented a third of a total of a thousand people who were awarded with noble titles by the two Brazilian monarchs.

Mineiro is the adjective for everything related to Minas Gerais province.
in the period from the 1810s up to the 1830s, as shown in FIGURE II - I and MAP II - II. In parts of the northern areas of the province, a major social and economic centre was already in place.

In 1832 the fluminense provincial government regained control of two vital economic areas, Campos and São João da Barra, which had been under the Espírito Santo administration since 1753. Campos was a sort of an autonomous centre, based on sugar activities which had also managed to establish a relatively important subsistence economy and to export sugar surplus to surrounding areas as well as to Rio de Janeiro city. As sugar demand grew in the city, the Campos local economy became stronger and land was the subject of much dispute. Yet elsewhere other parts of the north remained unoccupied.

By gaining control over such a vital area, Rio de Janeiro province was not only able to obtain a crucial economic element, but it also managed to get a fundamental pattern for its own identity as a province. Campos was

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22 REIS, Arthur F. Op Cit. 1964. p. 343. Paraty was also transferred from São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro provincial administration in the same year. This was a vital element in strengthening the fluminense provincial economy in the 1830s, given the vital role these areas had in the economic development in that decade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800 s</td>
<td>Angra dos Reis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810 s</td>
<td>Cabo Frio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 s</td>
<td>N. Friburgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830 s</td>
<td>Cantagalo*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840 s</td>
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<td>1850 s</td>
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<td>1880 s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Brazil. IBGE. Op Cit. 1959; and Rio de Janeiro (State). Legislação sobre os municípios, comarcas, e distritos... (Rio de Janeiro, 1926).

* Cantagalo município was organized from areas which previously belonged to Campos, Macaé, and Magé.
Map II - II

The Municipios of Rio de Janeiro Province

often to be referred as 'truly fluminense', as opposed to Niterói, which was seen to be more closely associated with 'national' issues and Rio de Janeiro city, the imperial family residential site – the Córte. As will be discussed in forthcoming chapters of this study, Campos was repeatedly proposed as the new provincial capital. The fact that the município always had a healthy local economy, very much devoted to an economy based on the supply of an internal market, reinforced the view that provincial identity could only be generated or coordinated at a regional level itself. In a different perspective, since the very beginning of its history, Niterói had been marked by the interference in its municipal affairs of national politicians, who looked to the fluminense province as a source of political and economic support for the consolidation of the new state. Of course this cannot be summarized as a purely one-way relationship. Most farmers working in export agriculture in the province wanted to see the consolidation of a political system, in which slavery was to be preserved and defended as the basic productive operating mechanism. Nonetheless, this dilemma – between the two regions – seems to have marked fluminense history in the nineteenth century in a very special way, particularly in the wake of the economic crisis

24 Therefore explaining the failure of the attempts to have the provincial capital city transferred from Niterói to Campos. It is important to stress that this did not arise from any discontent felt by people from Campos with most policies implemented by the provincial leadership based in Niterói. On every occasion, representatives from Campos always fully participated in the top levels of the provincial government.
at the end of the period under analysis here.

Sugar-cane was not only produced in Campos. The crop was already grown in most coastal areas of the province. Further down the coast, many areas began turning to growing coffee, making the areas of Angra dos Reis, Mangaratiba and Paraty one of the first coffee-producing municipios, alongside Resende. 25

This geographical and economic occupation of the western areas of the province demanded a profound improvement in the roads in the region. Many farmers took the initiative in this task themselves. They also often contributed financially to the creation of local administrative/government institutions: the Camaras Municipais. These two points led one author to argue that this was linked to the need to establish conditions which would guarantee a continuous flow of foodstuffs to Rio de Janeiro city. A reliable and stable administrative system allied to an efficient system of transportation, between their farms and the main consumption market, were basic elements in the economic success of their enterprises. 26

By the end of the 1820s and the very beginning of the 1830s, a considerable number of municipios were already established in the province and economic development seemed


26 LENHARO, Alcir. Op Cit. p. 63. It also established an important aspect of the relationship between these people and the government. Farmers who acted in this way received in return public recognition of their status, in the form of noble titles.
to require a more efficient administrative machinery to deal with the many issues involved in provincial government as a result. A number of dramatic alterations were about to take place in the situation as described. Further developments in the decade were to eventually consolidate export agriculture in the province. Coffee production was growing very rapidly, overtaking other activities previously regarded as comparably important, particularly those related to commercial food supply. Profits were the underlying feature in justifying the shift. When the provincial budget bills are examined, export coffee revenue accounted for more than half of the entire amount of revenue collected by the provincial administration in 1839.27 Despite a few variations, this pattern was to be maintained until the end of the century, as shown in TABLE II - I. Interestingly enough, sugar export did not contribute to the provincial public pursue until 1870.28 Instead, it went into a few municipal public treasuries in the province: Campos, São

27 As will be described later the organization of formal administrative institutions in the province only took place after 1834. Therefore, it was some time until the provincial government and the Camaras Municipais had their annual budget bills organized on a regular basis. The 1839 provincial government budget bill was the first one to be found in the research.

28 See Law no. 1543, 10 December 1870, art. 7 and regulation issued in 27 December 1870. In: 'Quadro dos impostos que constituem a renda da provincia do Rio de Janeiro, legislação que os regula, objeto contribuinte, sua quota atual, e renda arrecada nos exercícios de 1872 a 1880'. APUD: RIO DE JANEIRO. (Province). Presidência da... Relatórios da ... (Rio de Janeiro, 08 August 1881). Appendix.
TABLE II - I

TOTAL PROVINCIAL TAX REVENUE AND REVENUE DERIVED FROM COFFEE EXPORTS (1839 - 1888) - in mil réis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Coffee</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Coffee</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>844:100$</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>1.355:000$</td>
<td>2.236:318$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>520:000$</td>
<td>855:100$</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>1.377:000$</td>
<td>2.946:951$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>555:000$</td>
<td>957:000$</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1.482:000$</td>
<td>2.655:046$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>540:000$</td>
<td>979:140$</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>1.666:270$</td>
<td>2.867:037$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>650:000$</td>
<td>1.140:000$</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1.297:062$</td>
<td>2.577:240$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>650:000$</td>
<td>1.192:000$</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1.674:500$</td>
<td>2.978:840$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>678:000$</td>
<td>1.286:425$</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>1.436:829$</td>
<td>2.687:266$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>800:000$</td>
<td>1.404:000$</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>2.050:000$</td>
<td>3.982:311$</td>
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<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>860:000$</td>
<td>1.499:209$</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>2.059:000$</td>
<td>4.208:736$</td>
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<td>995:000$</td>
<td>1.786:867$</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>2.000:000$</td>
<td>4.437:000$</td>
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<td>1.080:000$</td>
<td>1.865:746$</td>
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<td>1856</td>
<td>1.225:493$</td>
<td>2.023:802$</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cont. /

29 For the sake of simplicity, figures have been rounded to the nearest whole. Missing years are either due to the non-approval of the provincial budget bill by the Provincial Assembly or because the piece of legislation could not be located during the course of this research. Two dated in the same year are due to the fact that the Provincial Assembly took longer to approve the bill, only doing so early in the following year, resulting in two bills being issued in the same year, one at the beginning and another at the end.

30 For the first time the provincial budget recorded a 767:381$ deficit. The amount was referred, but it was not deducted from the final amounted of that year’s income revenue. This practice of indicating the deficit but not subtracting it from the final total was a common procedure. Thenceforth, in a way, played a vital role in camouflaging the real financial situation in the provincial vis-à-vis investment requirements in the province.

31 The first budget to present sugar exports income revenue, expected it to be 20:000$. In 1871 the amount had grown into 60:000$, remaining within these two limits until 1886, when the tax once again disappeared.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Coffee</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Coffee</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>1882</td>
<td>2.429:478$</td>
<td>6.259:184$</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>2.117:860$</td>
<td>4.221:505$</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>2.005:347$</td>
<td>6.399:821$</td>
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<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>2.400:000$</td>
<td>4.252:603$</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>2.051:362$</td>
<td>5.880:418$</td>
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<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>2.460:000$</td>
<td>4.311:830$</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>2.146.400$</td>
<td>6.017:117$</td>
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<td>1880</td>
<td>2.422:500$</td>
<td>4.561:730$</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Provincial budget bills, in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Coleção de Leis da Provincia do... (Rio de Janeiro, various years).

Fidélis and São João da Barra.34 This was a fundamental factor in explaining sharp contrasts among the various fluminense Camaras Municipais in their yearly budget bills, as can be seen from TABLE II - II. This was the secret behind Campos' longstanding position as the top Camara.

32 Conflicts between the Provincial Assembly and the provincial government, in the wake of the Free Birth Law in 1871, led to the non-approval of the 1872 and 1873 provincial budget bills.

33 This year's budget included an extra amount of 1.300:000$ as the result of loans taken to continue work on the Cantagalo Railway. Between 1882 and 1886, the sale of the railway led to large incomes entering the treasury once again. See more details on this railway bellow.

| Year       | Angra dos Reis | Araruama | Barra de S. João | Barra Mansa | Cabo Frio | Campos | Cantagalo | Capivary | Cara  | Estrela | Iguaçu | Itaborai | Itagual | Macaé | Magé | Mangaratiba | Maricá | Niterói | N. Friburgo | Paraíba do Sul | Paraty | Petrópolis | Pirai | Resende | Rio Bonito | Rio Claro | S. Anto. de Macacá | S. Maria Madalena | S. Anto. de Sá | São Fidelis | S.J. da Barra | S.J. do Principe | Sapucaia | Suaquera | Valença | Vassouras | Total | Source: 1838 to 1844, 1846 to 1857, 1859 to 1866, 1868 to 1884 | | (*) For the sake of simplicity, figures have been rounded to the nearest whole unit. |
|------------|---------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|--------|-----------|----------|-------|---------|--------|----------|---------|-------|------|-------------|--------|---------|------------|-----------------|--------|------------|-------|---------|----------|----------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|---------|---------|--------|---------|-------|---|

**THE INCOME OF CAMARAS MUNICIPAIS IN RIO DE JANEIRO SELECTED YEARS (1838-1884)**

Municipal in collecting the highest amount of revenues in the province. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Niterói and many 'coffee municipios', such as Paraíba do Sul, Pirai, Valença, and Vassouras, would also come to collect high amounts of municipal income. Nonetheless, apart from Niterói, they would never undermine Campos' position as the largest of the municipal yearly budget bills.35

Meanwhile, coffee production in the fluminense province had benefited from another important element in boosting its expansion: international conditions were particularly favourable for coffee exports. The United States offered a large market for consumption, eager to increase its imports. This provided a conclusive factor in the shift of most big farmers in the province towards the export agriculture of coffee. Foodstuffs continued to be cultivated only on a small scale, in order to provide basic subsistence for the estates' own consumption.36 Later on in the 1850s, even this feature was to disappear in many areas within the coffee sector, particularly those in the Paraíba river valley, due to the decision to increase coffee production in order to maintain profit levels, after a slump

35 Another important income revenue which remained under the control of a few municipal public treasuries in the province was the tax on the timber trade. Macaé was the outstanding example with this regard. Dramatic variations in its yearly budget were a clear result of the inevitability in cutting the forests in the region in order to open the way for further agricultural expansion towards the north areas of the province. See TABLE II - II and page 6 of reference quoted in footnote 27.

in coffee prices on the international market. As seen in TABLE II - I, the provincial economy grew very rapidly during the first half of the last century, providing a vital role for many fluminense politicians in the consolidation process of the imperial political system in the country in that period, as has already been discussed in Chapter I.

More important, however, was the fact that parallel to this process, important events were taking place at the provincial level, particularly on the political scene. It might be possible to argue that since the early 1830s a number of features had been established, with a view to create a more elaborate perception of their own provincial political and administrative system in fluminense society. When piecing events in the period together, it is easy to observe a move to furnish the province with two vital elements for its self-identity. The first, as already noted, granted the province authority over two major economic areas, Campos and Paraty in 1832. This seems to have provided the province with fundamental economic support at the time. In 1834, the province obtained the freedom to govern itself, the basic condition for establishing some sort of individuality within the national status apparatus. The Additional Act established that from that year onwards, fluminense province was to be regarded as any other province; and as such, the national government was no longer in charge of its government or administration. A Provincial Legislative Assembly was to be created, together with a provincial presidency, which took charge of the province's
administration, just like any other province in the country. The combination of these two features provided Rio de Janeiro province with vital assets from a provincial point of view.

Interestingly enough, a group of fluminense politicians managed to conduct the organization of the province's new political and administrative system themselves. Key political figures in the province, Paulino Soares de Sousa (the later Visconde do Uruguai) and Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres (soon to become Visconde de Itaborai), held the fluminense provincial presidency for the entire first five crucial years of its existence.37 They were responsible for setting-up the basic framework within which the provincial government was to operate until the fall of the monarchy. They had both studied Law and had worked as magistrates. They became related by marrying cousins of leading fluminense families, linked to the traditional sugar sector in Itaborai and Araruama.38 They not only shared relatives and a common educational background, but also a program for developing a set of policies in the province.

37 According to Ilmar R. de Mattos, the average stay in office of provincial presidents in Brazil was only six months, whereas in Rio de Janeiro province the figure was of sixteen months, during the entire imperial period. During the 'saquarema period' - from the 1840s till the end of the 1850s, as he put it, the fluminense provincial figure rose to 24 months on average. See MATTOS, Ilmar R. de. Op Cit. 1984. p. 360.

In 1836 the first Brazilian Escola Normal (teacher training college) was created in Niterói, resulting from a provincial president's decree. As shown in TABLE II - IV, primary schooling was always regarded as a priority in the provincial public expenditure. A basic education development program was one of the first major concerns expressed by politicians in the province throughout the period under scrutiny. As is shown in TABLE II - III, a first census was organized in the province as early as 1840, in an attempt to acquire better information on fluminense society. Campos, once again, represented the highest concentration of provincial population. Slaves accounted for more than half of the total population. The census also testified to the existence of unpopulated areas in central and northern-eastern parts of the province, a clear confirmation of the move towards the more massive occupation of the western parts of the fluminense territory.

In this way, most administrative bodies were first established in the province in the decade that followed. If on the one hand this move led one historian to argue that the province played the role of a 'testing ground' for major policies to be implemented later in the country as whole; on the other, this organizational process played the vital role

39 The Provincial Assembly was yet not ready to fulfill its duties that year. This was the reason why most acts taken in the final years of the 1830s resulted directly from a decision making process within the provincial presidency itself, without further debates in the Provincial Assembly as it was to become the usual procedure later on.

40 A more detailed analysis of this process is developed in Chapter III.
### Table II - III

**The Population in Rio de Janeiro Province** (1840, 1851 and 1878)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1840</th>
<th></th>
<th>1851</th>
<th></th>
<th>1878</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nonslave</td>
<td>Slave</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Nonslave</td>
<td>Slave</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angra dos Reis</td>
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<td>10,554</td>
<td>22,604</td>
<td>14,736</td>
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<td>25,216</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barra de S. João</td>
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<td>6,820</td>
<td>12,101</td>
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<td>15,145</td>
<td>32,577</td>
<td>12,221</td>
<td>11,535</td>
<td>23,756</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabo Frio</td>
<td>25,434</td>
<td>37,318</td>
<td>62,752</td>
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<td>37,747</td>
<td>69,222</td>
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<td>5,924</td>
<td>8,898</td>
<td>9,580</td>
<td>16,478</td>
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<td>Cantagalo</td>
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<td>8,939</td>
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<td>7,331</td>
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<td>Macaé</td>
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<td>14,880</td>
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<td>Paraty</td>
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<td>9,159</td>
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<td>4,588</td>
<td>13,146</td>
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<td>17,232</td>
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<td>18,477</td>
<td>10,880</td>
<td>9,120</td>
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<td>10,880</td>
<td>11,770</td>
<td>22,750</td>
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<td>14,633</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Antônio de Sá</td>
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<td>4,526</td>
<td>8,568</td>
<td>8,691</td>
<td>7,542</td>
<td>16,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sao Fidélis</td>
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<td>3,987</td>
<td>9,989</td>
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<td>Saquarema</td>
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<td>4,978</td>
<td>4,268</td>
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<td>20,589</td>
<td>9,428</td>
<td>19,219</td>
<td>28,638</td>
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**Totals**

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>183,182</td>
<td>224,030</td>
<td>407,212</td>
<td>262,526</td>
<td>293,554</td>
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<td>526,972</td>
<td>339,991</td>
<td>866,963</td>
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</table>

**Source:** RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Presidência da... Relatórios da... (Rio de Janeiro, 1840, 1851 & 1878). Appendixes on population.
of establishing the basic elements in the setting up of a provincial/regional dominant sector within the fluminense province itself. If one asks where the boundaries were to be drawn between national and provincial elements in this context of the consolidation of a provincial dominant sector, one must only reply that this was not so much an issue, in a serious consideration of fluminense provincial history from a regional point of view. Up to the mid 1830s, Rio de Janeiro province had no individual character as a province in the country. It was only after 1834, that some sort of boundaries could be established between the province and the country, personified in the Corte at Rio de Janeiro city - from either a political, administrative or economic perspective. If the imprecision in relationship between the two levels - national and provincial - were to be maintained, conflicts and support exchanged between the two parts would never be expressed in any sort of formal or institutionalized way. By clearly differentiating between the two, the ties linking both of them could be used in a more profitable way at both levels: national and provincial. In fact, by doing so, national administration could more easily rely on the provincial economic expansion, in the wake of the coffee boom. At the same time, it was easier for it to intercede in favour of provincial interests at a later period, when massive investments in roads and railways were required as the means for maintaining favourable

41 As will be discussed in Chapter III, the fluminense provincial treasury remained under the direct control of the national government well into the middle of the 1850s.
conditions for coffee expansion in the province. The more the province became incapable of keeping coffee production expanding on its own territory - due to the deterioration of its resources - the more difficult it became for the imperial political system to sustain itself in the country as a whole. This resided on the very particular aspects that marked the relationship they developed between the two, where slavery was the underlying feature.

To some extent, events marking the suppression of the 1842 Liberal rebellion illustrates the complexity of this relationship, between the national and fluminense provincial government. On the one hand, the province provided vital support for the national government to repress rebel troops in Minas Gerais and São Paulo. On the other, a much more important factor was the need to suppress rebel forces within the fluminense territory itself. The job seems to have been so well done, that almost no traces were left in the official documentation on whether it was true or not that a few powerful farmers in the western region of the province, like Joaquim José de Sousa Breves, had risen in arms against the central government. The need to legitimize those in power in the province required strong action from the provincial government. As the Rio de Janeiro provincial president, Honório Carneiro Leão (later Marquês do Paraná) argued, this was a very difficult task that could only be completed with the support of many legalistas (loyal) farmers in the province. When it was finally achieved, both the provincial and national governments had managed to
successfully establish the imposition of a hierarchical structure which left no room for any type of political challenge or confrontation against those in control of the government, especially from a fluminense provincial point of view.42

Up to the mid-1850s, the provincial administrative system operated within a simple organizational structure. Very soon, high proportions of provincial public expenditure went into the payment of provincial civil servants. As indicated in TABLE II - IV, during this initial period, money spent on this item alone, accounted for around one third of the totals presented in the yearly provincial budget bills up to 1853.43 Meanwhile, the provincial treasury could still afford to provide large sums of money towards public health, charity and religion. This was to change very dramatically in the following decades. Another

42 See the 1842 correspondence exchanged between Paulino José Soares de Sousa, then Justice Minister, and Honório Carneiro Leão during the suppression of that rebellion in: 'Arquivo do visconde do Uruguaí', Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (box 748, folder 32). Also see Filler, Victor M. Op Cit. 1976. Chapter V; and ALMEIDA, Aluisio de. A revolução liberal de 1842. (Rio de Janeiro, 1944). pp. 171-176. The author described the vital importance for the provincial government of financial aid provided by leading fluminense families, such as the Teixeira Leite and the Nogueira da Gama, in order to suppress the rebel troops. He also pointed out the role of the fluminense provincial presidency, in the person of Honório Carneiro Leão, in also helping to suppress the rebellion.

43 This did not included provincial public spending on teachers and civil police salaries. Figures for these categories were presented together with other items, making it very difficult to reach a precise figure on how did the province spent on these items.
important feature of the period, to be seen in TABLE II - IV is the sharp increase in provincial expenditure on public works after 1850. This was the first of a series of direct actions taken by the fluminense provincial administration to appease the slave holders shortly after a major move against slavery was approved at the national level. Later on, other insights into provincial public spending during subsequent years will demonstrate the importance of this trend in the province.

If the 1820s and 1830s were marked by the occupation of the western areas of the fluminense province, from the 1840s onwards, the trend was re-orientated towards the central-eastern and northern parts of the province. The full incorporation of the Cantagalo lands provided a tremendous boost for the continuation of the expansion of coffee production in the province. This was a very rapid process and many different factors played their part in this expansion. Besides coffee, other crops were under cultivation in the province. This is clearly described in the historical and geographical dictionary of Brazil, which Milliet de Saint Adolphe published in 1845.44 There are particular references to Cantagalo, Itaborai, Macaé, Magé, Mangaratiba, Maricá, Resende, Rio Bonito, Saquarema, Valença and Vassouras as areas which produced coffee as well as basic foodstuffs. All of these, apart from Magé, Saquarema, 

### Table II - IV

**PUBLIC EXPENDITURE IN RIO DE JANEIRO PROVINCE... Selected Years (1848 - 1882) (**)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1848 - 1853</th>
<th>1854 - 1868</th>
<th>1869 - 1873</th>
<th>1877 - 1882</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subsidy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provincial Assembly</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32:900$</td>
<td>34:550$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secretary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provincial Presidency</strong></td>
<td>20:000$</td>
<td>34:200$</td>
<td>46:200$</td>
<td>53:200$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Education</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Office</strong></td>
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<td>20:000$</td>
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<td><strong>Treasurer</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Local Registers</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Police Force</strong></td>
<td>125:000$</td>
<td>145:349$</td>
<td>167:208$</td>
<td>309:872$</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Prisons and police</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Retired Personnel</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Coletorias</strong></td>
<td>140:560$</td>
<td>111:993$</td>
<td>125:990$</td>
<td>136:728$</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Church</strong></td>
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<td>12:250$</td>
<td>13:050$</td>
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<td>253:950$</td>
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<td><strong>Escola Normal</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Provincial Loans</strong></td>
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<td>373:440$</td>
<td>373:040$</td>
<td>402:835$</td>
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<td>399:563$</td>
<td>392:125$</td>
<td>1.175:992$</td>
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<td><strong>Subsidy</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Interest guarantee</strong></td>
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<td><strong>to public works</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Subventions</strong></td>
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<td>76:045$</td>
<td>7:500$</td>
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<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
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<td>1.404:000$</td>
<td>1.493:208$</td>
<td>3.408:620$</td>
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</table>

**SOURCE:** Camaras Municipais budget bills, in: ALMANACK LAEMMERT. Selected years.

(**) For the sake of simplicity, figures have been rounded to the unity.

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Valença and Vassouras, were also said to be growing sugar-cane. Angra dos Reis, Itaguai, N.Friburgo and São Fidélis were described as only involved in the cultivation of foodstuffs and sugar-cane. Municipios which were described as only being linked to sugar-cane production, were Campos and Santo Antonio de Sâ. São João do Principe was described as a region formerly involved in the cultivation of foodstuffs and sugar-cane, although in the 1840s it was described as shifting to coffee production, despite retaining its six sugar mills and some distilleries. The dictionary also described Araruama, Cabo Frio, Estrela and São João da Barra as commercial centres along major routes of communication in the province. This helped those municipios to trade their agricultural surplus with surroundings areas, so articulating many commercial activities in those municipios. Capivary was described as developing the lucrative timber trade, and Iguassú cultivated sugar-cane and had a brick kiln. Both were said to supply Rio de Janeiro city with their products.45 The picture described by Milliet de Saint Adolphe, seems to confirm the view that fluminense economic expansion, up to the end of the second half of the last century, benefited a great deal from the fact that it relied on more than one activity.46 This can also explain the considerable level of

45 Ibid. See under the names of the various municipios quoted.

46 Also see tables listing a varied number of products expected to go through Macaé canal, under construction in the 1840s, published in the 1844 annual fluminense provincial presidency report, in RIO DE JANEIRO (Province).
self-sufficiency of the province in the period. As already pointed out, this economic expansion also provided an important political background for the province's recognition at national and provincial level. A good example of this process, was D. Pedro II's trip through the northern parts of Rio de Janeiro province in 1847. A large number of noble titles were distributed in the region, after a careful selection of people to be granted such honours. Local economic and political preeminence was further strengthened by the prestige granted to what was seen at the time as the highest rank of Brazilian society.

In this way, this provincial expansion process must be seen as one which was characterized by a set of different features that marked each region in the province. As Hebe M. C. M. Gomes de Castro has already pointed out, coffee was always regarded as having the strongest potential in fluminense agriculture. Nonetheless, conditions prevailing in each area produced a varied set of realities in the province. In this study, the author examined the changes

Presidência da... Op Cit. 01 March 1844. Appendix.

47 CASADEI, Thalita de O. As viagens de D. Pedro II a Campos dos Goitacazes. (Niterói, 1985). pp. 11-56. According to the author, D.Pedro travelled around the north fluminense four times: in 1847, 1875, 1878 and 1883. The first trip was the longest and the one to which the media gave the greatest attention.

48 Until very recently there was a tendency to reduce the history of Rio de Janeiro province in the last century to the study of coffee expansion in the province, where the central focus was based in the Paraiba river valley. Classic studies, such as the ones by Emilia Viotti da Costa, are examples of this tendency.
that marked land division in Capivary. According to her, coffee expansion in the fluminense plain produced a very different picture from that in the Paraiba river valley. Up to the 1850s, the plain area was regarded as reserved for further expansion of export agriculture. Once slave prices went up, a more strict criterion was naturally applied to the selection of lands. Poor land conditions for coffee expansion, resulted in the region developing a subsistence economy on a small scale. Lower numbers of slaves were still kept in the region and a gradual increase in the free population was observed during the second half of the last century. Not only this, but land ownership in the region also showed a different pattern from that of the Paraiba river valley area. Whilst on the plain, most large farms had an

49 CASTRO, Hebe M. C. M. Gomes de. Op Cit. 1985 p. 79. Also see page 83, where she argues that "it is with the means of approximately 6,000 slaves, a coffee production offering poor return and an expanding free population that the social hierarchies of Capivary were consolidated in the second half of the nineteenth century'.


51 Ana Maria dos Santos has also described the history Itaborai as following a similar pattern. See a short version of her M.A. dissertation ‘Auge e decadência econômica do reconcavo da Guanabara: o caso de Itaborai’. In: RIO DE JANEIRO (State). Op Cit. 1974. pp. 64-103. Also see the similarities to Araruama as well, in: GRANER, Maria Paula. 'A estrutura fundiária no municipio de Araruama: 1850-1920 - um estudo da distribuição de terras: continuidades e transformações'. M.A. Niterói, Universidade Federal Fluminense. 1985. p. 101.
area of 60 to 70 hectares, 20 to 30 slaves and around 35,000 coffee trees; in Paraíba do Sul a recent survey has indicated that the prevailing pattern was an average of 200 hectares, 60 slaves and the cultivation of around 100,000 coffee trees.52

This diversification was to be clearly seen when fluminense Provincial Assembly commissioned a detailed map of the province at the end of the 1850s. The result was an impressive work, showing the location of all larger farms and stating what were their main activities - coffee, sugar, foodstuffs and cattle raising.53 The main features then presented are reproduced to a large extent in MAP II - III.

In the 1850s, the lands of São Fidélis município were also turned over to coffee production. Longer distances had to be overcome if coffee production was to be sustained in the province. The issue now was different to that at the

52 CASTRO, Hebe M. C. M. Gomes de. Op Cit. 1985. pp. 91-93. For the case of Campos, Sheila S. de Castro Faria has found evidence that the structure of land property in the region underwent a shift in the 1850s. Before, 85% of the sugar-cane produced in the area was cultivated on small pieces of land, which measured up to a maximum of 50 hectares. Later on, techniques for extracting sugar from the cane improved considerably, paving the way for concentration of land ownership in the município. Most farms were amalgamated to form units of up to 400 hectares, although the campista plain kept a similar pattern to that seen in Capivary. See FARIA, Sheila S. de Castro. Op Cit. 1986. pp. 212 and 393-399.

beginning of the century, when farmers invested a great deal of resources in improving the condition of the existing roads. Now it was a matter of opening new and more effective ways of transportation to link new areas to the major port of Rio de Janeiro city. As was argued in Chapter I, this was also the result of the steps taken by the central government to appease coffee farmers after the final suspension of the Atlantic slave traffic. To a large extent, the massive road investment that took place, during the 1850s and 1860s, was much related to the need to support not only high levels of coffee production, but also to retain the political support of the coffee farmers for the imperial political system.54

In 1852 the Nova or Normal road was constructed, linking the port of Estrela with Petrópolis. The latter was exceptionally located, easily reached by trade coming from Minas Gerais and the fluminense municípios of the Paraíba river valley. The new road down to Guanabara bay provided a quick link to Estrela, from where products were shipped to

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54 It is interesting to note the lack of complaints against the central government decision to suspend the slave traffic to Brazil in almost all the sources analyzed by this research. In 1854, the provincial newspaper A Pátria published a series of articles criticising the government for doing so. They are signed by an unknown farmer from São João do Príncipe, and argued that the decision was prejudicial to the agriculture in the province and put Brazil in a very weak position on the international political scene, by failing to react against British pressure to act in that way. See A Pátria. 23 February, 01 March, and 11 May 1854.
Rio de Janeiro city. As soon as the new roads started coming into use, new plans were put forward to build the first railway link in Brazil, which was proposing to link Guanabara bay directly to the Paraiba river valley. In 1854, fourteen kilometers of the planned railway were completed, reaching as far as Raiz da Serra. Financial difficulties, however, prevented the project from going on to complete its original plans and the company in charge went bankrupt. As a result, part of the Normal road was semi-abandoned. It was re-routed to link Petrópolis to Raiz da Serra, from where the traffic took advantage of the railway down to Mauá then shipped to Rio de Janeiro port. This became the main route for the production from the central and eastern parts of the province and from the south of Minas Gerais until 1860. In that year the União and Indústria road was completed. This was the first ‘real’ road built in the country, starting at the Mauá railway terminus and going on to Entre-Rios and then Paraíba do Sul. From there it crossed the Paraibuna river, entering Minas Gerais province in order to reach Juiz de Fora.

During the 1860s, this road was the main artery for communication in the central parts of the province. However, this situation was soon to change with the building


of the D. Pedro II railway. As Almir C. El-Kareh has shown, the construction of that railway was a basic move to defend coffee sector interests after the abolition of the Atlantic slave traffic. At the same time it crystallized the strength and power of that sector in the country, when it proved its ability to instigate such a major project.58

There were bitter power struggles over the decision on the final route to be followed by the railway through the coffee municipios in the province.59 Even the central government had to intervene and help to support such an enormous project, which required a great deal of financial investment and the application of the most developed railway construction techniques available in the world at the time. In 1868, the D. Pedro II railway managed to reach Entre-Rios, having completed one of its most essential sections, when it had to climb the mountains towards the more central parts of the province. This caused the União Indústria Road to be almost completely abandoned by most of the traffic crossing the province, being only used by those living in the surrounding areas.

In the eastern part of Rio de Janeiro province, there was a project to build a road to link Mangaratiba port to


59 See the role of the Teixeira Leite family in this debate, when trying to press the final decision in favour of Vassouras, the so-called ‘movimento de Vassouras’, in: TAUNAY, Alfredo E. Op Cit. 1945. p. 102. According to him, the completion of this railway enabled Minas Gerais province to treble its coffee production in the short period of time between 1857 and 1867.
Barra Mansa. This would benefit the northern areas of São Paulo and the east and central parts of the fluminense province. Construction works ran into trouble, only taking the road as far as São João do Principe, less than thirty kilometres. Despite this, the partially constructed road brought a certain degree of economical revival to Mangaratiba. However, this was to be short-lived, as the arrival of the D. Pedro II railway in the Paraíba river valley was to produce a total reorientation of the traffic towards this more efficient means of transportation, leaving Mangaratiba port in a dramatic slump.

Another road project undertaken in the period was one proposed by Custódio Ferreira Leite, Barão de Aiuruoca, who wanted to have a road built to link Magé to Mar de Espanha, in Minas Gerais. The road was to go through Sapucaia, located in the central-northern area of the fluminense province. The speedy construction of this road seems to indicate the importance of the shift in the expansion of the coffee frontier in the province. Leading fluminense farmers, who could afford to move to more profitable lands in the north of the province, had started doing so by the end of the 1850s. This was a consequence of the complete occupation of the western areas of the province, where no more lands were available for further expansion. The only choice was to move to the north of the province, or to move


into the western areas of São Paulo province, where land was also available for those willing to invest further in the coffee business.62

There are a few transportation projects in the northern parts of the province, which are worth mentioning here. The first one was a canal to link Macaé to Campos. This project was one of the first to rely on the financial support of the provincial administration. A lot of debates and proposals were put forward on the project from the 1840s on, but it was only completed late in the 1870s.63 There were also two major railway projects proposed in the region. One appeared in the early 1840s, with a plan to link Porto das Caixas with Cantagalo. Later on, Barão de N. Friburgo invested very heavily in the project, but it went very slowly and in 1869, only forty-nine kilometres of its proposed final total route had been completed.64 The other project proposed to link Niterói to Campos. This project seemed to have had great support from the provincial administration, and despite many delays in its construction, it was finally put into operation in the 1860s. It is also important to remember that the north of the province relied a great deal on the coastal trade, where São João da Barra and Macaé

62 Ibid. p. 101. Custódio Ferreira Leite, was one of the first to arrive from Minas Gerais in Pirai and Valença in the 1820s, where he went to grow coffee on large scale. Later on, one of his relatives, Júlio Leite Ribeiro, went to live further in the north of the province, setting up a farm in Miracema, north of São Fidélis. See BRAZIL. IBGE. Op Cit. 1959. Volume 2. p. 303.

63 Ibid. p. 276.

64 Ibid. p. 101.
played an important role in shipping products to Rio de Janeiro city.65

All these road and railways projects, indicate a clear move towards the provision of a better transportation system in the province from the early 1850s onwards. As suggested in Chapter I, this seems to have implied a plain agreement between the national government and leading coffee farmers in the country, particularly in fluminense province. Transportation development was the strategy which all agreed upon as the best response to the need to completely cease Brazil’s involvement in the Atlantic slave traffic.66 At this time, all had managed to agree upon a solution to solve the first real obstacle to coffee expansion. As MAP II - IV shows, Rio de Janeiro province was the vital location for the development of railways in the nineteenth century, where a combination of national and provincial resources provided the elements for this development.67 At the same time, another strategy was to be enforced in the province, as means of providing a solution to the growing labour crisis resulting from the 1850 decision. As already indicated, the first stage was the redistribution of the

67 Nevertheless, later debates over the Leopoldina railway project - planned to provide a direct link between Minas gerais province and Rio de Janeiro city - would present fluminense society with a clear picture of its loss in political and economic status in the country as a whole. See ahead, further discussions over this railway in Chapters IV and V.
Map II - IV
Railway Network in Rio de Janeiro Province (1888)

slave population within the province.

Municipios with the most dynamic performance in the coffee sector, were the ones in a position to acquire and use the greatest number of slaves.68 Afterwards, slaves were redistributed around the farms themselves, being reallocated to the most vital tasks of coffee production. In the long term, Campos, Valença, Vassouras, N.Friburgo, Cantagalo and Barra Mansa managed to retain large number of slaves. Meanwhile, municipios such as Angra dos Reis, São João do Principe, Pirai, Barra de São João, Paraty and Mangaratiba saw a steady decline in their slave population.69

By the end of the 1860s, fluminense society was very firmly placed within an atmosphere of economic boom amidst growing symptoms of crisis in the export agriculture sector. Former commercial centres, such as Angra dos Reis, Paraty and Estrela, re-orientated their activities towards a subsistence economy, which enabled these municipios to survive. In many of these areas, the so common complaints of economic 'decadence' were more closely related to a comparison with the former glories of the early coffee boom, than to what local aspects were indicating to their dominant

69 Ibid. p. 103. Also see TABLES II - III.
sectors. When examining Camaras Municipais annual budgets once again, it is possible to see, as shown in TABLE II - II, how municipios in the province developed different economic patterns. Although the study of the annual Camaras Municipais income revenues are not the ideal strategy for analyzing local economic performance, it can offer a few pointers to discuss the subject, particularly when comparing results for different periods. To a large extent, municipal income revenue had to do with the size of the city where the Camara Municipal was based. This was particularly the case at the end of the period, when property tax produced one of the largest single sums of most municipal budgets in the province. Another important element in municipal income was that deriving from local trade, which varied a great deal from one municipio to another, as already showing in the case of sugar-cane.

Some municipios neither increased nor decreased the amount collected during the period - Araruama, Estrela, Magé, Mangaratiba, Santo Antonio de Sá. This must be

70 As in the case of Capivary, Ana Maria dos Santos also cites Itaborai as a municipio which did not increase or decrease its municipal revenue. If considering the surrounding area, Itaborai even managed to sustain reasonable rates of agricultural production, leaving no credit to the constant complaints of economic crisis in the region at the time. See SANTOS, Ana Maria dos. Op Cit. 1974. pp. 92-93.

71 It is almost impossible to draw a global picture of the municipios economic performance in the last century, as formerly pointed by leading deputado provincial Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa. Agricultural products coming from the various municipios paid duty at various different places, depending on the type of transaction involving each product.
interpreted as a sign of municipal economic stagnation, given the fact that the overall total of municipal income revenue collected in the province every year increased by more than five times between 1838 and 1884.

Most municipios, however, saw an increase of their annual income revenue over the entire period considered in TABLE II - II. Those which experienced the most spectacular increases were those in the heart of the coffee area, the Paraíba river valley. During the period analyzed, Valença’s income increased by twenty-one times, Vassouras seventeen times, Paraíba do Sul fourteen times and, Barra Mansa ten times. Despite these impressive performances, Campos still retained the highest annual income throughout the period. Niterói also saw a large increase in its revenue, mainly as a result of being the município which housed the provincial capital city.

There were also a number of municipios which produced a creditable economic performance in the period as well, despite not being directly related to the export agricultural sector: Capivary, Itaborai, Itaguai, Macaé, N. Friburgo, Parati, Petrópolis, Rio Bonito, São João da Barra, Sapucaia and Saquarema.72 These municipios seem to have been able to sustain a reasonable economy, mainly orientated towards the supply of an internal market. This seems to prove, to a large extent, the vitality of economic sectors other than the coffee.

72 They increased their income between twice and eight times. See TABLE II - II.
These indications also found sound confirmation in the data available on the growth of the provincial population in the same period, as shown in TABLE II - III. Provincial economic development in the second half of the last century supported a large population increase in the province. If in 1851, there was a provincial rate of fourteen inhabitants per square kilometre, in 1878 the figure grew to twenty-one.73. This was a considerably larger increase than that observed between 1840 and 1851.

All these features led to the establishment of a very unique and determinant set of characteristics in the province in the 1870s and 1880s. Not only that, but another three different features were bound to help completely change provincial political and economic life in this period. The first two of these, was basically related to a deterioration in conditions in the export agriculture sector: the intensification of abolitionist pressure and, the completion of the settlement of the fluminense territory. Also very important was the beginning of industrial growth in the province. These three main features marked the beginning of a 'new era' in fluminense history.

The abolitionist pressure was not new, but it developed a new dimension after the decision of the central

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73 According to another critic, in 1872 10.65% of the entire Brazilian population was placed in Rio de Janeiro province and in the national capital city together. Later in 1900 the same figure dropped to 9.96%. See: MERRICK, Thomas W. & GRAHAM, Douglas H. Op Cit. 1979. p. 120
government to move towards a gradual abolition of slavery, a situation which gained momentum in the 1880s. By then, a more intense involvement of urban sectors helped to increase the political debate over the issue. More important, however, was the increase in slave rebellions as an attempt to speed up the final abolition of slavery. This was a vital factor which put the entire system at risk. In many areas it was more economically reasonable to free the slaves beforehand, so that they could go on working in the farms as free-workers.74 Campos was one of the best examples of the combination of urban and slave pressure in support of Abolition.75

Another factor to jeopardize the fluminense coffee export sector was the lack of unpopulated areas to allow the movement of the agricultural frontier within the provincial boundaries to continue. In the 1880s areas such as São João de Leonissa, Itaperuna, Monte Verde and Santo Antonio de Pâdua were already growing coffee very intensively. Nonetheless, they were the last few areas still available in

74 Ademir Gebara has produced a study in which he claims that the abolitionist laws issued by the Brazilian imperial government represented the creation of a strategy to deal with both issues: the abolition of slavery and the formation of a free market in the country. In this strategy slaves were taken as active elements, who also helped to put pressure over that transition process by more vigourously rebelling against slavery. See: GEBARA, Ademir. 'The transition from slavery to free labour market in Brazil: 1871 - 1888, slave legislation and the organization of the labour market'. Ph. D. The London School of Economics. 1984.

all sectors in fluminense society, during a crucial period of change. Coffee farmers started shifting into economic activities other than coffee, particularly those of commercial food supply and cattle raising. A new industrial manufacturing sector (textiles) also began to establish itself in the province, as shown in MAP II – V. In doing so, rather than losing control of the overall economic process – and consequently their big estates – most managed to keep their units of production, only re-articulated to a different kind of market.81

In this shifting process, the establishment of textile manufacturers in the province played a vital role in fueling some sort of industrial growth during the 1880s.82 Free labour and motive power were two extremely favourable innovations that helped Petrópolis to be the scene of such rapid textile manufacture growth in the period. This was to be the only sector in which the province would still be able to compete with other provinces of the country in the long run.83

The decade also saw the first real crash in the

83 Data provided by Alvaro Afonso G. Pignaton treats Rio de Janeiro city and province as only one unit, and one has to point out that the continuation of this industrial economic growth in the province was very much related to a large industrial growth also taking place in Rio de Janeiro city.
Map II - V

The Economy of Rio de Janeiro
province - 1887

Legend:

- Coffee Areas
- Sugar and Cattle areas
- Sugar Mills
- Textiles
- F Foodstuffs
- Fishery
- Manufactures

international coffee market, when in 1881 and 1882 coffee prices fell steeply at the same time as Brazilian coffee production grew very sharply.84 This accentuated the critical conditions in the export agriculture even further.

The abolition of slavery in 1888 did not bring the end of the fluminense farmers’ preeminence in the province.85 Nonetheless, the failure of the imperial government to provide economic compensation when abolishing slavery caused the fluminense coffee farmers to face big capital losses, since conditions in the province left no room to reorganize the export agriculture productive system.86 Many lost their farms. Yet despite all these changes, Rio de Janeiro province was to maintain its leading position in coffee exports in Brazil for sometime to come.

In the sugar sector, the big innovation was the establishment of central sugar-cane mills, in an attempt to increase production from the 1870s onwards. This led to an inevitable concentration of power and land ownership, particularly in the case of Campos.87 To a large extent, this encouraged the consolidation of Campos’ leading

86 SWEIGART, Joseph E. Op Cit. 1980. p. 05.
position in fluminense provincial affairs.88

These were the main features prompting the fall of the imperial political system in the province. The republican government was established, facing no opposition from fluminense provincial leading sectors. Nonetheless, this political transition took place amidst a period of both economical and political instability in province, since provincial groups were still being re-structured in response to the rapidly changing elements of fluminense society.89
3.1 - Introduction.

As previously indicated, the organization of the public administrative machinery in Brazil was very much associated with the process of class and state building in Brazil that took place during the last century. This dual process was mainly engendered by the dominant fluminense group - the Saquaremas. By adapting and manipulating a very complex system of political relationships, they managed to consolidate their regional export agricultural interests within the country and to establish themselves as the core of the Brazilian dominant groups of the time. However, this process took time to be achieved. During its early stages a great deal of bargaining power was needed to fully articulate all these various groups in the country. This makes it very difficult to identify any single compact dominant group - or particular economic sector - as being in complete control of that construction process. As Alberto G. Ramos has pointed out, there was no such thing as

1 See Chapter I, pp. 20-21.
a single clear and defined dominant group in Brazil at that time. He also argued that this meant that the public administration was characterized by a paternalistic facade, in which status became the selection criteria for the organization of the administrative machinery in the newly formed state.2 In this same regard, Ilmar R. de Mattos also argued that the Brazilian monarchy, the Córœa (Crown), had to necessarily take the form and the praxis of a political party. This was expressed by the fact that the Crown was able to manipulate events in the interests of that state and dominant group construction. By renovating and maintaining the country’s individuality, through its identification with the Crown – and the Emperor – the fluminense dominant group could actively spread their aspirations throughout the country.3

In this movement, the organization of the state apparatus was a key feature. As Alberto G. Ramos has pointed out, public administration in nineteenth century Brazil had the ability to absorb a considerable proportion of the work force available at the time, in its administrative activities.4 This was crucial, given the fact that with the country being economically dependent on

2 RAMOS, Alberto G. Op Cit. 1983. p. 234. Thomas Flory also stated that ‘Brazilian society of the early period was evidently too unstable and complex to justify mechanistic assumptions about relationships between its components and a political system which was itself unformed’. In: FLORY, Thomas. Op Cit. 1981. p. 202.

3 MATTOS, Ilmar R. de Op Cit. 1984. 104-105. Also see Chapter I.

export agriculture and slavery, it was almost impossible to absorb all the work force available in the country into its limited productive structures, particularly those intermediate sectors between the big landowners and the slaves. In doing so, public administration gained a positive characteristic by preventing more articulate individuals in Brazilian society, from combining to form organized actions or movements against the establishment.5 Instead, they were all functioning within the status quo, distributed throughout the various sectors of a very complex administrative system. This provided an ideal common ground for the consolidation of landed interests within the country, to enable them to control and dominate Brazilian society.6

At the same time, administrative jobs were simple and did not require specific skills from the people performing them. There was a predominance of legal-judicial activities.7 This explains why the central government could rely on the country’s magistrature as means of exercising power over the whole country, without necessarily having to refer to provincial administrative and political institutions. The administrative bureaucracy was basically recruited through public examination, 'concursos', although

5 Ibid. p. 234 and 344. This what Alberto G. Ramos called emprego disfarcado, or disguised employment.


social status was a determining factor in obtaining a post. It also relied on a closely-controlled electoral process, which prevented the election of any who might threaten the constituted power.

Equally important were the alternative links that the state managed to establish with local groups and economic sectors that were excluded from the dominant groups then being organized. This was achieved by the government's ability to construct a network of relationships which linked the various administrative institutional levels together under a concept of the country's identity based on the monarchy. This argument has been developed by Ilmar R. de Mattos, who described the importance of the press in transmitting the Saquarema's ideals to all other sectors in the country. He also added that despite not being in direct contact with the central government, less important institutions outside public administration - such as the Guarda Nacional - were fundamental in helping to build up a form of political identity in society. They provided a vital ground for the diffusion of the new emerging economic interests in the country, so that dominant groups in


ascendancy could establish themselves firmly.11 At the same time, this identification also meant the clear perception - and acceptance - of a differentiation between those to be governed and those who were going to exercise power in the government. In many ways this established a similar phenomenon to that of the emprego disfarcado, as earlier defined by Alberto G. Ramos. This feature was important in that the dominant sector could once again rely on the support of various elements who were articulated in institutions other than the public administration, rather than opposing the newly-formed political system.12 The Church could also be identified as one of these intermediary sectors. However, it seems to have remained politically isolated, although preaching submission and an acceptance of the status quo in society.

Together with the public administration, the magistrature, or judiciary, also played a vital role in the organization of the imperial political system. Although not a branch of the formal administrative system itself, there is no doubt that it played a major role in the political and administrative life of Brazil during the last century. As previously seen, this was a fundamental part of the imperial political system. As Thomas Flory put it, the

11 Ibid. pp. 234-238. According to Ilmar R. de Mattos, the press was a fundamental element in publicising centralizing policies. The Jornal do Comércio could well be called the ‘fourth power’ in Brazilian politics of the time.

ramifications of the judicial reform [are intimately related to] the process of construction and perpetuation of a state'. 13 It played a key role in connecting public and private interests in a society where this differentiation was not absolutely clear. The emergence of a 'professional district magistracy' proved to be one of the best links between the central government - to whom it had institutional ties - and the local elites. 14 As Thomas Flory argues, this meant the recovery of an important aspect of the country's colonial heritage, since this was the most important administrative structure imposed on colonial Brazil by mainland Portugal. 15 Thus, politics were very closely related to the debate on the reform of judicial policies, in which politicians always sought to find a solution to their own difficulties. 16

In order to set up and organize this complex system of administrative and political institutions, the central government issued a number of laws. As seen in Chapter I, these pieces of legislation arose out of the disputes and conflicts from which the dominant fluminense group managed


14 Ibid. p. 203.

15 Ibid. p. 204. This argument is also developed by Ilmar R. de Mattos, when he argues that the Saquarema strategy was one of recapturing the former elements of the Portuguese colonial heritage under new dimensions within independent Brazil. See MATTOS, Ilmar R. de. Op Cit. 1984. pp. 203-213.

16 See FLORY, Thomas. Op Cit. 1981. p. 204. Further discussions in Parts II and III will indicate the large extent to which political debate over judicial issues marked the discussions in the fluminense Provincial Assembly.
to emerge as the core of the country's ruling class after 1837. The system achieved its concrete form in 1842, when the political and administrative structures were consolidated, and then remained almost untouched throughout the rest of the imperial period. Although some minor changes were to result from new legislation, none of them imposed major alterations on the system. Generally speaking, the system seemed to have embarked on a stable phase. It was the framework defined by those laws, which structured provincial and municipal affairs until the fall of the Empire.

It is important to observe that in the face of the well-defined move towards centralization established by these pieces of legislation, there was very little that provincial administrative and political institutions could do to innovate, create or change anything in their provinces. Among the few areas left under their care were the management of education and the organization of provincial and municipal budgets (although these were all under provincial responsibility). 17

It was within this context that fluminense province found itself faced with the task of pursuing the organization of its regional political and administrative system.

17 These two items alone were responsible for almost the entire contents of the political debate that took place within the fluminense Provincial Assembly in the period here under consideration. See also Part II.
Regionally speaking, the process of political-administrative organization in fluminense province went smoothly and required only a few later adjustments. There were only two occasions that seemed to present some particular challenge in the period here analysed: the 1842 liberal movement and the need to recruit Brazilian troops to fight the Paraguay war. The first was almost un-mentioned in the official fluminense legislation. Despite this, the previously mentioned correspondence between the fluminense provincial presidency and the central government indicates the importance of this critical issue in fluminense society. The need to prevent the spread of that 'political disturbance' was translated into the definition of this movement as something alien to fluminense province. This is why there is no special reference or recognition of that movement as one which was supported by fluminense natives. The movement went without almost any comment in fluminense official documentation.

The need to obtain soldiers to fight the Paraguayan War also proved another occasion in which the provincial government fought hard to present a different picture from that seen at grass roots level in the province. The administration's action in presenting the province as one which was working hard to recruit the number of soldiers required by the central government could be said to have been the best example of the fluminense provincial concern to fulfill its obligations to the central government in the best possible style. This was due to the fact that the
province's politicians believed that they had a special role in national affairs. Only this time, they had to act in order to disguise the real interests of leading local farmers. The lack of legislation on this subject shows the provincial government's inability to use this weapon as a repressive one. From a different perspective, it was possible to argue that this was not such a key issue in fluminense affairs, and by printing a few tables on the annual provincial presidential report - stating how many soldiers each municipio managed to recruit in that year and congratulating the areas which managed to gather higher numbers of soldiers - it was also possible to impress the central government. However, one is more inclined to argue that it is most likely that the provincial government lacked the strength necessary to impose such strong and controversial war legislation on their subjects.

In a different view, the analysis of the fluminense provincial legislation leads one to conclude that the provincial president was responsible for issuing the largest and most important pieces of legislation produced in the entire period. Their deliberações, resolutions, and portarias, letters-in-council, were the most frequent measures to be found in the fluminense Collection of Laws.18

In examining the debates that took place in the Provincial

18 These were types of legislation issued directly by the provincial president. Decrees and laws were approved by the Provincial Assembly and then sanctioned by the provincial president.
Assembly, it is possible to see that its main concern was the discussion and passing, within the given schedule, of the annual provincial and Camaras Municipais budget legislation. Here as well, provincial politicians once again implied that the more important and critical decisions were expected to be taken by the provincial presidency. It was commonplace for members of the fluminense Provincial Assembly to end a project debate by proposing the delegation of powers to the provincial presidency to resolve the matter. By taking the form of an 'authorization bill', this strategy once again reinforced the executive strength within the provincial political and administrative system as a whole. The excuse given by the Assembly for acting in this way was that the presidency had a large number of administrative branches under its supervision, and it was probably best equipped to take the more fundamental and important decisions.19

As a general introduction to a discussion which will be developed in more detail in this chapter, it is possible to argue that there were four main chronological phases in the legislation that dealt with the workings of the provincial political-administrative system. These stages marked a process for providing the system with more rational

19 It is important to observe, however, that this situation did not take place without protest from the opposition members in the Provincial Assembly. Part II will later discuss the implications of such a strategy, as well as the relationship between it and the overall relationship developed between the presidency and the Assembly.
and efficient organization. First, the period of the early 1830s, when the basic institutions were being set up. The system was being laid down in its roughest form. Ties linking the systems various branches were somehow confused and powers were still far from clear. 20 Secondly there was the period between the late 1830s and the beginning of the 1840s, when new central legislation established major changes in the relationship between the Camaras Municipais, the Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Presidency. There was also a reform of the secretariat to the Provincial Presidency, which had its powers increased to become a sort of special agent linking the various provincial administrative branches of the Executive to the provincial president. 21 Thirdly, there is the period of the late 1850s, when a thorough-going reform was carried out of the Executive. Administrative powers and hierarchies were redefined, so that the administration could fulfill its duties in a more 'professional way'. During this period, more specific legislation was issued to create tighter provincial control over municipal expenses and the collection of tax revenues. Later in 1860, another bill carefully detailed the procedures for the organization of

20 Some critics have described the way in which key fluminense political figures, mainly Visconde do Uruguai and Visconde de Itaborai, took advantage of this period to improve their own political skills and strategies for later use in seeking to control the central government. See: MATTOS, Ilmar R. de. Op Cit. 1984. pp. 359-366; and RAMOS, Alberto G. Op Cit. 1983. pp. 260-263. Also see Chapter I.

21 Until then, the provincial president had been in direct contact with all these branches.
municipal accounts as well as budgets. Finally, more changes again took place in the 1870s. There was another major reform of the Executive, in which the main concern was with the reduction in number of administrative personnel and the further rationalization of work in the provincial administration. This was mainly aimed at reducing administration costs, which were becoming an extremely heavy burden on the provincial public purse. At the municipal level the greatest innovation was the decision taken by the provincial government to provide the Camaras Municipais with an annual grant. Surprisingly enough, during the entire period under consideration there were only minor changes made in the organization and administration of the fluminense Provincial Assembly.22

So, in going on to seek an analysis of the process of regional organization the fluminense provincial political-administrative system, the research must consider three major issues. The first of these is the lack of studies on the organization of any provincial political-administrative system in Brazil in the nineteenth century. Not much is known on the subject, making it very difficult to draw a more precise picture of the organization of any regional political and administrative system in the country at that

22 This was due to the fact that the Provincial Assembly and presidency were directly ruled by legislation produced at the central level. Once the system was consolidated in the early 1840s almost no innovations were brought in with regard to these two administrative branches.
It is only very recently that a first attempt was made by the Arquivo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, which organized a research project on the administrative history of the fluminense province in the last century, under the coordination of Prof. André Luís V. de Campos.

A second issue relates to the fact that the fluminense provincial economy was primarily made up of two sectors - sugar and coffee - as already discussed in Chapter II. This is an important issue to bear in mind, since local disputes could have played an important role in the overall process of organizing of the provincial administrative system.

Thirdly, the last issue affecting the argument of this chapter is a proper evaluation of the phenomenon of 'particularism' in the fluminense society of the time. As

23 There are, however, a trio of studies on the organization of the Guarda Nacional and the police in Rio de Janeiro province worth mentioning here. Although very concerned with the role played by these institutions in the process of state and dominant group formation in Brazil, these studies also carefully consider the organization and alterations that these institutions underwent in the province. See: RODRIGUES, Antonio Edmilson M. (et alii). A Guarda Nacional no Rio de Janeiro, 1831-1918. (Rio de Janeiro, 1981); BRANDÃO, Berenice C. (et alii). A polícia e a força policial no Rio de Janeiro. (Rio de Janeiro, 1981); and RODRIGUES, Antonio Edmilson M. (et alii). A polícia na Corte imperial. (Rio de Janeiro, 1981).

24 This researcher is extremely grateful to Prof. André Luís V. de Campos and his team of researchers working on this project: Dilma Cabral, Marcos Chaves, Marcia Gonçalves, Denise Estrada and Maritza Portela. They furnished this study with their drafts and many sources already analysed for consultation. They also spent their time discussing many of the issues which affected this dissertation. Their research is still to be completed, under the title História administrativa do estado do Rio de Janeiro, 1834-1975.
Ilmar R. de Mattos has already pointed out, the establishment of such an administrative system - within a notion of the 'professional' - always had some difficulty in insinuating itself into the world of the fluminense farmers, so heavily characterized by personal projects and patronage. The 1842 example given by that author, could also be seen on other occasions, such as the case already mentioned here of the Paraguayan War.25 Another example of this was also to be repeatedly observed in the analysis of the debates in the fluminense Provincial Assembly. On every occasion, discussions were led by a few prominent leaders who tended to be reelected again and again, Luis Honório Vieira Souto being the most important example. The remaining deputados provinciais were more or less divided into two main groups. The first and smaller one, was made up of those deputados who participated or spoke in most of the debates. Although using a different approach to that of the prominent leaders - being less assertive and more moderate in their comments - they at least dared to speak, enabling them to bring some pressure to bear on the issue in hand. The other larger group hardly spoke, and many of its members do not even seem to have attended the daily Assembly sessions. Nonetheless, most of them managed to make at least a small intervention in the debates over the municipal

25 Ilmar R. de Mattos quoted the 1842 correspondence between the Rio de Janeiro provincial president and the central government, in which the former complained about the difficulty experienced in gathering all the farmers together under a central leadership to fight the liberal rebels properly. See: MATTOS, Ilmar R. de. Op Cit. 1984. p. 359.
budget project. This was vital for them, since this was an important and unique opportunity for them to put forward local demands and to ask for government assistance for municipal needs.

The main concern of this chapter is an analysis of the process by which the administrative institutional system was established. That is, how the various political and administrative bodies were formed and interacted with each other - at both a formal and an informal level. Also their powers and the changes that took place in the system during the course of its political development. It will attempt to explain more precisely how an institution, or a post, could have affected political debate in the province and the institutional relations within the system as whole and how a local sector could bring pressure to bear on certain bodies or situations and, finally, what role those institutions played in balancing different social and economic interests within the province.

3.2 - Rio de Janeiro provincial administration: the Executive.

The Rio de Janeiro provincial presidency was created by the 1834 Additional Act (3/10/1834). From the very
earliest times, the development of the fluminense provincial political and administrative system had been marked by a number of peculiarities in comparison with most of the other provinces in Brazil. From 1822 up to 1834, the administration of Rio de Janeiro province had been carried out by the Ministério do Império, the Ministry of Empire.26 One of the best examples to illustrate this peculiar relationship between the national and the fluminense provincial administrations is to be found in the way that provincial finances were administered in the first half of the last century. On November 4th, 1831, an imperial law created the Tesouraria da Provincia do Rio de Janeiro.27 This office was directly under the Tribunal do Tesouro Nacional, the National Treasury, and its main task was the administration, levying, distribution, accounting and fiscalization of all public provincial revenues. The work was divided into three sections: the Contadoria, Tesouraria, and Secretaria - all parts of the Provincial Treasury. This institution, however, was not abolished after the 1834 reforms. The Tesouraria da Provincia remained untouched

26 The Ministry of Empire in nineteenth century Brazil was equivalent to the present Ministry of the Interior, or the Secretary for Home Affairs in Great Britain. For further discussions of the characteristics observed in the Córte and Rio de Janeiro province since the colonial period, also see Chapter II.

27 From now onwards, a series of names of administrative offices will be here indicated in Portuguese, since it is almost impossible to translate these titles into any meaningful equivalent in English or to draw any sort of similarities with any other foreign administrative system. An indication will, however, be given of the different types of the powers and responsibilities that these offices had in the overall administrative organization in the province.
until 20 November 1850, when imperial law number 736, dissolved the office. It is not very clear how this administrative office was itself related to the province’s revenue collection office, created in 1842. The need for a tighter control over fluminense provincial finances - at both the national and the provincial levels initially - could probably tell more about the provincial administrative system than anyone could suppose. It was only when the province proved to have a well-organized administrative system, that the time seemed to have come for the national government to give up its role in the administration of fluminense provincial finances. It is also possible that the central administration felt itself stable enough to relax its ultimate control over fluminense provincial matters. This is a vital issue to be considered when discussing the organization of the administrative system in the province and its implications for its overall relationship with the central and municipal government. This is the only possible means by which someone could analyse the setting-up of the administrative framework, whilst attempting to illustrate Rio de Janeiro province’s singular status in the Brazilian Empire.

Other important issues affecting the way in which the fluminense provincial administration was set up have already been mentioned, such as the fact that a larger number of fluminense provincial politicians held the post of provincial president in their own province than was usual elsewhere in the country. This calls for particular
attention to the study of administrative offices that were closely related to the presidency, the presidential secretariat in particular. A further evaluation of the role played by this office will be made in later chapters, when it will be possible to consider a larger number of variables in conjunction, like which men held that office, for how long and the post powers and responsibilities. At this stage it is important to look more carefully at the role played by this office within the overall provincial administrative system.

Bearing all these factors in mind, this study will now turn to an analysis of the legislation defining the institutional organization of the offices which constituted the fluminense provincial executive. This will follow a chronological perspective rather than an institutional one, so that it is possible to see the process of alterations that took place over a period of time.28

3.2.1 – From 1835 to the 1850s.

Rio de Janeiro provincial administration only consisted of the provincial presidency and the Tesouraria da

28 In order to save an enormous number of reference footnotes, the legislation quoted in this section will not be given individual references, as they are extracted from the fluminense provincial collection of laws, in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. (Rio de Janeiro/Niterói, 1834-1889).
Provincia when the Secretaria da Presidência was created, by a provincial law on March 27th, 1835. Its brief was defined as 'to give general assistance to the President'. This was the beginning of a four year period, in which the basic provincial executive administrative offices were to be created. The next branches to be set up were the Guarda Policial da Provincia - the police force - (law n.5, 27/3/1835) and the Escola Normal (law n.10, 4/4/1835). In 1836 these were followed by: Registros and Coletorias - income revenue collection offices - (law n.33, May 6, and regulamento, ordinances, issued on May 26); Escola de Arquitetos Medidores - school of architecture - (law n.59, December 13), Diretoria de Obras Públicas - office of public works - (law n.64, December 19 and ordinances issued in the 20th May, 1837), Colégio de Artes Mecanicas para Orfãos - technical school for orphans - (law n.65, December 20). In 1837: the posts of Diretor de Instrução Primária and Inspetores Municipais de Instrução Primária - administration of public education - (law n.81, January 02) were established. On 7 March 1838, the Mesa Provincial was organized to centralize the administration of export income revenue collection. In order to provide a more vigilant and tighter administrative control the office was located near to Rio de Janeiro port, from where the major

29 The law also created a secretariat for the fluminense Provincial Assembly, article no. four.

30 It is worth remembering, once again, that this exactly coincided with the period during which Viscondes de Itaborai and Uruguai were in charge of the provincial presidency.
fluminense provincial products were exported. It received its first ordinances on 21 December of the same year. In 1839, another school was created, the Liceu Provincial de Jacupecanga. By 1840, the legislation being issued began to show a different perspective. More emphasis was put on a more accurate specification of the administrative offices' powers and responsibilities as well as those of their employees. 

Before going on, it is important to trace some of implications of this initial process. Firstly, all these offices - or administrative bodies - were directly subordinate to the provincial presidency, which was the centre of all communications and authorizations for any decisions within the provincial administration. Although it is already possible to discern the beginnings of an organizational division in the fluminense executive - with specific administrative offices for public education, public works and a sort of general secretary - the provincial presidency found itself caught in the middle of such centralized machinery. It is interesting to once again note the lack of provincial interest in organizing a provincial administrative office to directly control provincial public finances. Notwithstanding this, important bodies were set up which had some bearing on this issue, especially the Mesa Provincial, charge with managing the

31 Of all those referred to above, only the school inspectors were subject to someone other than the provincial president - the director of primary education. Also see FIGURE II - I.
provincial export revenues. Each of these offices, however, found themselves isolated under the presidential administration.

Secondly, whilst also taking the imperial central legislation into account, there were two key sectors within the entire provincial administrative system which were also subject to control from the central administrative level: the Tesouraria da Provincia and the police chiefs. The subordination of police chiefs to the central administration was certainly a nationwide phenomenon, but it is not yet known whether central governmental control of provincial treasuries was also a common feature in the country, or if it was a peculiar to the fluminense case.

Another important dimension of this early period was the enormous importance given to public education. As previously remarked, the province saw the organization of the first Escola Normal in the entire country. Equally important was the considerable number of technical schools which were also created in the period, together with a taxation system.

During the following period, concern was more frequently expressed on the rationalization of the provincial administration. In 21 June 1841, an ordinance — which was not a law issued by the Provincial Assembly, but rather a directive from the provincial presidency initiative — greatly changed the organization of the Secretaria da Provincia. It created two sections within the secretariat,
which were to take charge of different areas. The first was to control matters relating to: central government, the Provincial Assembly, public forces, the Camaras Municipais and the administration, the levying and fiscalization of provincial public revenues. However, the truth was that there was no clear evidence whether the financial fiscalization offices were placed under the Secretariat’s direct control. The second section created in the Secretariat became responsible for looking after the Diretoria de Obras Públicas and the Diretor de Instrução Primária. These offices were thus no longer directly subject to the provincial president but to the Secretaria da Presidência instead. This helped to ease the Provincial Presidency difficulty in dealing with all the matters which related to the province.

In the same year, the reform of the Code placed police chiefs, delegados and inspetores de quarteirão under a tighter and more efficient control by the central government. Despite this, they still remained under the dual control of the provincial presidency and the Ministry of Justice.32

1842 was mainly characterized by the provincial executive’s efforts to make the system of revenue levying in the province more efficient. First, provincial decree n.269, on 7th May, granted the provincial government the powers to improve the system, which came into effect with

32 Also see central legislation, ordinance issued in 31 January 1842.
the deliberação of 19th December. The main innovation was the creation of the Administração da Fazenda da Província do Rio de Janeiro, which became the first provincial body for managing the public financial administration. The Mesa Provincial, Coletorias and Registros became subordinate to this office. Despite the move, the Tesouraria da Província was once again left independent and directly linked to the central government whilst still being linked to the fluminense provincial administration. Another two deliberações were then issued regarding the management of provincial finances, on December 17 and 19. Both dealt with accountancy, exaction and book-keeping procedures in all these departments.

Yet, more relevant legislation was passed in 1844, when a number of deliberações were issued regarding organizational measures in the Secretaria da Presidência.33 One important deliberação created a special record book in the Secretariat, which listed all Treasury Ministry messages to the Tesouraria da Província. It was probably the case of the Secretariat playing the role of an interlocutor between the two offices, although there is no clear evidence that this was one of the Secretariat’s responsibilities.

Also important was the establishment of a more efficient and less expensive system of provincial public works management. Law n. 316, issued in 13 April 1844, replaced the Diretoria de Obras Públicas by the new Junta de

33 Interestingly enough, very little legislation was issued in 1843, in the aftermath of the 1842 Liberal revolt.
Direção e Inspeção das Obras Públicas, which took charge of the work. The new office remained under the Secretaria da Presidência's control. This piece of legislation also created the Distritos de Obras Públicas, local public works districts, each having a Chefe de Distrito, who was in turn subordinate to the Junta. Another two new offices which were also created in that year were the Comissão Central Diretora da Colonização, on June 20, and the Instituto Vacinico, on September 23. Both were directly subordinate to the provincial presidency. The first was set up to propose measures to encourage immigration to the province and to look after the colonies - both those which already existed and future ones - and their public properties, immigrant living conditions, and the public treasury's interests in the course of the development of these projects.

On 3 June 1846 the Administração da Fazenda da Provincia was replaced by the Tesouraria Provincial do Rio de Janeiro.34 This meant an important move towards a more strict fiscalization of the administrative finances. The new office was divided into four sections, each one having its duties prescribed in every detail. The sole responsibility of one of them, the Seção Especial, was to look after the pay roll of the province's civil servants.

In the years that followed, the system as a whole was left alone, and only a small number of deliberaçoes were

34 Not to be mistaken for the Tesouraria da Provincia do Rio de Janeiro, directly linked to the central government, as stated above. Also see FIGURE II - III.
issued as means of reaffirming the provincial executive’s strong stance on controlling revenue levies. The 4 December 1847 ordinance set up a prison in the provincial capital city, the Casa de Detenção de Niterói, which was under the joint control of the provincial presidency and the police chief. In 1849, alterations were brought into the area of educational administration, following an ordinance of 14th December. The post of Diretor de Instrução Pública was replaced by that of Inspetor Geral da Instrução, in an effort to obtain a more rigorous system for inspecting education in the province. This aim also led to the creation of the Conselhos Municipais and Inspetores Paroquiais, both concerned with the improvement and fiscalization of public schools at a local level. All together they formed a large hierarchy which covered most of the regions in the province. A statistical archive, the Arquivo Estatístico was created in 1850, under the Secretaria da Presidência.

In 17 September 1853, the Secretaria da Policia da Provincia do Rio de Janeiro was set up, with direct links to the provincial president as well as the police chief. Police matters and all issues to do with the forces administration were consistently subject to this double control, denoting the extent to which the police played a vital role in the administrative system as a whole.

It was only on 28 November 1855 that major new changes were made in the Secretaria da Presidência, when a new third section was organized. Its brief was to look
after public works administration and matters concerning agricultural and industrial development in the province. The Junta de Direção e Inspeção das Obras Públicas was transferred to its control. This, however, was modified by the 17 April 1856 deliberação, which altered the responsibilities of the various sections of the Secretariat. The third section became responsible for provincial statistics and archives, whilst section two again became responsible for the Junta de Direção e Inspeção das Obras Públicas as well as provincial public works in general. Another important change took place in 1858 when a move was made to increase the percentage profits given to those working in the provincial Coletorias and Registros. This was a clear incentive to improve the work related to revenue fiscalization.

However, it was only in 4 February 1859, that major administrative reforms were carried out in the provincial administrative system.35 Provincial law n. 1.127, most

35 This reform was the cause of immense disagreement between the provincial presidency and the fluminense Provincial Assembly, to the extent that the Assembly was postponed due to the conflict. According to Antonio Candido de Mello e Sousa, this reform was somehow a project which had been discussed at the highest levels of the national government, which had been playing for some time to implement some alterations in the way the public administration was organized at provincial level. The main idea was to transform the post of provincial president into the professional post of a provincial administrator, as indicated in the Ministry of Empire 1858 report. Dispute arose, however, due to the fact that the reform established that those working in the fluminense provincial administration had to reside in Niterói city, and so disadvantaged many people who lived in Rio de Janeiro city, but crossed the Guanabara bay everyday to work in the provincial administrative machinery. Things were soon returned to their original form. See Chapters V and VII,
commonly known as the 'Administrative Reform' bill, almost completely destroyed the Secretaria da Presidência power over the various administrative departments which had until then been subordinate to it. The law prescribed the abolition of the Secretariat’s sections and changed its responsibilities to simply that of looking after the provincial president’s mail and provincial statistics. Each of its previous sections became an independent branch, directly linked to the provincial presidency. In this way, the former Inspetor Geral da Instrução was transformed into the Diretoria da Instrução, having as auxiliary offices: Conselho de Instrução, Inspetores Gerais, and Inspetores Paroquiais. The former Inspetores Municipais de Instrução were abolished as was the Liceu Provincial. The other section, the Junta de Direção e Inspeção das Obras Públicas was transformed into the new Diretoria de Obras Públicas, also directly linked to the Provincial Presidency. It retained control over the local Distritos de Obras Públicas. The former Tesouraria Provincial was renamed the Diretoria de Fazenda, retaining its control over the Mesa Provincial, Registros and Coletoria. Another innovation in this office was the organization of a special section to deal with the realization of the provincial book-debt.

A further important reform was also carried out in that year concerning the Guarda Policial da Provincia. Probably in an attempt to rationalise police deployment in which consider this issue in greater detail. Also see: SOUSA, Antonio Candido de Mello. Op Cit. 1989. pp. 128-132.
the province, provincial law n. 1.142, provided for the
division of the police force into four provincial districts.
This division considered population distribution in the
different areas and the total amount of police manpower
available in the province. Districts were organized in the
following manner:

**District 1:** Niterói, Magé, Maricá, Itaborai, Santo Antonio
de Sá, N. Friburgo, Araruama, Rio Bonito, Estrela, Capivary.
Total of 140 officers.

**District 2:** Campos, São João da Barra, Cantagalo, São
Fidélis, Macaé, Barra de São João, Cabo Frio. Total of 70
officers.

**District 3:** Vassouras, Iguassu, Valença, Petrópolis,
Paraíba do Sul, Pirai, Itaguai. Total of 70 officers.

**District 4:** Angra dos Reis, Paraty, Mangaratiba, São João
do Príncipe, Rio Claro, Resende, Barra Mansa. Total of 70
officers.

By the end of the 1850s, a rational and well-
established administrative system was in place in the
province. After the initial instability and difficulties,
the system appears to present the image of a whole. In the
following period, only one major administrative reform was
to be carried out, although it did not cause great
repercussions.
3.2.2 - From 1860 to the 1880s.

In contrast to the previous period, this one appeared to be more stable, despite a few problems that seemed to affect the overall provincial administrative system. They were due in many respects to the way in which the system worked and the role that it played in fluminense society. For instance, the fact that the system of patronage led to a great enlargement of the bureaucracy working in the provincial executive, jeopardising its efficiency in many ways. Any action required a slow and lengthy passage through the various administrative offices. Too many civil servants in the provincial administrative machinery led the system to lose its previous positive dynamic aspects. The economic crisis affecting fluminense export agriculture also raised a number of serious questions over the way the provincial administration was being handled. This was commonly demonstrated in the Provincial Assembly, where many deputados provinciais speaking on behalf of proposals favourable to one or another economic sector, complained of the cost to the province of the civil service pay-roll. Yet there is every reason to believe that the most important features which led to the stagnation of the provincial administrative system came from within its own internal organization.

In the long run, the provincial executive had a set of concerns which appear to have guided the handling of the administrative organization in the province in the
period. Firstly, to put pressure on the office of public works, so that projects under construction could be successfully completed, as most of them were abandoned half way through. Whilst insufficient funds were allocated, a network of corruption systematically drained most of what money was made available for public works. Deliberações issued on 26 April 1861, 26 June 1866 and 7 October 1868, set up new rules to tighten control over public works engineers, at the same time as an inspection system was set up. Provincial decree n. 1.232, issued in 28 November 1861, established that no extra credits should be opened for any public work project whatsoever. The 6 May 1882 deliberação determined that the public works budgets should not be exceeded under any circumstances.

Secondly, there was a strong concern to speed up administrative working procedures within the provincial executive. The enormous growth of the administrative system that took place in the 1850s, had led to a slowing down of communication and efficiency in the various administrative offices. This led to a backlog in which many projects were postponed due to the lack of information necessary to their implementation. Deliberações issued in 1868 and 1882 determined the period of time each provincial administrative office should take to reply any request for information requested by other administrative offices. At the same time, other measures were also brought in with regard to the improvement of the administration’s organization that sought a tighter control on the number of personnel working in the
administration. The drive to reduce staff costs and to provide strict rules, so that people could not retire without proper reasons and so accumulate various public posts at a time, led the provincial executive to take firm action against its own administrative staff. These were said to be the reasons behind the decision to carry out a major administrative reform in the provincial administration in 1 August 1876, as previously mentioned. The result was the establishment of a more clearly-defined hierarchical system, in which the provincial president was once again at the very top, with the four main administrative branches under him: Diretoria de Obras Públicas, Diretoria de Instrução, Secretaria da Presidência and Diretoria de Fazenda. The main innovation, however, was the fact that the Secretaria da Presidência had its competency enlarged, gaining power over various lower administrative offices, such as the Arquivo Estatístico, Instituto Vacinico, Comissão Central Diretora da Colonização, and most important of all, the police chiefs, their subordinates, and the Guarda Policial, which was re-named the Força Pública Provincial. These last were thus finally liberated from the authority of the Minister of Justice, becoming only answerable to the provincial president via the Secretaria da Presidência.

A third major consideration in the administrative organization was tighter control of the various

36 Deliberações issued on 11 January and 11 April 1862, also provincial decree n. 2.521, issued on 7 December 1880.
administrative offices in charge of raising provincial income. Two new ordinances were issued for the Mesa Provincial in 1860 and 1885. Then a special committee was set up in 1887 to investigate the Mesa’s financial activities, after allegations of staff misleading the provincial public treasury.

Apart from this, a study of fluminense provincial legislation also reveals concern with the issue of labour transition that was facing the province. An ordinance issued on 3 March 1888, provided for the organization of the Inspetoria Provincial de Imigração to deal with this issue. Later, however, the deliberação issued on 30 September 1889, abolished the Inspetoria, arguing that the poor state of the provincial finances precluded paying for the cost of maintaining the Inspetoria. Another reason given was the fact that the central government was already taking the necessary measures to ensure the introduction of immigrants into Rio de Janeiro province. More importantly, however, it was indicated in the argument that the situation in the province was so complex regarding to the immigration issue, that any attempt to support the organization of immigration centres could only happen if the situation was to change, so that the immigrants themselves could also improve their living conditions.

It seems possible to argue that the provincial administrative system was an important aspect of the integration process that took place among most of the fluminense dominant groups. It provided the vital space for
the setting up of a provincial administrative bureaucracy which was common to all of them. As Part II and III will later indicate, most provincial politicians attending the fluminense Provincial Assembly also held other posts in the administrative system. Provincial politics and public administration were deeply inter-related throughout the entire period.
The Amienres Executive - IV
1859 - 1875

Figure III - IV

EMPEROR

PROVINCIAL PRESIDENCY

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

INSTITUTO VASCINHO
DIRETORIA DE INSTRUÇÕES
CONSELHO DE INSTRUÇÕES
1859
SECRETARIA DE PRESENCIA
DIRETORIA DE OBRAS PÚBLICAS
1859
ARQUIVO ESTATÍSTICO
1858
DIRETORIA DE FAZENDA
1859
SECRETARIA DE POLÍCIA
SECRETARIA DE FAZENDA
CASAS DE SEÇÃO
CHEFES DE POLÍCIA
DELEGADO
SUBDELEGADO
INSPECTORES DE QUINTAIS

ESCOLA NORMAL
INSPECTOR GERAL
INSPECTOR PARÓQUIAL
ESCOLAS PRIMÁRIAS
FÓRÇA POLICIAL
GUARDA MUNICIPAL
DELEGADO
SUBDELEGADO
INSPECTORES DE QUINTAIS

EXTRACTED FROM: GONÇALVES, HERCÍLIO DE A. Op Cit.
FIGURE III - V

PROVINCIAL RESIDENCY

EMPEROR

SECRETARIA DE PRESENCIA

BIRETORIA DE FAZENDA

SÉC AO CENTRAL - 1876

DIRETORIA DE OBRAS PÚBLICAS

DIRETORIA DE INSTRUÇÃO

SEGUINTE DE INSTRUÇÃO

INSPECTORES GERAIS

INSPECTORES PROVINCIAIS

1ª SEÇÃO

SUPERINTENDÊNCIA DE ENDEUD.

2ª SEÇÃO - 1876

3ª SEÇÃO - 1876

4ª SEÇÃO - 1876

REPUBLICA

REGIÕES

REGISTROS

REPUBLICA

1ª SEÇÃO

2ª SEÇÃO

3ª SEÇÃO

4ª SEÇÃO

JUNINUS

GÊNEROS

DELEGADOS

ABRIGO AFILANDER

INSTITUTO LUCÍDICO

CASA DE LEITORES

ARCHIVO ESTATISTICO

INSPECTORES DE INSTRUÇÃO

INSPECTORES DE PROVINCIA

3.3 - The Legislature.

The way in which the imperial political system was organized in Brazil necessarily implied a weak legislature. This was particularly so given the fact that the executive was very strong, being made up of the moderating power (the Emperor) and powerful central public administrative agencies. In contrast, however, the legislature played an important role in the process of building up a political system in Brazil. It provided the space - and activities - to gather together various politicians within the different legislative assemblies at national, provincial and municipal levels. By granting political power as well as status to people coming from different areas, the legislature played a key role in supporting and helping to consolidate the new political system in the country.37 A number of authors have already described how politicians would seek local and regional support in order to secure political advancement granting nominations and favours to their regional counterparts in return.38

This situation led to the legislature playing two vital roles in legitimizing the political system as a whole.

37 Within the same perspective although under different circumstances, it played a similar role to that played by the public administration. The concept of the emprego disfarçado developed by Alberto G. de Ramos and discussed earlier in this Chapter, provides an extremely interesting concept to be used once again here.

Firstly, its ability to 'dress-up' the system with a modern face whilst providing the necessary space for the development of the most recent political ideas so in vogue in European countries - in particular those being implemented in the British political system. By adopting some complex notions of civil rights leading politicians could advocate the unification of the various sectors in the country based upon the notion of a modern nation with the figure of a Brazilian Emperor placed at its core. The Crown, as earlier discussed, was a key feature that gave meaning to this vision. Its adherents could thus generate a solid and dynamic basis for political unity among the various regional groups, which already shared major economic interests. Despite their strongly paternalistic and idiosyncratic positions - which on occasion could lead to division and disaffection - elected politicians were able to sit together and support a single political and economic policy for the country as a whole, generating a vital environment for the consolidation of the various sectors constituting the dominant sector in the Brazilian Empire.

It is in this last aspect that the legislature's second key role lies: in its ability to generate a political homogeneity among so disparate and isolated groups in Brazilian society. As just argued, this was one of the most important aspects in explaining the fluminense case, in which the coffee sector was able to combine so easily with its northern counterpart, the Campos sugar sector to protect mutual interests. This is one of the most crucial aims of
this present research: to highlight this relationship and to outline the overall pattern that characterized relations among other local groups in the province. Political unity was a fundamental element in generating a sense of equality and true homogeneity among various sectors of fluminense society. Although their interests were based on similar economic activities, their operations were directed towards supplying two different markets, giving rise to some differences and conflicts between themselves. These could only be overcome by that sense of homogeneity refined by — and experienced within — the political system.

Bearing all these direct aspects in mind, one can understand how it was that the legislature played such an important role, as that described above, whilst at the same time being seen as weak from a legislative point of view. In other words, the political debate and legislation generated within it proved to be conclusive and lacking any concern with its own implementation or the reality prevailing in the country at the time. The fact that most people tended to be repeatedly re-elected and the type of legislation issued both illustrate the point that the legislature’s main role was the perpetuation and consolidation of the political relationships prevailing in the country.

Another important feature was the development of hierarchical structures, as already described, within the political system. At the same time as all politicians were paying lip-service to a concept of equality, so generating a
sort of political homogeneity at all levels, a very special hierarchical structure was developing among themselves. This was an important means of implementing a reconstruction of the former power structure, in which geographical and economic differentiations faded in face of new stratifications, based upon political status versus economic power.

3.3.1 - The electoral system.

Before going into any study of the fluminense Provincial Assembly and Camaras Municipais, it is necessary to examine the way in which the imperial electoral system worked in Brazil. It is also important to consider the role it played in the overall organization of the fluminense legislature.

Firstly, it is necessary to examine the central legislation which affected elections. These laws were the backbone of the country’s entire electoral system. The first piece of legislation passed on the subject was the instrução of 26 March 1824, later followed by another issued

39 The best account of electoral procedures in nineteenth century Brazil is to be found in: SOUSA, Francisco Belisário Soares de. O sistema eleitoral no império. 2nd. ed. (Brasilia, 1979). Also very interesting is the article by Richard Graham (1985), quoted earlier. However, there are still a number of features that have not yet been tackled by the current literature on the subject. Richard Graham has just completed a major piece of research on the topic which will probably cover many of these issues.
in 4 May 1842. Electoral procedures were again altered in 1846, 1855, 1860, 1875 and in 1881. These laws provided the system with practical details, such as defining the number of electors each paróquia (parish) should have, how the lists of voters should be organized and the way in which power should be granted to regional and local authorities to control electoral procedures. It was only after 1875, that more important modifications were carried out to the system as a whole. In that year, the central government called upon provincial presidents to take a stronger role in the process of registering voters and the organization of colégios eleitorais, the electoral districts. In the fluminense case, the modification led to the passing of a large number of provincial laws dealing with the organization of provincial elections. These laws dealt in particular with the way in which the 1875 central

40 See law n.387 (19/8/1846); decree n.842 (19/9/1855); decree n.1082 (18/8/1860); law n.2675 (20/10/1875); and law n.3029 (09/1/1881). In: SOUSA, Francisco Belisário Soares de. Op Cit. 1979.

41 It is important to point out, however, that provincial legislation collection was full of less relevant pieces of legislation, such as portarias and deliberações, relating to the ruling of elections throughout the period here under consideration. They were being constantly issued due to provincial president’s duty to confirm municipal elections as well as the organization of new electoral districts in the province. The year of 1844 was particularly full of legislation regarding the first requirement and the suspension of justices of the peace due to misconduct in the running of electoral procedures. In 1881, a large number of portarias were issued by the fluminense provincial president clarifying many local queries regarding the electoral reform defined by the central government.
legislation in the province was to be applied. It is important to point out, however, that this increase in the control of the provincial president over the organization of new electoral districts must be considered within certain limits. The official legal right to become an electoral district was bound to be granted as soon as a particular settlement entered up the judicial, administrative, and ecclesiastic hierarchy. Nonetheless, the legislation produced more room for the provincial government to act in the organization of new electoral districts by easing bureaucratic procedures that had been followed until then. In this move provincial magistrates, the juizes de direito, and the Provincial Presidency further reinforced their position to enable them to continue to exert pressure on the electoral system, whenever it was convenient for them to do so. So, it was not only the fact that the Presidency could establish how many voters a freguezia should have, or how fast it was to grant the necessary legal recognition to a new electoral district, but rather the fact that it had the power — acting in concert with the juizes de direito and

42 Decrees n.6071 (12/1/1876), n.6241 (5/7/1876), n.7981 (29/1/1881) and n.8112 (21/5/1881).

43 See PINTO, Caetano J. de A. Classificação das leis, decretos, regulamentos e deliberações da província do Rio de Janeiro, desde o ano de 1835 até o de 1859 inclusive. (Rio de Janeiro, 1860). According to this source the concession of the vila title to any particular town would inevitably modify the entire judicial and electoral organization of a particular region. The same happened when any freguezia or capela de curato was created. A município was politically divided into freguezias, and these were divided into capelas the curatos. Vilas were smaller and cities, although much bigger than the capelas the curato.
central government - to legitimize elections in the way it wished. Once again, the provincial presidency saw its position reinforced as the main intermediary between the national and local levels of the electoral system.

In this way, the formation of fluminense electoral districts, shown in FIGURE III - VI, followed a very similar pattern to that of the organization of municipios in the province, seen in FIGURE II - I. When comparing the two Figures, it seems clear that the organization of new municipios was closely followed by the setting up of new electoral districts in the same region, denoting the close relationship between political-administrative organization and provincial economic growth. By the 1860s, most fluminense areas had already been incorporated in the electoral system.

Another important element in this process was the fact that fluminense farmers were eager to help promote the administrative organization of new settlements close to their estates. The sooner they were made paróquias, fregueizias, and electoral districts the better. The landowners were even prepared to donate pieces of land as well as money, to hasten bureaucratic procedures leading to the formal administrative organization of a particular settlement.44 Despite the fact that farmers greatly benefited deal from the formalization of administrative structures in their areas of influence, there seems to be

44 In almost every fluminense municipio considered in the Enciclopédia dos Municipios, there was someone who acted in this way. See: BRASIL. IBGE. Op Cit. 1959. Volume 23.
**FIGURE III - VI. (*)**

**ELECTORAL DISTRICTS IN RIO DE JANEIRO PROVINCE (1824 - 1889).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Corta</th>
<th>District 1</th>
<th>District 2</th>
<th>District 3</th>
<th>District 4</th>
<th>District 5</th>
<th>District 6</th>
<th>District 7</th>
<th>District 8</th>
<th>District 9</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Campos</td>
<td>S.J. Barra</td>
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<td>1826</td>
<td>Macaé</td>
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<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Cabo Frio</td>
<td>S.J. Barra</td>
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<td>1836</td>
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<td>1842</td>
<td>N.Friburgo</td>
<td>S.J. Barra</td>
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<td>Sta. Maria Madalena</td>
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<td>1881</td>
<td>S.M. Madalena</td>
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(*) Figure shows years in which either elections were held or the electoral legislation was modified.
little doubt that they were eager to take a more active role in the political system by participation in the electoral system. If it was convenient to be a vereador or a delegado, it was even more satisfaction to exercise direct influence over an entire electoral district. They knew the returns could be much rewarding. In 1885, João Batista Cortines Laxe wrote that political parties did not fight elections on the grounds of improving the living conditions of their supporters.45 They knew victory in the elections was the key element in their gaining sway over all major local administrative posts, such as the Guarda Nacional, the committees responsible for electoral registration and monitoring complaints of vote-rigging and other procedural irregularities. Once elected, local politicians had no scruples about leaving their seats in the hands of their suplentes (deputies), most of whom had been elected on a very low vote.

Central electoral legislation prescribed the criteria for defining a voter. First, basic requirements had to be met before someone could qualify a voter, such as proving that they were in receipt of a minimum required income. After that, his name then had to be entered on a roll of voters organized by the district electoral board, as mentioned above. After 1846, the main task of the justices of the peace became the organization of such boards, from

45 LAXE, João Batista Cortines. Op Cit. 1885. pp. XXIX-XXX.
the electors in the previous election. Although not a vital stage in the political system, these boards became the focus to exclude - or include - qualified voters from elections. This invested these boards with great importance during election time. Until 1881, vereadores were the only group of politicians to be directly elected. All other elections were held in two stages. Voters chose electors, who in turn elected provincial representatives to the national and provincial legislatures, as well as nominating lists of senators when necessary.46 Voters and electors exercised their voting rights according to their residence and related electoral district, so that electoral districts remained constant for all elections. However, elections were not always held at all levels at the same time, nor were all legislative posts elected at the same time, since the national, provincial and municipal legislature sat for

46 GRAHAM, Richard. Op Cit. 1985. p. 777. Also see central legislation referred to above. The number of voters was determined by the number of 'qualified' citizens available in each area. They would elect vereadores, justices of the peace and electors. The number of electors each paróquia had was defined by the number of dwellings it had, in a ration of one elector to hundred dwellings. Primary elections were held at the paróquia polls, whereas electors voted in the nearest cabeça de distrito, or electoral district centre.

According to Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa, in the year of 1870 Brazil was divided into forty-six electoral districts, 408 colégios eleitorais (groups of paróquias under a electoral district), and 1333 paróquias. It also had one senator per 344 electors; one deputado geral per 163 electors, one deputado provincial per thirty-three electors, and one elector per fifty-one voters. Total number were: 1.039.659 voters; 20.006 electors; 578 deputados provinciais, 122 deputados gerais; and fifty-eight senators. SOUSA, Francisco Belisário Soares de. Op Cit. 1979. p. 133.

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different periods of time.47

In 1855 modifications were introduced to protect minority representation. They did not last long. Later on, demands for electoral reform increased, culminating in the passing of the Saraiva Law in 1881.48 This established direct elections to all levels of the legislature. The main reasoning behind this decision was the belief that direct elections were the only possible method of curbing irregularities in the system. It is easy to guess that the solution could not be as simple as that. Throughout the entire imperial period election results were determined by the wishes of the chief cabinet minister in office at the time. As one historian has indicated, Brazilian politicians at that time knew that the establishment of genuine

47 Vereadores were elected every four years, on a number of nine of them per Camaras municipais in the cities and seven in the vilas. Deputados provinciais sat in a two year legislature. In Rio de Janeiro province, at first their elected in a number of thirty-six members. Later in 1855 the number of deputados was increased to forty-five, becoming the largest provincial legislature in the country, according to Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa. The National Assembly had theoretically a four year legislature period. Nonetheless, the pattern varied according to political changes in the national government. See: MACHADO, Joaquim de O. Manual dos vereadores. (Rio de Janeiro, 1868) pp. 15-29; LAXE, João Batista Cortines. Op Cit. 1885. pp. 02-69; JAVARI, Barão de. Op Cit. 1979. pp. 279-395; RIO DE JANEIRO (State). Assembléia Legislativa do... Relação dos deputados & Assembléia Legislativa do estado do Rio de Janeiro nas legislaturas de 1836 a 1917. (Rio de Janeiro, 1917); and SOUSA, Francisco Belisário Soares de. Op Cit. 1979. pp. 236-237.

48 Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa’s detailed accounted of electoral procedures aimed to publicize the need for electoral reform during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Also see Chapters VI and VII, which consider a number of issues involved in the campaign for direct elections that took place in the country at that time.
elections in the country would necessarily bring about the end of the monarchical political system. 49

The electoral process was one of the most important tools in manipulating the Brazilian imperial political system. It worked as a watershed between local and central politics, at the very same time as it represented the unification between the two. If on the one hand elections marked the pattern of alliances between both sectors, on the other, it also defined the areas in which each one could arbitrate and operate, clearly distinguishing one from the other. In other words, it marked the pace of political life at both levels. As Richard Graham has argued: 'it reinforced the hegemony of the propertied by reproducing within the paternalistic order of deference on the one hand and favours on the other'. 50 Most important of all, however, was the ability elections had to mask a slavocratic and paternalistic society with a 'modern' face, providing the space for the exercise of notions of citizenship and justice.

Before continuing, a last comment should be made with regard to the electoral system and the special relationship Rio de Janeiro province had with the neighbouring national capital city. The Côrte had, for most of the period here considered, three electoral districts which were treated as


part of the electoral system in Rio de Janeiro province. Residents at the Côrte did not vote for deputados provinciais attending the fluminense Provincial Assembly, but if qualified, they were entitled to be elected as fluminense deputados provinciais. The province and Côrte combined to form a single unit to elect representatives for the national legislature. These definitions established a very particular relationship between the two areas. The Côrte remained in a favourable position to interfere in the management of fluminense provincial affairs, whilst at the same time, provincial politicians had to compete much harder with those coming from the Côrte in order to win elections for the national legislature.

3.3.2 - Fluminense Provincial Assembly.

As previously noted, Rio de Janeiro province was directly controlled by the central government until 1834. On 12 August of that year, the Additional Act was passed, establishing that the Conselhos Provinciais were to be

51 This was the general practice throughout the entire period, only formalized in 1887, by decree n. 9.790 (17/10/1887). In: SOUSA, Francisco Belisário Soares de. Op Cit. 1979. p. 496.

replaced by provincial assemblies, then created. The act also provided for the fluminense province to have its own assembly set up. It is interesting to note that article one stated that although the province included the geographical area of the Corte, the imperial site, its provincial assembly would not have any authority over the administration of that particular area. In this way, Rio de Janeiro city kept its Camara Municipal and still remained under the administration of the Minister of Empire.

Under the 1834 act, the fluminense Provincial Assembly had thirty-six members. Article four established that the provincial legislature would last two years, the first one starting in 1836. The first meeting was to be held somewhere in the provincial capital city. Article six determined that the fluminense provincial government should provide the Assembly with an regimento interno, internal code of statutes, to govern the opening of the first debates. After that, the organization of internal statutes would become one of the Provincial Assembly’s responsibilities. The act also established that there should be an Assembly session every year, which should last at least two months. Provision was made for extending these annual-sittings, if necessary. The jurisdiction of Provincial Assemblies was defined in articles ten and eleven. A few outstanding matters were left within the

Assembly's competence, which should be mentioned here: civil, judiciary and ecclesiastic divisions; public education; municipal as well as provincial budgets and expenditure planning; municipal and provincial employees; public works; the organization of provincial statistics; rulings on complaints of magisterial misconduct, even including the power to dismiss someone if the case was proved; and to rule on proceedings against the provincial president. It is important to point out that the Assembly had full power over municipal finances and general affairs, whilst in provincial financial matters it had to obtain the provincial president's sanction.

Another point made by the Additional Act was the fact that Provincial Assemblies did not control import taxes (art. twelve). However, paragraph five of article ten empowered the Assemblies to impose other taxes as long as this did not affect those due to the central government. This left room for some sort of confrontation among the various provincial economic sectors.

The act also indicated how provincial presidents should grant - or refuse - sanction to any legislation that the Provincial Assemblies put forward to them.54 In some few cases, Assemblies could appeal to the National Assembly to have the legislation reexamined if the provincial president refused to endorse it. In order to do so, two thirds of the Assembly members would have had to vote in favour of the appeal, following the provincial

54 See articles fourteen, fifteen and sixteen.
president's rejection. The act also established that each deputado provincial should receive a daily stipend while attending the Assembly session meetings. Those who lived outside the provincial capital were also granted an extra allowance for travelling expenses. The Additional Act also charged that the provincial president with calling the Assembly session every year. In doing so, he was also responsible for setting up the dates for elections to the provincial legislature.

In 1855, the electoral reform law introduced alterations in the general organization of Provincial Assemblies around the country. Each province was to have a new number of deputados provinciais, based on the number of deputados representing each electoral district in the province. Rio de Janeiro province was to have forty-five deputados provinciais, five to represent each electoral district. Bahia would have forty-two, three deputados per district; and Minas Gerais forty, two per district. Other

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55 See article 22. According to provincial legislation, at first fluminense deputados provinciais received 6$400 per day in allowances. Between 1848 and 1873, the sum was increased to 10$000 réis, after 1874 to 25$000. At first, travel expenses were provided as refunds towards the amount claimed to have been spent on travelling to Niterói. In 1860, a fixed amount was set up towards the concession of the benefit: 3$000 per league travelled. Changes in 1884 established a new rate of 500 réis per kilometre.

56 According to article twenty-four, paragraph one, of the Additional Act, should the provincial president fail to do so, it was the provincial capital city's Camara Municipal's duty to perform the duty of calling for the beginning of a new Provincial Assembly session.

provinces were to have between thirty-nine to twenty deputados, with a great deal of variation in the number of deputados representing each electoral district.58

In reality, a much larger number of people sat at the fluminense Provincial Assembly then the figure above indicates. This was due to the fact that many deputados were unable to take up their seats at the Assembly for the entire period in which the Assembly met. In this case, suplentes, substitutes, would be called in. At times a total number of more than seventy different people attended the fluminense Provincial Assembly in the course of a particular legislature. Part III examines this issue in some more detail.

Provincial legislation was also produced throughout the period, defining the fluminense Assembly's own regional features. New internal statutes as well as modifications to existing ones were passed throughout the period.59 In 1848 a more detailed code of internal procedures was passed. Great emphasis was given to communication procedures between the fluminense Provincial Assembly and central and provincial governments. The Additional Act was constantly quoted to provide support for the organization of the fluminense Assembly. The statutes also defined the way

59 See the following provincial legislation: law n.7 (30/3/1835); law n.443 (26/7/1848); law n. 1.062 (6/11/1863); law n. 1.997 (17/4/1874); law n. 2.309 (12/1/1878); law n. 2.542 (16/9/1881); and law n. 2.670 (5/10/1883). In: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. Selected years.
Preparatory sessions should take place, as well as the opening one. The Mesa, the board, was to consist of the president and two secretaries, who were to be elected from among members of the Assembly, together with a vice-president. During the course of the session, the vice-president would be responsible for provisionally replacing the Assembly’s president should the necessity arise.

The Provincial Assembly president represented the highest authority in the legislature, being responsible for keeping law and order inside the Assembly. He also represented the legislature when speaking collectively. In this way, the president was expected to play a neutral role in the Assembly, not being allowed to identify himself with any of the sides in the debates. He could not take part in any of the Assembly committees, except for the one in charged with maintaining order in every respect inside the Assembly. Should he wish to speak for himself, the deputy chosen as president had to step down from his post whilst doing so, his place being temporarily occupied by the vice-president. This provided an important space for conflicts inside the Assembly, demonstrating how important these procedures and the member elected as president were. This was particularly so, given that various interpretations could be given to the legislation governing the debates in the Assembly. Often, changes in the Assembly presidency could alter the entire voting balance regarding a particular bill within a few minutes.
The 1848 Assembly statutes also established fifteen permanent commissions to work inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly. Deputados were elected at the beginning of a term, three of them for each committee. A special committee required the election of five deputados. These committees were responsible for the organization and presentation of most provincial bills in the Assembly. The two most important ones were those in charge of provincial and municipal finances. They were also responsible for organizing budget bills for both administrative levels. Only leading deputados would be elected to these committees, and in general they tended to be reelected as long as they remained part of the Assembly. Another important committee was the one in charge of drafting bills once they had been approved by the Assembly. It was supposed to rewrite the bill according to pre-defined legislative frameworks. There were often accusations of long delays in editing some of the projects, giving space for speculations on the type of selection criteria applied to projects that should move more quickly - or more slowly. .................................................................

The order of the day, or the agenda, was another

60 According to article 29, the following committees were set up: 1) Poderes (powers); 2) Leis regulamentares (legislation), abolished in 1874; 3) Provincial finances; 4) Municipal finances; 5) Police force; 6) Trade, agriculture, industry and colonization; 7) Public works; 8) Criminal and civil justice; 9) Public education; 10) Camaras Municipais; 11) Ecclesiastical affairs, abolished in 1874; 12) Statistics and civil judiciary divisions; 13) Public health and indian affairs, merged with committee number 10 in 1874; 14) Law drafting; and, 15) Policia da Casa (Assembly security). See: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1848. p. 67.
important feature established by the statutes. This provided deputados provinciais with an advance day by day list of subjects for discussion, so that they could prepare themselves in anticipation of forthcoming debates. The order of the day could only be interrupted by matters of emergency. Again, this feature was to enhance the Assembly president's impartiality. To able to slow down, or speed up, a particular bill debate was a serious matter inside the Assembly, and one must pay attention to the various mechanisms that could interfere in this process. Another important element encouraging impartiality was the fact that almost every proposed bill under discussion had - at one stage or another - to be sent to the committee in charge of that particular subject. Committees would then comment on the bill, before referring (it or not) to the Assembly's consideration. In some cases the project also had to be sent to the provincial administrative office dealing with its subject. This office would then analyse and verify the bill's relevance. There were also cases in which the office would only have to provide information on the subject of the bill to members. After all these comings and goings, the project - together with the committee point of view and the necessary information on it - had to be sent back to the Assembly, where it would be eventually included on the Order of the Day. Projects would be valid for a four year period of time.61 This illustrates how long a bill was

61 In 1874 this period was extended to six years. This went back to a four year period in 1878.

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expected to take inside the bureaucratic machinery before a final decision was taken on it. There were often complaints that far too many bills were being proposed to the Assembly, which was unable to consider even a fraction of them. Most bills presented seem to have faced a tortuous and dark path within the provincial administrative and political machine. The loss of the entire documentation regarding a particular bill was commonplace. Even worse were indications of bills being lost in the course of the many trips they had to make between the various buildings in which they were being considered.

Apart from that, the 1848 regiment also defined procedures to be followed during a bill debate. There were to be three complete debates before the bill's final approval by the Provincial Assembly. In the first, the bill's general validity would be considered. No amendments were allowed at this stage. During the second debate, each article was to be considered on its own merits, and amendment proposals were allowed. The final debate considered the project as a whole, in its various dimensions, once again and amendments were not allowed. Suppressive amendments were considered to have priority over the additional ones. Should a bill receive final approval, it had then to be sent to the drafting committee which provided the legal form of a law or a decree. The bill would return once again to the Assembly for its final assent.

Another important provision of the statutes dealt
with absent deputados provinciais. Deputados were required to give notice if they were unable to attend an Assembly daily session, for a total of up to fifteen absences. If absent for longer than that, the statute required that the deputado should be replaced by his elected substitute. Nevertheless, this provision foes not appear to have equally applied to all absent members. It seems to be the case that the effectiveness of this provision was related to an interest – individual or common – to exclude a particular absent deputado. Otherwise, no one would even mention the continuous absence of a partisan member, as happened on many occasions.

The internal statute was later modified, in 1857 and again in 1863. Nonetheless, no major changes were introduced against the framework set up in 1848. It was only in 1874 that more significant alterations were brought in. The major change was in regard to the way bills were being debated inside the Assembly. From this date on, every proposal was obliged to first go before the Assembly committee charged with related subjects, so that a comment on the proposal would be submitted together with the bill. Provision was also made to give priority to the so called ‘annual bills’ debates. These were ones that the Assembly had to pass every year, such as the provincial police force contingent, municipal and provincial budgets.62

An interesting indication of the high proportion of

62 These were essentially measures to curb public spending in the province. Also see above the aims behind the 1876 administrative reform carried out in the province.
deputados provinciais being replaced by their substitutes may be found in another provision of the 1874 changes. It established that a total of four secretary substitutes should be elected instead of two. Thus, during a two year term a single secretarial post could be occupied by six different people.

Later in 1878, a totally new internal code of statutes was issued. The Assembly was to elect two vice-presidents instead of one. It was also established that the Assembly should always consult the Camaras Municipais on matters concerning changes in their administrative tasks and personnel. It also gave the Assembly statistics committee a stronger say on bills proposing the organization of new freguezias, vilas or cities. No changes could be made to the province's judicial division, without prior consultation with the relevant provincial public authorities. However, should these authorities fail to provide the required information within a period of nine months, the Assembly could go ahead and decide the matter by itself. Another interesting point established by the new statute was the

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63 According to article eighty-three, paragraph two, a settlement was supposed to have a minimum population of 6,000 to become a vila, and 10,000 people to become a city.

64 This appears to indicate a strategy to stop many proposals from attempting to alter the then current judicial and civil framework in the province. By the end of the 1870s, most areas of the fluminense territory were already occupied, leaving no room for changes in the division system. Nonetheless, local interests would inevitably change, and frequently it would be more to someone's interests to have his farm under one particular jurisdiction rather than another. Constant petitions were sent to the Provincial Assembly, calling for the introduction of modifications in the current framework.
fact that the Provincial Assembly alone was responsible for introducing modifications into its internal statute. This only took place in 1881 and 1883, when minor modifications were introduced into the 1878 code of statutes.

The fluminense Provincial Assembly also had an administrative office attached to it. None of the Assembly internal code of statutes mention it. A secretariat was created by the n. 48 (6/12/1836). It had a small personnel - around eight people - who were to provide the Assembly with general services needed for the Assembly’s administration, such as correspondence and document archives.65

It is interesting to note that there are few indications whether a proper building to house the fluminense Provincial Assembly did in fact exist. At one stage, the Assembly was located in part of the building housing Niterói Camara Municipal. There were also indications that different private houses were rented to house the Assembly for most of the period, despite deputados provinciais constant demands to acquire a suitable permanent meeting place.

Another issue facing the fluminense Provincial Assembly was the initial difficulty in finding a publisher who would regularly publish the records of its debates. Up

65 Further legislation was passed in regard the secretariat’s personnel: decree n. 861 (30/8/1856); decree n. 905 (25/10/1856); decree n. 1.000 (20/10/1857); decree n. 1.146 (23/9/1859); decree n. 1.257 (6/11/1862); decree n. 1.381 (7/11/1868); decree n. 1.453 (11/11/1869); decree n. 1.618 (25/11/1871); decree n. 1.732 (22/11/1872); and decree n. 2.225 (1/2/1877).
until 1861, only extracts from debate were being published daily in the Diário do Rio de Janeiro newspaper. It was only from that year that a proper organized collection of the Assembly's debates was set up.

A last point to be raised in this section relates to the variation in the seasons of the year during which the fluminense Provincial Assembly annual session were held.66 It is also intriguing that almost every year an extension was necessary for the Assembly to conclude its debates on annual bills.67 Political conflicts were often the reason behind the provincial president's decision to postpone - or to anticipate - the opening of the annual Assembly session. This is evident, given the legislative contents which so clearly established the schedule for calling the beginning of the sessions. The constant extensions illustrate the fact that a two month session was not long enough to discuss all the necessary matters. Parts II and III discuss the reasons for such a phenomenon in more detail.

66 The Provincial Assembly met at different times of the year during the period here analyzed:
1) 1836-1837: 1 October; 4) 1861-1880: 8 September;
2) 1838-1850: 1 March; 5) 1881-1889: 8 August.
3) 1859-1860: 1 June;
See provincial legislation law n.2 (1836); law n.90 (1837); law n.514 (1850); decree n. 1.141 (1859); decree n. 1.189 (1860); and decree n. 2.537 (1880).

67 Of a total of fifty-three annual sessions held by the fluminense Provincial Assembly, thirty-four sessions had an extension granted; in contrast, only four extraordinary sessions were called during the entire period studied. The opening annual session date was either anticipated or postponed by the provincial president at least eleven times. See RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. Various years.
These are the main features that characterized the activities of the fluminense Provincial Assembly throughout the period. As indicated in the course of this section, they tell a great deal about how conflicts were able to express themselves within the organization of the fluminense legislature.

3.3.3 - Camaras Municipais.

'... the government had no local administrative bodies and so resorted to the Camaras [Municipais] as substitutes; but because the ruling power did not concern itself with the organizing of provincial administration it follows that the Camaras are made up of geologists, polyglots or historians, or whatever that it might enter the [province's] president to reward...'

João de A. Carneiro Maia, 1883.68

This was a common and typical description of the way that municipal affairs were organized in Brazil during the nineteenth century. João Carneiro Maia was a leading politician from Resende. He wrote a number of studies on the organization of the Brazilian municipal system. Another major nineteenth century study on the subject was produced

by João Batista Cortines Laxe in 1885. Many contemporary commentators argued that the national legislation passed during the 1820s and 1830s produced an oppressive and centralized administrative system in the country, in which municipios found themselves unable to move in the face of a strong provincial government. That legislation transformed Camaras Municipais into simple agents for enforcing decisions imposed by the provincial government at the local level. Others analysts however, did not see these centralizing characteristics as negative, as earlier indicated.

The first central legislation governing municipal administration organization was passed on 1 October 1828. It established direct elections for Camaras Municipais and abolished their former judicial powers. According to João Carneiro Maia, this law had already established a situation in which Camaras Municipais were frozen at the bottom of the country's administrative hierarchical structure. The fact that the law did not create an executive body separate from the deliberative one - at the municipal level - led to a situation in which Camaras Municipais were always vulnerable to the provincial administration's decisions. Should they

69 LAXE, João Batista Cortines. Op Cit. 1885.

70 Ibid. p. XXVI.

71 Visconde de Itaborai argued that the 1834 Additional Act was brought in to fight 'progressive influences' which wanted to impose themselves at the provincial and municipal levels against the will of the central government. See TORRES, Joaquim Rodrigues. 'Estudos práticos'. APUD: MAIA, João A. Carneiro. Op Cit. 1883. p. 234.
protest, they would be seen as subversives against the status quo.72

The 1834 Additional Act reinforced this situation even further, when no deliberative functions remained under the power of the Camaras Municipais. Together, these two pieces of legislation covered every aspect involved in the organization of the municipal system, creating structures which remained unchanged for almost the whole of the last century.

This took place despite frequent calls to reform the system. The debate on the centralization versus decentralization of the Brazilian political system was a strong element in the political life in the last century, which still finds echoes today in parts of the historiography on Brazil. According to João Carneiro Maia, two attempts were made to reform the municipal system during the 1860s.73 Firstly, a bill was presented to the Senate in 1862 by Marques de Olinda then in charge of the Ministry of Empire. In 1869, another Minister of Empire, Paulino Soares de Sousa, presented another reform bill.74 This one had already had been seen by a National Assembly committee, but both bills failed to gain support and advance towards the passing of a reform law. As one nineteenth century analyst has argued, both bills - if approved - would not have

73 Ibid. p. 251.
74 He was the son of the Visconde de Uruguai who also had a prominent position inside the fluminense Conservative Party.
introduced any major modification of the existing system, since both failed to propose the elimination of the most controversial aspect: the provincial government's administration of municipal affairs. 75

After that, provincial legislation began to establish the fluminense municipios own characteristics. In general terms, three main features marked this legislation. Firstly, the majority of these laws dealt with general aspects related to the Camaras Municipais, as an institution as well as the various particular local administrative bodies. From posturas (system of local government by-laws) to local public works authorizations, legislation passed always established the need for approval by provincial government of any municipal move. Secondly, the provincial government was greatly concerned in the controlling of municipal income revenues. Provincial legislation considered every aspect of the matter, from how the book-accounts were organized to what item municipios should tax. Finally, the large amount of legislation passed dealing with two particular municipios: Niterói and Campos. An impressive number of items received special consideration in both cases. For Campos in particular legislation seemed to confirm and legalize local demands which had been previously put forward. There was a clear understanding that Campos did not have to depend on provincial financial aid to

75 BASTOS, Tavares. 'A Provincia'. APUD: MAIA, João A. Carneiro. Op Cit. 1883. pp. 252-253. Joao Carneiro Maia also argued that both bills if approved would have even further reinforced provincial government strength vis-a-vis the municipios.
implement its own development projects. It only required provincial government recognition of municipal initiatives.76

Vereadores were elected every four years. Camaras Municipais in cities had nine vereadores, whilst vilas had seven. In 1881, central legislation increased Niterói number of vereadores to thirteen, since it was the provincial capital city's Camara Municipal.77 The Camaras Municipais law of 1828 also established a number of restrictions on who might stand for election as vereador. The most important of the was one which prohibited closely related people from being elected to the same Camara Municipal at the same time. A number of posts in the local administration, such as justice of peace, magistrate, public teacher, and posts in the national and provincial treasury were also considered to be incompatible with the post of vereador. Other disqualifications were introduced by later provincial legislation.

Every Camara Municipal had a mesa (board) set up, which was headed by president, be elected among all the

76 One of the best examples of this feature is presented in decree n.223 in 29 May 1840, which granted authorization to Campos Camara Municipal to contract an engineer to look after municipal public works. The decree clearly specified that the engineer would be paid by the municipal treasury. The decree was a simple matter of officially noting Campos' initiative to secure such a measure. As previously mentioned, Campos is believed to have been the first city in Latin America to have had electricity in its streets.

77 See article twenty-two, paragraph five, in national law n. 3.029 (9/1/1881). The Côrte had its number of vereadores increased to twenty-one.
vereadores. He was responsible for giving the casting vote in any hung vote and for maintaining order during the debates.

According to the 1828 central legislation, Camaras Municipais were required to hold four ordinary sessions every year and call for extraordinary ones whenever necessary. Ordinary sessions were to take place every three months, lasting as many days as were necessary, although never less than six days. According to Cortines Laxe, this provision gave room for different interpretation, since it was not clearly established if daily sessions had to be contiguous, one day after the other. So, in the case of the fluminense Camaras Municipais 'and other ones that took the province as an example', it was assumed that daily sessions did not have to be continuous. In this way, they held two consecutive daily sessions every month. A majority vote of vereadores was necessary for the approval of any decision by Camaras Municipais. Vereadores could only be absent from daily sessions in the event of a serious impediment. Otherwise, a fine had to be paid. After fifteen absences, the elected vereador substitute was to be called in to

78 LAXE, João Batista Cortines. Op Cit. pp. 74-75. This author argued that Rio de Janeiro was a small province, in which travelling distances were fairly short. Most fluminense vereadores were primarily local landowners and merchants. As a result, the decision to spread Camaras Municipais daily sessions throughout the year, brought together municípios and vereadores interests. Vereadores would always have to come to town from time to time to solve their own private matters, and the alternative - to spend a whole week at the city to attend the Camara’s meetings - would keep them away from their business for far too long. At the same time, municipal affairs were much better off under a steady administration.
Camaras Municipais had employees, who performed various municipal administrative jobs. The number varied according to the each Camara’s resources. Provincial government had to approve the organization of all local employees as well as their salaries. In general terms, every Camara had a secretary, who was responsible for bookkeeping and the dispatch and organization of all documents; a procurator, who either had his own warrant source or had to be held under the Camara’s responsibility; a warden; cemetery workers; revenue officers; a public doctor and others according to what each Camaras felt necessary. 79

As argued before, up until 1834 Camaras Municipais — as administrative public institutions — had a number of responsibilities which implied considerable levels of decision making. After that, however, they were only allowed to send petitions to the provincial government regarding their municipios’ needs and information for drafting the camara’s budgets. Accounts, as well as any decisions to be taken had to be approved by the provincial administration. Extensive provincial legislation was also issued to guide vereadores on the way they organized municipal expenditure and income revenue collection. This created a situation in which municipal finances were

79 1857 and 1861 provincial legislation indicated that Campos had the largest number of municipal employees, whereas Niterói was the municipio which spent the largest sums of money on the payment of its municipal personnel. In 1861 a drastic reduction of all municipal personnel was carried out in 1861, one of the first steps in the move to reduce public expenses on the administrative system as a whole.
maintained under the complete control of the provincial administration. Every sum collected by any municipio was carefully audited and controlled by the provincial authorities. By doing so, most Camaras Municipais were trapped within a complex net in which they had to report precisely how, where and when money was being collected and spent. TABLE II - II shows discrepancies between the amounts of income revenue each Camara Municipal collected. Chapter II has also considered the distribution of the many items to be taxed with regard to the various administrative levels. It also considered how the different types of products were taxed in many different ways in the various municipios in the province.

With further regard to municipal finances, an important move took place in 1870 when the provincial government decided to grant municipios financial aid every year. Decree n. 1.478 issued on 4 January, established that part of the provincial revenue should be re-distributed among the municipios. The Camaras Municipais had to be very careful in reporting how that money was spent, on pain of losing the following year’s grant until a satisfactory report was received. As will be seen in Chapter VI, this decision involved a complicated debate, in which many deputados provinciais opposed the concession of such financial aid, which they argued enhanced already strong financial differentiations among municipios in the province. The largest financial aid then provided went to those municipios which already had a large amounts of municipal
income revenue at their disposal. Despite the temporary suspension of the concession, in the end most deputados came to agree that it was necessary given the financial difficulties prevailing in most municipios.

In relation to the procedure for communication between Camaras Municipais and other administrative offices, only one provincial portaria was issued, on 12 July 1865. It established new document exchange procedures between Camaras Municipais and the provincial presidency. Another provincial portaria, issued on 19 April 1884, reminded Camaras Municipais that they could not appeal to the imperial government in relation to any decision taken on their affairs by the provincial presidency. This was an indication that conflicts did take place between the two, and some Camaras Municipais had tried to appeal against the provincial presidency decision. This situation was also observed in the various provincial deliberações issued in the period, suspending vereadores for misconduct.

In short, Camaras Municipais were completely dependent on the provincial administration. Some of them were able to maintain some control over the management of their local affairs. Those more successful in doing so, had the financial backing of their municipal income. Campos was the best example of this case.
3.4 - The Provincial Magistrature.

Many institutions, apart from the administrative ones, also played a vital part in securing the formal organization of public administration and political life in Rio de Janeiro province in the last century. The Magistrature, the Guarda Nacional and the Church were those most closely associated with provincial politics at the time.

It was the Magistrature, however, which received most attention in the legislation passed by the fluminense Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Presidency. There seems to be little doubt of the fact that politics and administration in Rio de Janeiro province were profoundly linked to the judicial system in the province. As previously argued in this study, magistrates were always regarded as public officers in a position to supervise administrative offices. They were responsible for the adjudication of electoral disputes and were also in charge of inspecting the civil registers. In addition to these matters, fluminense provincial legislation also revealed the provincial administration's strong concern with the deputising of local magistrates. Each year, a provincial deliberação was issued establishing which of the juízes municipais, the local magistrates, would be the one to deputize for the judiciary district head magistrate, the juiz de direito de comarca. Figure III - VII traces the
pattern of substitutions among the various juizes municipais in the province. This was a vital strategy on the part of the provincial president to enforce his will during election time. FIGURE III - VII also reveals the way in which the organization of the comarcas changed throughout the period and the way in which fluminense municipios were related one to another within the judiciary organization in the province.
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**SOURCE:** RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Law & Statutes. Coleção de leis da... (Rio de Janeiro: Niterói, selected years.)
PART II
CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY

(1834 TO 1849)

4.1 - Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to consider the way in which political debate took place within the fluminense Provincial Legislative Assembly under the Empire. As argued in previous sections of this study, the Provincial Assembly provided fluminense politicians with a key space for the unfolding of political conflicts among local groups in the province. In this section it is important to indicate the variation of this context as well as analyse the features that played a particular role in shaping political development in the province. Despite all the features that characterized the period, resulting in the suppression of local disputes at the Provincial Assembly level, there is no doubt that some sectors were strong enough to make their complaints heard at the Assembly. Some deputados were able to take advantage of a number of opportunities only available to them. By acting in this way, they could stress their commitment to the defense of some of the local demands they stood for, and at the same time pressure the Provincial Presidency to obtain the concessions they asked for. This
strategy worked in quite an effective manner, often leading the provincial administration to alter its determination to implement some of its former policies.

However, this does not imply the idea that the majority of the fluminense provincial politicians were strong enough to safeguard their municipios self-interests alone. As will be demonstrated in this part of the dissertation, the situation was completely otherwise. Most fluminense deputados provinciais fell within the category of those who did not have any extra support to fight for their personal or local demands. Apart from those mentioned above, one could generally say that there were two other groups of deputados attending the Provincial Assembly. There was one group of deputados that seemed to gather enough strength to state their claims and gain the support for some of their associates' demands. This was the reflection of a complex network of relationships developed inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly which often enabled some deputados to sustain a strong position in the debates. The other group, however, did not to manage to go as far as that. They remained silent during entire sessions, and sometimes they even indicated the fact that they did not have the support to speak at all.

Part II not only hopes to explain this phenomenon, but also to indicate major issues within the contents Assembly political debate during the period under consideration. It is also important to analyse the context in which these issues arose and the way deputados
provinciais reacted to them. This will be further analysed in the following part. Chapter VII focusses its analysis on a study of the relationship between the various changes in public administrative personnel and the matters being discussed and implemented by the provincial government, particularly by the Provincial Assembly, during the period as whole.

It is important to briefly indicate some of the main aspects that characterized most of the political debate inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly. Most of these debates were concerned with the discussion and passing of three bills that had to pass every year: the provincial police force contingent, municipal and provincial budget bills. This last was regarded as the most important. According to the 1834 Additional Act, the provincial president had to issue a proposal which formed the starting point for that debate.1

Most matters discussed in the fluminense Provincial Assembly presented some common features. These mainly related to the types of complaints brought forward by

1 BRAZIL. Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. Volume V. 1834. p. 225. See article ten, paragraph six. the Provincial Presidency also had to inform the Assembly of the provincial needs in relation to any changes in annual provincial police contingent requirements. In relation to the municipal budget bill, the Assembly had to consult the Camaras Municipais proposals, which were sent every year to the relevant administrative office inside the provincial administration.
deputados. There were essentially three main types of claims. The first could be said to relate to the municipios' dissatisfaction with the treatment they received from the provincial government. This usually originated from two main issues: the handling of local police authorities personnel during election time, and the type of financial support municipios were receiving for their various public work needs. These two elements illustrated the type of expectations most deputados provinciais seem to have had towards the Provincial Assembly. Somehow, and despite the lack of extra support most local representatives had, deputados seem to have seen the Provincial Assembly as an important channel to press the provincial government on their municipios' local needs.

A second type of complaint relates to demands put forward by provincial civil servants in the Assembly. Many deputados, at one stage or another, expressed themselves in support of or opposed to those who applied for benefits in respect of their posts in the provincial and/or local administration. On a number of occasions they were directly involved in the administration themselves. In this way, they acted as connecting elements between the provincial administration and the Assembly. The overall pattern and importance of this feature is dealt with in Part III. Nevertheless, it is necessary to bear this in mind when considering the contents of Assembly debates here. It is also interesting that this often led to a situation of open confrontation between those deputados and others who were
more closely associated with the agricultural sector. This was to be particularly observed from the 1860s onwards, due to increased financial difficulties arising from keeping a balance between the huge provincial public spending on administrative personnel and the growing demand for an increase in public works expenditure.

A third group can be found in deputados' complaints with regard to the economic private sector. Some deputados were very keen to speak out in favour of their associates. This was usually the case when provincial government approval was needed for undertaking provincial public works in their own local areas. They also sought to obtain provincial financial aid for their associates who were interested in developing risky new economic activities, such as the cultivation of new types of crops, the development of new methods of pest and noxious weed control in major export crops and so on. This situation gained a special dimension during debates on proposals for railway construction in the province. This led to a number of political alignments inside the Provincial Assembly as a result of the various types of association that could arise among deputados, during the course of debates on these concessions.

In order to prepare the groundwork for a debate, deputados attending the Provincial Assembly each year elected a number of members to attend committees to consider
most bills proposed for discussion. Of these committees, three had to prepare the referred annual bills to open the Assembly's debates. These committees were very important as the deputados elected to them used their position as committee members to conduct most debate procedures in such a way as to secure the approval of these bills. Another influential body was the final drafting committee. At times this committee managed to reverse recent previous decisions agreed by the majority of the deputados by either presenting two 'slightly' different versions of the final approved bill, or even by actually adulterating the contents the approved bill. This undoubtedly resulted in very controversial debates on the committee's action in changing the bill, yet the committee often managed to achieve its aim by forcing political partners, previously opposed to the committee's proposal to change their positions and support the new version. The committee also took advantage of fluctuations in attendance at Provincial Assembly sessions to push measures through. Due to various reasons, discussed later, deputados attendance at the fluminense Provincial Assembly changed quite dramatically in any given legislative term as well as within a single year's session. The balance of power within the Assembly changed according to which deputados provinciais were present. There were two special occasions, however, at which deputados tended always to be present: election day for the Assembly committees and the

2 For more information on the Provincial Assembly committees, see Chapter III. pp. 168-169.
final vote on the provincial budget. These occasions also provided the Assembly and committee members with an ideal occasion to rectify unwanted measures previously approved in some of the annual bills, through temporary changes in the balance of power between the two sides of the Assembly.

These committees played a crucial role in making sure that the original programmes proposed by the Provincial Presidency could successfully pass through the entire debate procedure. The committees also provided the Assembly with an important 'labour force', in the sense that their members took upon themselves the great burden of the enormous amount of paperwork that the Assembly had to deal with. In this respect, the provincial finance committee was the most busiest, since every project involving provincial public funds had to be carefully analysed by its members. In addition to this, the committee also had to study the provincial budget proposal, forwarded from by the provincial president, make any alterations it felt necessary, and in many cases they had to produce and present a replacement bill for this if the majority deputados in the Assembly were to take a firm stand against the original. In this case, the committee would carefully try to effect a compromise between the Provincial Presidency and the Provincial Assembly. This required a lot of expertise and strategic aptitude from members of the committee. This tended to result in a situation in which a person was reelected to the committee for as long as he remained a deputado in the Provincial Assembly. In a few cases, this happened even
though the deputado in question did not belong to the leading political faction in the Assembly. Previous experience in committee was seen as an important asset, and a compromise between the two sides was often achieved, so that a particular deputado could work under the opposite political leadership. In the same vein, the same individual tended to be elected to both the provincial finance and the final drafting committee. These were usually the most outspoken deputados of the leading faction in the Provincial Assembly, attending most daily sessions and keeping a close track of all debates.

Another interesting point regarding deputados being elected to all Assembly committees, was the fact that they tended to be elected according to their professional careers. If a priest, a deputado was most likely to be elected to the ecclesiastical committee. Those who were rather identified as lavradores (farmers) - more closely associated to local interests - tended to be elected either to the public works or the Camaras Municipais committees. Brigadier João Nepomuceno Castrioto was constantly re-elected to the police force committee during most of the thirty-four years he was a fluminense deputado provincial. The few occasions on which he was not elected was due to conflicts resulting from his peculiar position within the fluminense Conservative party.

Most of these leading fluminense deputados provinciais tended to hold top offices in the provincial public administration, and a few of them, the national
administration as well. Chapter VII will provide a detailed picture of this phenomenon. Nevertheless, this issue must be borne in mind when trying to capture its implications for the development of debates within the Assembly. These people tended to hold a particular type of expertise and experience that enabled some of them to deploy a number of strategies not available to the majority of the deputados in the Provincial Assembly. External links further strengthened their leading role inside the Provincial Assembly.

On many occasions the Provincial Assembly constituted a type of battle ground for the development of conflicts and disputes among deputados, and between these and the provincial government. This situation varied according to both the period and the types of issues being considered. Nevertheless, a major element remained unchanged for most of the period: the struggle between local interests and the fluminense executive over the distribution of provincial revenue. Despite the fact that most deputados seemed unable to protect their own local interests they could, on many occasions group themselves together strategically so that enormous pressure could be exerted on the Provincial Presidency and its ultimate representative in the Provincial Assembly, the provincial finance committee. It was also true that the Executive had many weapons to prevent this situation from occurring, as was seen in Chapter III. To start with, the Presidency had total control over the period
of time in which the Provincial Assembly was to hold its annual sessions. The official period in which the Assembly should sit each year was two months, totally insufficient for deputados to reach the decisions they were expected to make. It was the Provincial Presidency which had the powers to grant authorization to the Assembly to hold extra daily sessions, so that at least the provincial and municipal budget bills could get through debate procedures. This had to be done quite frequently. Two months was a very short period of time given the huge amount of work the Assembly had to deal with every year. Apart from the annual bills, the Assembly also had to decide upon a number of matters left to its discretion. This led to a situation in which it was very difficult for deputados to discuss such a wide variety of matters as required the Provincial Assembly’s consideration in any detail. As a result, most pieces of legislation took the form of authorization bills, granting the Provincial Presidency powers to provide solutions and itself implement the changes or reforms required. Most public works and administrative reforms were implemented in this way. As will be shown in this section, this was a key factor in producing divisions inside the Provincial Assembly, since deputados supporting the Provincial Presidency politically would stand for open and delegatory bills, where the Presidency would suffer no restraints whatsoever when conducting the management of fluminense affairs. Furthermore, this yet again reinforced the Provincial Presidency’s ability to stand above the political
disputes taking place inside the Provincial Assembly. It also reinforced the Assembly's view of the Provincial Presidency as a body which concentrated expertise and power to take decisions over most matters. From a different perspective, other deputados saw this situation as a means for expressing their opposition to particular fluminense provincial presidents. The more explicit and objective a bill voted by the Provincial Assembly was, the more likely it was that the Assembly and Presidency were at odds. There were other cases, however, in which this reflected a different matter. Some issues, which the Assembly regarded as vital, were carefully tied up so that any future political change in the provincial government would not be able to easily alter decisions taken on these matters. The Provincial Presidency also had to endorse the provincial budget bill voted every year by the Provincial Assembly, as already indicated in Chapter III. It was rare to have this sanction refused. Actually during the entire period under consideration here it only happened twice. This took place during the most crucial period of confrontation period between the Provincial Assembly and the provincial and central government. Nevertheless, this issue brought extra pressure to bear on the Assembly, in the sense that deputados felt themselves to be without the autonomy to effectively govern provincial affairs, as they themselves had many times argued. Another issue which played a similar role was the Provincial Presidency's power to postpone the Assembly annual session when faced with strong opposition
from the leading faction of the Assembly.

The conflicts between the Provincial Assembly and Presidency led both to be concerned with what they called 'opinião pública', public opinion. In the Assembly's case, this was understood as the concern deputados provinciais had with the way newspapers reported Provincial Assembly daily sessions. They wanted to promote the Assembly's image as that of a stable and balanced association of men, deeply concerned with the management of provincial administrative affairs. Disputes and extensive political debates were defined as a waste of the taxpayer's money. Deputados provinciais seemed to believe that this was a key element to preserve the Assembly's position in the public political hierarchy. It is interesting to note the need they felt to create this type of environment, in which the Assembly was the background against which 'civilised citizens' could act out the big drama they wanted to create. It was as if they needed to distance themselves from the 'chaos' prevailing in rest of the slavocrat society.

Public opinion was particularly used by some of the fluminense deputados to press other members to attend the Provincial Assembly in more satisfactory manner. At times, attendance dropped to a point at which the Assembly did not even have a quorum to hold its meetings. In reaction, a

3 José Murilo de Carvalho has named one of his books on the study of politics under the Brazilian Empire Teatro das Sombras, arguing that nineteenth century Brazilian politics was like a large theatre, characterized by a great deal of fiction in way it operated. CARVALHO, José Murilo de. Op Cit. 1988. p. 164-166.
number of deputados approved a new internal code of procedure which established that absent deputados - and those who also left the Assembly earlier than they were supposed to - were to have their names printed in the daily reports, published by the newspapers. This had amazing results and the vast majority of deputados tended to attend the daily sessions in a much more representative way.

In relation to the Provincial Presidency, the issue of public opinion seems to have been understood as a check on its government. To a considerable extent, the media could bring some form of pressure to bear on the provincial administration by closely monitoring its moves. Most newspapers supported one or another political group in the debates taking place inside the Provincial Assembly. As will be shown later on, there were constant discussions on articles printed in different newspapers supporting the various factions inside the Assembly. Deputados also often referred to newspaper articles in discussing the way in which provincial administration was being implemented. As indicated in Chapter I, the media was a major means of expressing conflicts between provincial and national politics. By criticizing the Provincial Presidency or Ministerial policies, deputados provinciais were able to use the Assembly’s daily reports, printed daily by the Jornal do Comércio and the Diário do Rio de Janeiro. This provided a key link between their participation in provincial politics and the rest of the monarchical constitutional system, during the period.
Before going into the analysis of the various contents that characterized political debate inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly, it is worth briefly remembering that the debate was confined to the boundaries prescribed by the Assembly internal code of procedures, as noted in Chapter III. The Assembly board's powers to govern debates, and the existence of a bureaucratic office attached to the Assembly charged with managing its paperwork, were some of the features established by that code, which played a vital role in the development of the Assembly's debates.4

4.2 - The initial issues and political alliances.

When looking back at the events that marked the Provincial Assembly in the 1830s, three points should be indicated as basic elements for a background to future developments in the Assembly. In 1836, a leading national politician, José Clemente Pereira, and Joaquim Francisco Viana, a representative of the Campos municipio, both members of the fluminense Provincial Assembly, had a serious confrontation over Viana's bill to reform the Sesmarias land scheme in the province.5 Viana was very concerned with the

4 See Chapter III. p. 169.

5 On Sesmarias, see Chapter II, p. 67.
urgent need to establish open access to land in the province. He argued that by creating land access through land purchase, the province would not only attract free workers, but also create better conditions for agricultural growth in the province. Clemente Pereira, however, wanted to replace Viana’s proposal with one of his own, in which this reform would be implemented through a rather slow moving programme.

A second important issue arose in 1838, when the Provincial Assembly passed a law establishing that exported sugar revenue collected from some fluminense municipios was to be kept in the municipal treasuries and be used in its public administration. The law carefully indicated that this applied to Campos, São Fidelis and São João da Barra. In 1839, another piece of provincial legislation established that all coffee being exported from the fluminense province was obliged to pay a provincial tax of 4% in relation to its total value. Although this change did not introduce any major modification to the actual amounts of revenue being collected at the time, this move did establish a vital precedent in differentiating between the two economic

6 See provincial law n.130, May 18th; in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Presidência da... Relatórios... 1881 (Appendix: Quadro dos impostos e mais rendimentos das Camaras Municipais da provincia do Rio de Janeiro. This table was a careful and detailed study done by the Provincial Presidency on the legislation regulating municipal tax revenues.

7 In RIO DE JANEIRO (Province) (Presidency) Relatórios... 1881. (Appendix: Quadro dos impostos que constituem a renda da Provincia do Rio de Janeiro, legislação que os regula, objeto contribuinte, sua quota atual e renda arrecadada nos exercícios de 1872 a 1880).
sectors. Even more surprising was the modification established in the following year, when the export sugar sector was completely freed from the burden of meeting its share in the provincial revenue scheme. These changes greatly affected the relationship between these two economic sectors during many further political confrontations inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly.

During the 1840s, Provincial Assembly reports printed in the Diário do Rio de Janeiro presented a more organized structure and tended to portray the way in which the Assembly worked more carefully. The Assembly still remained 'populated' by major national leading politicians. Aureliano de Sousa e Oliveira Coutinho, later Visconde de

8 In 1840, article five the provincial budget established that provincial revenue extracted from the sugar exports was to be abolished. This remained unchanged till December 1870. See decree n. 214, May 27th, 1840; in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1840. p. 84.

9 José Murilo de Carvalho has looked into the way that the national public budget was organized in nineteenth century Brazil. He concluded that export agriculture was responsible for most of the national income collected in the period. Those who operated towards the supply of the internal market - as in the above case, since the sugar sector exported supplies from the municipio to surrounding areas - were the ones most favoured by the tax system in the country. The main duty they had to pay was the one collected on the slave trade, although quite often unlawfully withheld. See CARVALHO, José Murilo de. Op Cit. 1988. pp. 31-32.

10 For debates during the 1840s, see: Diário de Rio de Janeiro. 1840/issues 49 to 119; 1841/issues 48 to 72; 1842/issues 48 to 101; 1843/issues 50 to 124; 1846/issues 7148 to 7154; 1847/issues 7443 to 7512; 1848/issues 7762 to 7870 and 1849/issues 8028 to 8120. Also see: Jornal do Comércio. 1844/issues 59,72,103 & 104 and 1845/issues 60,63 & 95.
Sepetiba, Paulino José Soares de Sousa, later Visconde do Uruguai, Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres, later Visconde de Itaborai, Eusébio de Queirós, among many others, remained as fluminense deputados provinciais from 1835 through most of the 1840s. They also held other positions in the national political and administrative system. This caused attendance in the Provincial Assembly to be extremely irregular and volatile and making it very difficult to speak in terms of leading sides within the Assembly. In response, there were a number of moves to call in deputados' substitutes, so that debates could go ahead. There were several of them, and sometimes it was even hard to find out their full names, since they would be named by their surnames or nicknames, whichever they were most commonly known by.

The period opened with a fierce dispute over three major proposals presented during the 3rd legislature (1840-1841).11 Two of them were directly linked to national political issues. The first proposed to send a fluminense Provincial Assembly representation to the National Legislative Assembly, demanding quick action to suspend the 1831 Act, which had formally abolished the Atlantic slave traffic into Brazilian territory. The project failed to be approved, being subject to strong opposition from some of the national figures attending the fluminense Provincial Assembly at the time. They argued that this was not within a Provincial Legislative Assembly's sphere of influence and

11 See Appendix II for a list of years in which Rio de Janeiro provincial legislature was organized into.
that the Assembly had to remain within the boundaries of its original duties. The matter came under the central government powers of decision-making, and it was up to the government to take the appropriate action whenever this was convenient. Nonetheless, it was symptomatic to observe that deputados provinciais such as José Sousa Breves Filho and Monteiro de Barros worked very hard for the approval of the proposal. They were large fluminense landowners, desperate to secure a continuous flow of slaves to the province to sustain the current agricultural growth.

Later in the same year, another Provincial Assembly representation was proposed to be sent to the National Assembly. Only this time, it urged the national legislature to anticipate the declaration of D. Pedro II’s majority. A major political battle took place over the proposal. Those opposed to it tried very hard to postpone the final vote, and when it did finally take place, they made sure that there was enough support to stop the proposal. Once again, leading national political figures attending the Provincial Assembly voted against this type of proposal. Their justification was again based on the fact that the move was incompatible with the 1834 Additional Act definitions of the Provincial Assembly’s powers and responsibilities.

12 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1840 (issues 68 & 92).

13 Ibid. 1840 (issues 110, 112, 114 & 116). A special committee was elected in the fluminense Assembly to consider the project. It concluded that the project should be dropped since it proposed a measure which was outside the Assembly’s powers.
A similar situation also arose in regard to the debate over the concession of a financial grant—subsídio—to be given to each deputado provincial attending the fluminense Provincial Assembly. This included the payment of an amount of money per each daily session attended plus some extra cash towards travel expenses. Up to 1840 it was not clear whether provincial deputados did or did not receive any financial payment for attending the Assembly's daily sessions. Early that year, a group of deputados provinciais opposed the measure on the grounds that financial reward in exchange for participation in the provincial legislature was incompatible with its very nature. Some leading national politicians led this group. They emphasized the need for establishing a sense of responsibility among fluminense deputados provinciais towards their position as members of the fluminense Assembly. Other deputados provinciais defended the argument that it was not a question of financial compensation, but rather one of survival in a city where the cost of living was very high compared with their homes. Santos Lóbo, associated with the Liberal Party, argued that to believe that no financial compensation should be granted was the same as establishing a situation in which only aristocrats would be able afford to take time off to come to the capital city to attend the Assembly. This, he argued, could only further strengthen the concentration of power. As a result of the growing opposition, the bill was finally approved, and a 6$400 réis daily allowance was granted to every
Another important debate took place on a bill concerned with the organization of the Tesouraria da Provincia within the provincial administration. The project had the support of Provincial President Manuel José de Sousa França, who was facing strong opposition from the fluminense Provincial Assembly. The Saquarema Paulino José Soares de Sousa, later Visconde do Uruguai, strongly opposed the proposal. As previously indicated, he was one of the most important architects in building up the fluminense provincial administrative system. Despite this, he appeared concerned with the possibility of establishing conditions for actually freeing the province from the central government control over its finances. After some hot debates, the bill was dropped. This was partly due to its innovative contents, but it also had a lot to do with the fact that it had the support of the provincial president, a key supporter of the Liberal Party in Rio de Janeiro province. The Assembly had a Conservative majority and clashes between the two were constantly taking place. Soon after the bill’s rejection, Sousa França was dismissed from his presidential post. Despite all this, this study has already described how in the following year a first provincial public financial administrative office - the

14 Ibid. 1840 (issues 94, 112 & 116).
15 See also Chapter III. p. 129.
16 See Appendix III for the list of all Rio de Janeiro provincial presidents, in chronological order.
Administracao da Fazenda da Provincia do Rio de Janeiro - was created by the Provincial Presidency to closely watch over management of the provincial finances.17

A final issue worth mentioning in regard to the 3rd fluminense legislature, was the fact that during the period, a list of six deputados was chosen every year from among fluminense Assembly members. These six elected deputados formed a list of future provincial vice-presidents should the post suddenly become vacant. This was common practice during most of the 1840s. In this way, deputados provinciais would be able to exercise the role of acting provincial vice-president, as in fact happened with deputados provinciais Visconde de Baependy and Sousa Franca. The first was a leading member of the fluminense Conservative Party, and the other of the Liberal Party. A clear Conservative majority inside the Assembly in the period is indicated by the strong opposition to acting provincial vice-president Sousa Franca, to the extent that he was dismissed.18 As a result, during the forthcoming

17 See Chapter III, p. 136. Despite the rejection of Sousa Franca's bill, a reform was actually carried out in the financial administrative sector of the fluminense provincial administration. The reform imposed in 1842 was along different lines to those discussed that year in the Provincial Assembly. It centralized financial management under one office, but it still retained direct national government interference in province's financial administration, by maintaining the Tesouraria da Provincia alongside the newly created office.

18 It is not clear why the Diario do Rio de Janeiro stopped printing the fluminense Assembly debates after Sousa Franca was dismissed. What was clear in the debates just before his dismissal was the virulent opposition to his administration, led in particularly by deputado provincial Joao Manuel Pereira da Silva. Soon after, another deputado
legislatures in the Provincial Assembly, deputados argued among themselves over their own past performances as acting provincial vice-presidents.

In early March 1842, the Provincial Assembly opened its fourth legislature. A number of complaints were initially made regarding the way in which debates were being published by the Diário do Rio de Janeiro. This, they argued, was caused by the publisher's lack of punctuality and accuracy when printing the Assembly's reports. Deputado José Alves Carneiro wanted to change publishers, arguing that the Correio Nycteroense was a better choice, despite being more expensive. Nevertheless, discussion remained open on whether to alter the present contract or not.19

The name of Luis Honório Vieira Souto emerged from the debate as an option for improving the quality of Assembly reports. He worked as an officer in the Assembly's Secretariat, the administrative office attached to the Assembly, and was soon to become one of the most well-known and powerful deputados provinciais in the entire history of the fluminense Provincial Assembly in the nineteenth century. Being well aware of the Provincial Assembly internal workings since the early 1840s, he was well-

provincial, Visconde de Baependy, was nominated acting provincial vice-president.

19 This proposal was finally approved in 1844. This is the reason why most of the material related to the fifth legislature (1844-1845) could not be traced, since the Correio Nycteroense newspapers issues for the two year period was not available for consultation at the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
equipped to provide a top quality debates editorial service, providing a key connecting element between the Assembly and its publishers. This was the arrangement that was finally chosen by the deputados provinciais in 1842, and provides clear indication of the importance the Assembly attached to its image, as well as to the way its activities were being reported by the media.

Once again, the fluminense Provincial Assembly was firmly dominated by a majority of conservative deputados. On a number of occasions Sousa França found himself completely alone, defending his past administration as provincial vice-president against the massive attack led by deputados Visconde de Baependy and Pereira da Silva. This conservative majority was probably the reason why on 12 March 1842, a request by Francisco Cardoso was so suddenly approved. He proposed to send a fluminense Assembly representation to the national legislature. Its aim was to state the fluminense provincial support for the National Assembly’s decision to repudiate a representation received from the São Paulo Provincial Legislative Assembly. This last stated the paulista Provincial Assembly’s opposition to the 1841 Act, which established the reform of the national Code of Criminal Procedures, in the hope that the Emperor would interfere and stop the reform from coming into effect. Here the previous argument, so clearly defended by most fluminense Conservatives deputados provinciais - that the fluminense Provincial Assembly should remain within the boundaries of its own responsibilities - appears not to
have counted anymore. This was an extremely sensitive issue, and support for the conservative national government was presented as a paramount issue in the fluminense Assembly, particularly on events marking the eve of the 1842 liberal movement. Sousa França remained once again in opposition. He was very acute when arguing why the proposal was bound to be approved, as well as the reasons why deputados should join his opposition. He argued:

'Was not this Code of procedures that is to be reformed sanctioned? And should such a thing be sanctioned? I could produce a litany here of articles from various laws that are in contravention of the Constitution that have received sanction but will not do so because now is not the occasion'...

'Gentlemen, for me this motion would appear to represent some figure in a political square-dance: the Provincial Assembly of São Paulo has sent a representation to the Emperor in which it manifests its sentiments in opposition to this law, and begs His Majesty to halt its execution. Now we in our turn tread our measure (hilarity) and tell the Crown that the law is a very good one'... 'I certainly would not wish to be one of this deputation and make a target of myself to the public gaze! Let us, Gentlemen, leave such footling dances! Moreover, if the law is both constitutional and necessary, why should it need the approval of a miserable four deputados provinciais? What men form this Assembly? I count fourteen public employees out of a total of nineteen members present today. The vote of the [fluminense] Assembly therefore rests on fourteen miserable, starveling dependents'... 'This order is disorder!'... 'I must vote against it, but if I were a civil servant I do not know what I would do, possibly I would accompany the "procession".'

Reaction to Sousa França’s speech was enormous, some deputados argued that he had deeply offended the Provincial Assembly integrity, by qualifying its members in such derogatory manner. Nevertheless, Sousa França had precisely

identified of the Provincial Assembly's vulnerability in the presence of strong central government pressure. He knew that deputados provinciais such as Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres, who was a major Conservative leader in the Assembly, would only have to exercise part of his influence to force the approval of the proposal, since other mechanisms were already in place to force this decision to help strengthen national government power against rebel attempts.

In 1842, another Provincial Assembly representation was approved. Fernando Sebastiao Dias da Mota, a leading member for Niterói in the Provincial Assembly, proposed that a three-man deputation be organized to pay the Assembly's respects 'to the government of His Majesty' for taking the recent strong action against the British government. According to the Provincial Assembly debates, Britain paid the Jornal do Comércio to have an article published in the newspaper's issue of 8 April 1842. In this article, the Brazilian government was threatened with British retaliation should the 1831 economic agreement, in which Brazil had agreed to abolish the Atlantic slave traffic not be renewed. Fluminense deputados provinciais, argued Dias da Mota, had a duty to show their total commitment to defending Brazil's integrity as an independent nation. This was another extremely sensitive issue, in which some deputados once again opposed the move on the grounds that the proposal's contents lay outside Provincial Assembly role. In the end, however, most deputados were more eager to defend the free flow of slaves into the country than to remain within the
formal bounds of the Assembly’s powers.21

In 1843, debate was mainly concentrated around three major issues. The first was a bill supported by the Conservative deputado João Nepomuceno Castrioto, proposing the expropriation of the Itagual canal. Deputado Bernardo Augusto Nascentes de Azambuja firmly opposed the bill, arguing that the owner was still bound by the agreement with the provincial government, which required him to operate the canal for another twenty years, in exchange for the canal construction concession. Opposition was strong, indicating a change in the balance of power inside the fluminense Assembly. This was particularly due to the absence of a large number of deputados, who had left the Provincial Assembly to attend the National Assembly annual session.

The striking feature, however, was the fact that the Itagual canal-owner himself, Francisco José Cardoso, was a member of the Provincial Assembly at that time. It might be concluded that behind all this it was Cardoso himself who wanted to return the canal to the provincial administration since Castrioto was one of his closest allies. This was the first of a series of debates involving the name of the Cardoso family with reference to the expropriation of public work projects that they had undertaken under the patronage of the provincial government. Although he seems to have been silent throughout this particular debate, references were made to the fact that he was a interested party in the...

21 Ibid. See the special sessions on April the 12th, 14th and 23rd.
discussion. Probably as result of a more balanced Assembly, with no clear political faction dominating, the bill failed to be approved on Castrioto's terms. Azambuja's amendment was approved, establishing that the canal would only be expropriated after the twenty-year period.

People like deputado Francisco José Cardoso quite often managed to find strong support in the Provincial Assembly when seeking recompense for undertaking provincial public work projects. It might be argued that this was an important mechanism for obtaining high profits in a short period of time. Only a few people could make use of it, since it required a great deal of advance capital to be invested in the undertaking of large construction projects. Once the work was complete, investors would then make contacts with their associates inside the fluminense Assembly who would argue in favour of compensation. They would usually claim that they had done their part in the contract and that the Provincial Assembly must appreciate their need to break the contract, since it was not proving to be as lucrative as first postulated in the original project. The argument in the Provincial Assembly for granting compensation in such cases was usually based upon the idea that if the province rejected these types of claim, entrepreneurs would not in future be willing to undertake other projects for fear that they would not being able to rely on the provincial government, should something go wrong.

A second major issue discussed in the 1843 Assembly
session were the conflicts between the municípios of São João do Principe and Pirai. The issue was raised during a debate on a bill proposing to transfer part of Rio Claro's territory to São João do Principe. Deputado provincial José Sousa Breves Filho, who was also the president of the Camara Municipal of Pirai at the time, claimed that such a move was totally against Pirai's interests. He failed, however, to convince the Assembly. Deputado João José Pereira argued that Breves Filho had personal reasons to oppose the proposal, since he was responsible for the closure of a number of roads linking Pirai to São João do Principe. Breves Filho counter-attacked, arguing that it was João José Pereira himself, together with his brother, who was responsible for closing down at least four roads linking Pirai to Angra dos Reis. In this way, Breves Filho had been cut off from his farms in Angra dos Reis. João Pereira, however, was very skillful in moving the debate to a different grounds, in which Breves Filho was blamed for placing his own personal interests over those of the public as contained in the proposed bill. Thus, the proposal was eventually approved and João Pereira did not take any blame for having closed the roads in São João do Principe. This was partly due to the strong support João Pereira had received in speeches by deputados Rafael Pereira de Carvalho, Alexandre Joaquim Siqueira and Sebastião Machado Nunes. Sousa França also defended the bill, but he distanced himself from offering any support to João
Pereira's claims against Breves Filho.22

The last major issue in the 1843 debates is concerned with the 1842 liberal revolt. Provincial Assembly debates, like most of the fluminense official documents produced during the last century, described the movement as something completely extraneous to the fluminense province. Nevertheless, the debate failed to convince the careful reader over speculations regarding events that took place in Paraiba do Sul municipio.23 Deputado Siqueira even went as far as to say that there were no official documents that could prove the veracity of events in that municipio.24 The whole issue was only raised in respect of a deputation from fluminense Assembly that deputado Dias da Mota wanted to send to the National Assembly. In this representation the Provincial Assembly would ask for the pardoning of all those who took part in the 1842 revolt. He argued that it was necessary to have the movement wiped out of Brazilian history, and the only way to do this would be through the complete pardon of those involved. No one would have a criminal record and the situation would return to what it had been before. A special committee was then elected to from a judgement on the proposal. The verdict was against it, arguing that it was outside the Provincial Assembly's

22 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1843 (issue 102).

23 See Chapter II. pp. 87-88. Although not stating the name of any particular municipality, the fluminse provincial president referred to the fact that disturbances were occuring in the province.

24 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1843 (issue 93).
powers to take such an initiative. Only the Poder Moderador, the Emperor himself, had the power to grant such a thing, and not even the National Assembly. Passionate discussions followed. The basic argument behind Dias da Mota proposal was that the central government was to be blamed for the rebellion as much as those who took up arms against the government. The way in which the national government had issued the reform of the Code, together with the way in which elections were managed by the same government, had left no alternative other than rebellion for those who were deeply opposed to the newly introduced reform, argued Dias da Mota. Opposition seemed to have failed to destroy this vital argument. Instead, it concentrated its position on the argument that the fluminense Assembly had to keep itself within the boundaries of its powers. A fierce confrontation developed between Dias da Mota and the members of the Assembly special committee: deputados Siqueira, Inácio Francisco Silveira da Mota, and João Alves Loureiro. Dias da Mota relied on the support of deputados José Cristino da Costa Cabral, Tomás Gomes dos Santos, João Silveira do Pilar, José Augusto Cesar de Meneses, Deocleciano Augusto Cesar do Amaral and Josino de Nascimento Silva among others. Deputados Azambuja and Alves Carneiro, despite also being members of the special committee, took ambivalent positions, supporting both sides at times. Sousa França supported the committee's stance against Mota's proposal. On 13 May that year, the final vote on the matter took place. Surprisingly enough, only
one deputado provincial voted against Dias da Mota’s proposal, proving that in the end it had the vast support of all sides of the Assembly. 25

Little has been discovered in the course of this research with regard to the following legislature (1844-45), since most of the debates were unavailable for consultation. 26 There are indications that in 1844, a major debate concentrated on proposals to improve sugar manufacture techniques in the province. In 1845 there were crucial discussions over a provincial administrative reform. This culminated in the decision by the Assembly to grant the Provincial Presidency the authorization to carry out such an alteration, as stated in the 1845 provincial budget bill. Special concern seems to have been given to the way in which public works management was organized in the province. A reform was carried out in the Tesouraria Provincial in June 1846, as previously described. 27 There were also traces of a major conflict between the fluminense Assembly and the Provincial Presidency. The Jornal do Comércio indicated that the Provincial Assembly was postponed to June 1845. This also led to deputado João Alves Loureiro’s dismissal from his post in the public financial office (in both the

25 Ibid. 1843 (issues 92, 93, 95, 97, 102, 105, 108 and 111).

26 Only scattered information was available in the Jornal do Comércio. See footnotes 10 and 19.

27 See Chapter III. p. 27.
provincial and national administrations).28

During the 6th legislature (1846-47), the absence of leading national figures in the provincial assembly seemed to have created a political vacuum in the Assembly's leadership. The various factions appear to have been less bitterly divided. In 1847, deputados provinciais attendance at the Assembly daily sessions reached one of its lowest levels. The need for calling on substitute deputados was getting stronger. Deputados absent from the first fifteen Assembly daily sessions, without prior authorization, were automatically replaced. Soon after, a steady flow of deputados started attending the Assembly. Deputados Dias da Mota and Gomes Meneses led the two main political groups in the Assembly. Most of the debates concentrated on two issues. First, a renewed move to grant Francisco José Cardoso financial compensation for the expropriation of the Itaguai canal. This time, the attempt proved to be successful. Nevertheless, there were major disputes regarding the amount of money to be paid by the provincial administration for re-gaining control of the canal.29

The second issue was based on the proposal to establish a provincial Bank to help the fluminense

28 On April 9th, the Provincial Assembly received an official communication from the provincial vice-president Candido Batista de Oliveira postponing the Assembly annual session until June 6th, 1845. See Jornal do Comércio. 1845 (issue 95).

29 Francisco José Cardoso was once again a member of that fluminense legislature.
agriculture. The aim was to create a financial institution which could facilitate the extension of credit to farmers in the province. Deputados Sousa França and Pedro Ramos da Silva agreed that the way to do this was through the reduction of interest rates on financial transactions. Also it was considered that the offering of longer periods of time for repayment and new surety terms would increase the number of farmers able to take advantage of the bank. Discussions on the organization of the bank, as well as the type of ties that were to link its administration to the provincial one were long and tenuous. Deputado João Pereira da Costa Mota took special care to defend the idea that foreigners would be allowed to have a say in the Bank's top echelons. Nevertheless, the majority of deputados opposed his proposal which failed.

Following that, the legislature (1848-49) presented a rather different pattern of discussions to any previous ones. From the very beginning, a clear conflict was established between the two leading factions in the Assembly. This resulted from the strong opposition of the majority of the deputados in the Assembly to the provincial

30 Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1847 (issues 7460-7465 & 7489).

31 Other reforms discussed in the period dealt with the provincial educational system and the management of public works in the province.
president. This conflict led to an unprecedented situation, in which the fluminense Provincial Assembly worked in preparatory sessions for almost two months. The Assembly president defended the fluminense provincial right to verify elections, whereas the committee upheld the need to wait for the National Assembly's recognition. The Assembly's president argued that the Assembly had a sovereign right to decide whether its elections should be recognized or not, whereas the Assembly committee held that this right devolved on the National Assembly. Clear lines were drawn for and against the Provincial Presidency, who had not waited for that recognition. It was only late in May that a compromise was reached between the two sides, allowing the formal inauguration of the 7th fluminense legislature. This was achieved through an alteration in the committee's position, after one of its members was replaced by deputado Azambuja.

As soon as the Provincial Assembly annual session was formally inaugurated, the entire political balance changed. New committees and a new mesa were elected, in which new

32 Aureliano de Sousa e Oliveira Coutinho, later Visconde de Sepetiba, was the provincial president until April 3rd, 1848, when he was replaced by Manuel de Jesus Valderato, later Visconde de Valderato. It is interesting to note that Valderato only remained in office for two months, when he was soon replaced by Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes, later Visconde de Barbacena. This short term of office was probably linked to Valderato's inability to deal with the conflict that took place between his administration and the Provincial Assembly, which caused the Assembly session to be postponed until 20 May. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1848 (issue 7773); also see LACOMBE, Lourenço Luis. Os chefes do executivo fluminense. (Petrópolis, 1973).
political leaders took most of the important positions available. However, in June, the situation was again reversed during the reelection of the Assembly’s board. The group led by deputado Francisco Gê Acayaba de Montezuma managed to gain political control of those most vital positions. This was a special legislature, in which in only one year the political balance swung dramatically between the two sides, at least three times.

During this same year deputados provinciais also debated accusations by the National Assembly that the fluminense Provincial Assembly included two Portuguese among its members. The matter was raised inside the National Assembly as a question of challenging foreign influence in internal matters. Fluminense Provincial Assembly was quick to issue a statement rejecting such claims, which were probably intended to attack provincial deputados Francisco José Cardoso and Lourenço Vieira de Sousa Meirelhes. It might be argued that the real matter behind this issue was the opposition to the financial compensation to be given to deputado Cardoso for the expropriation of the Itaguai canal by the provincial administration. Suddenly, this matter was once again at issue and tabled for a new debate.

Another important subject to be discussed in 1848 was the question of whether or not the province was starting to face a financial deficit. There were fears that the 1848 revolutions would affect Europe’s consumption of Brazilian

33 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1848 (issue 7846).
34 Idem.

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foodstuffs. This, together with the provincial president's proposal to create *letras de divida da provincia* - or provincial (debt) bills of exchange, by the fluminense Assembly - provided the basis for long debates on the real fluminense provincial financial situation. The Provincial Presidency argued that in order to clear financial insolvency, letras de divida had to be created as soon as possible. This would guarantee the implementation of new investments in the province, because of the belief that most people had that the situation would eventually return to the previous growth. A number of deputados provinciais disagreed. Montezuma believed that if the letras were created, the growing provincial financial crisis would never be solved, since it would only formalize a situation of deficit in the province. Instead of actually taking concrete measures to reduce public expending, the provincial government was only proposing a system in which deficit would be taken for granted and expenditure would continue as usual, disguised by the new system.35 Many deputados concurred in this opposition. Nevertheless, the provincial presidency was able to muster a larger number of deputados in the Assembly, who finally managed to push

35 See his detailed and carefully prepared speech of August 9th, in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 1848 (issues 7868 & 7869). He seemed to take the same line argued by Visconde de Baependy on August 8th (issue 7858), in which he stated that the only way to reduce provincial deficit was through the reduction of investment on public works. He also argued that it was not up to the provincial government to establish a system of letras de divida. This was a dangerous and powerful mechanism which should only be used by the national government.
through approval of his proposal.36

The reform of the Assembly internal code of procedures was also discussed in this same year. Visconde de Baependy was concerned with the need to alter the session’s starting date. He and other deputados argued that this was necessary because farmers were unable to look after their estates during the harvest period if at the same time they were required to come to Niterói in order to attend the Provincial Assembly. Initially, 15th September was agreed upon but this date was later dropped in the face of renewed opposition to any sort of changes. Nevertheless, other modifications were approved so that the internal code would meet the modifications imposed by the 1846 electoral legislation. In this way, the fluminense Provincial Assembly gained more responsibility for the verification of its own members, and only had to refer to the National Assembly in isolated areas.

A major issue arose in the debates on the municipal budget bill over the conflicts taking place in Angra dos Reis. Deputados Sousa Meirelhes and Azambuja fiercely attacked the president of Angra’s Camara Municipal, João

36 It is interesting to note that despite being against the measure, Visconde de Baependy failed to vote with the opposition in the final vote. The issue seemed to have evolved into a test of the confidence if the leading side in the Assembly towards the provincial presidency. Thus, one is inclined to argued that Baependy could not escape aligning with his fellow partisans supporting provincial president Visconde de Barbacena.
Pedro de Almeida for peculation. 37 João Pedro de Almeida was, in his turn, successfully defended by Manuel Joaquim da Silva, who paid tribute to the profitable way in which he had managed Angra's municipal finances.

Yet another local conflict was also raised in the fluminense Assembly. A number of deputados provinciais, presented a bill to transfer part of Diogo Teixeira de Macedo's lands, from the municipio of São João do Príncipe to that of Pirai. 38 Deputado Joaquim José de Sousa Breves, the then president of the Pirai Câmara Municipal lead the opposition to the bill himself. He believed that the bill would produce a disproportionate representation of the 'oligarchical party' in his municipio and argued that during the period in which the Conservative Party was in power, the region had been extremely unstable politically. As a supporter of the party, Diogo Macedo had no such reservations as Breves who, should the situation in Pirai revert, would have no alternative but to leave, given the extreme instability that would once again dominate the region. 39 From a different perspective, Visconde de

37 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1848 (issues 7833, 7835 & 7836). His name will appear again, during a major debate in the late 1860s, in which a political crisis divided the Liberal Party in the province. See below.


39 Ibid. 1848 (issue 7853), page 2. As previously indicated, Joaquim José de Sousa Breves was one of the strongest supporters of the Liberal Party in the province.
Baependy believed that São João do Principe had been subject to a form of discrimination, as its territory had been continuously sub-divided. This had begun with the organization of Valença, Barra Mansa and Pirai municipios, which absorbed many parts of São João do Principe. On a later occasion, another part of the municipio was ceded to Rio Claro. The Visconde felt that it would be better to dissolve the municipio altogether rather than to continue in this way.40 He was the only deputado to support Breves. A substitute bill was later presented by Francisco Cardoso, which was finally approved despite the continued opposition of Breves. The issue is extremely pertinent in the light of the recent 1842 liberal movement. The western fluminense municipios appeared to have been the scene of intense conflicts in 1842 — either between the national government and rebel forces from São Paulo and Minas Gerais, or between local fluminense rebel groups and the provincial government.41 Yet, it is not clear whether the area underwent renewed divisions as the result of land occupation or of the reorganization of municipal structures as means of reinforcing the conservative presence to counter-balance the

He was directly involved in the 1842 liberal rebellion, having been the leader of the movement in the province. See ATHAYDE, José Botelho. ‘Joaquim José de Sousa Breves — Biografia’. Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB). (Typewritten). p. 08.

40 Ibid. 1848 (issue 7856), page 2.

41 Also see Chapter II. p. 87-88.
strong liberal influence in the area. 42

During the course of this legislature, the fluminense Assembly again gave its approval for a deputation to the Corte. Deputado Montezuma proposed the motion, so that the Provincial Assembly could demonstrate its support for D. Pedro II in response to anti-monarchical movements in Europe. He said that he was concerned with the safety of Brazilian Princesses married to European noblemen living in Europe. He felt that the Assembly should offer its support and assure Their Majesties that 'Brazil was the most secure refuge for all members of the Royal Family'. 43 Deputados Castrioto and Dias da Mota opposed the proposal on the grounds that it was inopportune and meaningless, as the point it made was self-evident. Nonetheless, the motion was quickly approved, and a party of thirteen fluminense deputados was chosen to express the Provincial Assembly's sentiments to the Emperor. It might be argued that the real purpose behind this move was once again to stress strong the fluminense commitment to supporting the monarchical system in the country. This was particularly relevant during a period in which growing fears about the disturbances

42 The first three municipios were created in the 1830s and 1840s. Rio Claro was a more recent creation. Account should also be taken of the way in which freguezias were transformed during the period, when the strength of municipios would vary accordingly. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning Baependy's support for Breves' claims. He may have concluded that pushing further on municipal reorganization in the region could jeopardize the entire Conservative strategy to strengthen its position in the area.

43 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1848 (issue 7857), page 1.
beginning to take place in the northeast of Brazil; combined with a certain concern that the events taking place in Europe would somehow spark off more serious disturbances in the country.

A further issue which related to this may be observed in the great concern deputados provinciais expended in preparing the provincial police force contingent bill. The debate focused on two central issues. First, the fear expressed by most deputados that public order was under threat in the province. Although imprecise on the basis for such fear, they frequently referred to an event that had taken place in Iguassú, where a rebel local police had authority gathered local people to dismantle the local customs barrier. This had occurred despite the provincial government sending extra police to the area for fear of such an event happening in the municipio. The case the deputados argued that indicated how easy it was for any local community to react against the provincial administration's will. The second issue devolved from this one. If public order was at stake, the number of police available in the province had to be urgently increased.44 A special committee was set up in the Provincial Assembly to study the validity of creating an extra 180 garrisons in the province. The panic appears to have reached such a pitch that there

44 Nevertheless, deputado Visconde de Baependy argued this was not the only solution to the problem. In fact, he believed that the wisest thing to do was to promote a more professional structure in the selection process to fill local police authority posts. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1848 (issue 7853).
was even a secret session of the Assembly to discuss the matter.45 Later in the annual session, most deputados provinciais came to agree that the 'situation', as they put it, had eased. Apparently, there was no need for the economic burden for the creation of an extra police force in the province would cause. Should any emergency take place, then provincial administration would be able to contain the situation by calling on the national government to send extra forces to the province.

This decision appears to indicate a new tendency in the Provincial Assembly. Some deputados began to indicate their dissatisfaction with the way in which the national government responded to fluminense needs. Deputados Azambuja and Angelo Tomas do Amaral argued very strongly in favour of the need to make a representation to the National Assembly, in which the fluminense Provincial Assembly would express this view and to ask for extra support for some provincial public works from the central government. Deputado Jose Araujo Coutinho also supported this position. This group believed that Rio de Janeiro province 'was not receiving the same type of treatment as was being given to other provinces in the country'.46 They argued that if any

45 Strangely enough, no clue was given to what was going on to provide the grounds for such an enormous concern. Deputados provinciais only spoke of minor events, such as the one quoted before and another similar one in Magé. It might be argued that they mainly feared the possibility of similar events to those which had taken place in Pernambuco since June that year, and were to culminate in the Praieira Revolt, later in November. See BETHELL, Leslie & CARVALHO, José Murilo de. Op Cit. 1985. p. 739.

46 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1848 (issue 7842).
province was to be supported by central government financial aid, it had to be fluminense as it was the province which contributed the most to the growth of the gross national income.47

The fluminense Assembly 1849 debates were primarily marked by the repercussions of measures taken by the central government in Pernambuco to suppress the Praieira Revolt. Clear splits emerged, dividing liberal and conservative deputados. The liberal group faced a critical dilemma. Liberal deputados, such as Dias da Mota, argued that no support should be given to those who took up arms against the central government. Despite all the valid reasons for doing so, those involved in the Praieira revolt should be harshly criticized for resorting to armed struggle. Deputado Francisco de Sales Torres Homem, later to become Visconde de Inhorim, led the other liberal group, who argued that the central government was to be blamed for the revolt as much as the rebel forces. Although not taking any position with regard to the issue of armed struggle, this group of deputados wanted to focus the discussion on the central government as the catalyst for this type of reaction. As soon as the Assembly was inaugurated, Torres Homem presented a request to ask the provincial government for information on whether it was true or not that some Liberal Party members were being deliberately persecuted

47 This type of claim begun to appear more frequently in the Provincial Assembly, indicating the complexity of the ties linking fluminense province to the national government.
within the province. He was concerned with the lack of action from the provincial government to protect Liberals from the unjustified aggressions of many provincial authorities. From this argument, he moved on to an analysis of the way in which Liberal supporters were being treated after the suppression of the Pernambuco movement. He was worried that the tendency to identify liberal supporters as also being supporters of an armed struggle would cause serious damage to political stability in the country. Even worse was the precedent set by the central government in closing the National Assembly for fifteen months. This was totally against the country's Constitution. The whole situation was considered to be the result of growing dissatisfaction in the country with the way in which the Saquarema group was exercising total control over country's management. He then went on to criticise both the central government and the Pernambuco provincial presidency, saying that 'once power had been absolute in the centre but fragmented in the hinterland, whilst now it is fragmented in the centre and limitless on the periphery'.

48 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1848 (issue 8036).

49 Also see later speeches by the liberal deputado Tomas Gomes dos Santos, in which he clearly blamed the Saquarema Party, as he put it, for instigating political disturbances inside Rio de Janeiro province as well as in Pernambuco. In: Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1849 (issue 8053). pages 2 & 3.

50 Ibid. 1849 (issue 8042). Also see Alves Carneiro speech in 23 April, in which he argued that 'the Empire of Brazil lies in the Córte and not in the sum of the province, and the Córte in the hands of the ministers, this is the major cause of our ills'. In: Idem. 1849 (issue 8083). Both statements indicated the Assembly's perception of the
statement led most deputados to defend the central government, and the Pernambuco Provincial Presidency in particular in swiftly acting against the liberal revolt. The debate was lengthy and hotly contested, occupying most of the available time of the following sessions. On one side the deputados Barão de Lages, José da Cunha Barbosa, Dias da Mota, Azambuja, Emiliano Fagundes Varela and Rafael Pereira de Carvalho stood firmly.51 Defending the action taken against the Liberals in Pernambuco. On the other Manuel Joaquim da Silva, Torres Homem, Gomes Meneses, Tomas Gomes dos Santos and Alves Branco, criticized the actions of the provincial and national governments against Liberal partisans as a whole. The impasse between the two sides was insurmountable. A compromise was eventually reached in the decision to send the matter before a Provincial Assembly special committee. This committee consisted of deputados Azambuja, Dias da Mota, and Bernardes de Gouvêa. In a strategic move, the special committee’s decision on the matter was only released on the last day of that annual session. As one might have expected, it was opposed to Torres Homem’s request for information from the provincial government. Yet despite their failure to force the Provincial Assembly to formally condemn the central limitations encompassing the Brazilian Empire. On the one hand, the political system was being imposed by the centre on the surrounding areas. On the other, divisions within the country’s dominant groups provided the gap for conflicts, such as the ones in 1842 and 1848.

51 Dias da Mota aligned with this group on the basis that despite being a liberal, he was opposed to armed struggle.
government's action, the more radical Liberal members of the Assembly were very successful in expressing their points of views on the weaknesses marring the political system operating in the country. Furthermore, they were very skilful in using the Provincial Assembly as a means of expressing their views. This, one might argue, was the best illustration of how the Provincial Assembly was used as an extra arena for political expression in the country, particularly in a period during which the National Assembly was unavailable for political protest.

Major criticisms were also made to the way in which the Provincial Presidency considered the provincial budget bill. In the middle of conflicting debates over the bill contents, deputado Gomes Meneses argued that all the effort the Assembly put into this discussion was meaningless, since the Provincial Presidency never paid much attention to what the fluminense Assembly determined every year. In the same way, the Assembly never bothered to complain or to censure the presidency for acting in this way.52

The end of the 1840s was marked by debates in the Provincial Assembly which pursued a new line in terms of contents and organization. They differed quite dramatically from those observed in the 1830s. There was a shift towards a more professional and business-like approach inside the

52 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1849 (issue 8069). This was the first time this type of view was expressed inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly. It would later frequently used as the most important tool of opposition against the Provincial Presidency.
Assembly. At the same time, a more clearly defined programme – based on exclusively fluminense issues – begun to dominate the concern of most fluminense deputados provinciais. After the early years, in which concern was more often given to the defining of the Provincial Assembly's powers and responsibilities than to their use, the Assembly seemed ready to embark on a more defined political path in the following period.
CHAPTER V

THE DEFINITION OF A POLITICAL PROGRAMME (1850 TO 1869)

5.1 - Introduction.

Debates in the fluminense Provincial Assembly during this period underwent profound changes in relation to what had been observed in the previous period. Many were innovations that characterized the Assembly in a very particular way. It could be argued that the suppression of the Atlantic slave traffic, in 1850, was the underlying factor in so characterizing the period.

As a clear result of the 1850 move, the Provincial Assembly placed particular emphasis on the discussion of strategies for establishing an efficient transport and communication system in the province, and to a lesser extent, an influx of European immigrants to replace the dwindling slave labour in the province. The most striking feature, however, was the genesis of a concern in the

1 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1840 (issues 8337 to 8424); 1851 (issues 8755 to 8810); 1852 (issues 9050 to 9113); 1853 (issues 207 to 289); 1854 (issues 206 to 289); 1855 (issues 214 to 274 and 2nd series n.1 to n.11); 1856 (issues 210 to 229); 1857 (issues 207 to 297) and, 1858 (issues 220 to 234 and 323 to 360). Also see: Jornal do Comércio. 1856 (issues 216 to 293); 1858 (issues 220 to 234 and 323 to 360); 1859 (issues 1 to 20 and 210 to 291) and, 1860 (issues 146 to 228).

2 Also see Chapter I and Chapter II.
Assembly to establish a provincial road system, in which all roads would be integrated to link all areas in the province. Roads were to connect with each other wherever possible. Not only roads, but also railways and waterways were to be incorporated under this new concept.

This can be understood as a new tendency among many deputados provinciais in the period to see the fluminense Assembly as an increasingly vital space for promoting the development of public work projects that might help secure and stimulate the growth of wealth in the province. In many respects, this shows a clear redefinition of the Provincial Assembly’s role, in response to the new attitude expressed by most deputados. The Assembly seemed to have gained strength as an institution. This contrasted very sharply with the picture drawn in the former period, in which the fluminense Assembly was seen almost as a mere talking-shop for politicians, devoted to discussions of many issues affecting Brazilian society as whole. The need to concentrate debates on the establishment of a more specific issue, that of the provincial road system, explains this profound shift.

This response to the suppression of the Atlantic slave traffic was also related to growing fears over the fluminense economy. As discussed in Chapter IV, by the end of the 1840s the fluminense deputados provinciais had begun to discuss how the provincial financial deficit might be averted. At that time, discussion of the issue centered on whether to view the lack of funds to cover provincial
expenses as a temporary embarrassment or to consider it as a long term financial crisis. During the 1850s and 1860s the matter could no longer be treated in such way. As early as 1852, the Provincial Presidency and the fluminense Assembly accepted that there was a large financial deficit in the provincial treasury. After that, the problem was to find a solution to it, despite the urgent need to invest in new development schemes in the province, particularly in regard to the establishment of railway links in the province. There was also a need to support the many private initiatives which were seeking to establish alternative economic activities in the province, such as tea and silkworm cultivation.3

Under these circumstances, deputados provinciais kept a close watch on the way provincial revenues were being collected, as well as seeking ways to tighten provincial government control over the revenue collection system, particularly from the late 1860s onwards.4 Equally

3 This was one indicator of the criticism of the export agriculture system in the province, and reflected attempts to break away from it. The food crisis in the mid-1850s also reinforced this type of criticism as will be seen below.

4 Amendments were made to the 1853, 1854, 1856 and 1857 provincial budget bill to grant the provincial presidency powers to study and propose reforms of this system. Also various pieces of legislation were issued regarding the municipal and provincial taxation. Nonetheless, more comprehensive reforms were only introduced much later.

Meanwhile, the fluminense provincial government signed an agreement with Minas Gerais province to secure a tighter control on the collection of coffee revenue in the two provinces. See 1850 fluminense provincial budget law and fluminense Assembly debates, in: Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issue 259).
important was the way in which attempts to reform the provincial administrative system during the period failed. This was an issue that appeared to gain importance at the same pace as the provincial financial crisis worsened. Despite the 1859 provincial administrative reforms this issue only gained more emphasis among deputados provinciais in the following period. Meanwhile, the deputados provinciais still seemed confident that the province could yet find the means to solve the growing financial deficit in the province. Once this had proved not to be the case, they then went on to discuss more effective ways of reducing administrative costs in the province during the 1870s, as it shall be discussed later.

It might be argued that another factor to play a vital role in this new move within the Provincial Assembly was the arrival of a brand-new generation of fluminense deputados to attend its sessions. Their main common characteristic could be said to have been the links most had with genuine local groups in the province. During this period, only a very few people appear to have been elected deputados provinciais as a result of their close links to the Córte. The period was primarily marked by the apogee of a first generation of politicians who came to represent their local interests at a provincial political level. This was a sharp contrast to the previous period in which many deputados had only taken their seats as fluminense deputados, for lack of better opportunities within the status hierarchy.
This shift in attitude at the fluminense Assembly also coincided with a new phase in national politics, dominated by the Politica de Conciliação, followed by the Liga Progressista. This also helped to produce a very particular picture of deputados provinciais associations, when they could more openly group themselves without regard to their political labels. At the same time, local rivalries were more easily expressed during fluminense Assembly debates. This was mainly due to the fact that the deputados felt they could more easily advance the interests of their local associates in a period of political equilibrium. Previously, political party labels could, to a large extent, limit the actions of deputados by forcing them to support their original political allies.

5.2 - The establishment of a programme of priorities.

The 8th fluminense legislature (1850-1851) opened with a Conservative majority. Major epidemics in the province led to a disjointed annual session in 1850, when many deputados provinciais failed to properly attend most of the Assembly’s daily sessions. This led deputados to transfer the opening of the 1851 annual session to August,

5 See Chapter I. p. 34.

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as the cooler months of the fluminense winter would ensure a healthier environment for the Assembly meetings.6 In the period from 1852 to 1856, a clear Conservative majority continued to dominate debates in the Provincial Assembly. Nonetheless, deputados Joaquim Manuel de Macedo and Francisco Leocádio de Figueiredo managed to maintain a strong opposition to the Provincial Presidency within the Assembly. The Conservative majority relied a great deal on its newly elected leader, Luís Honório Vieira Souto, a key figure in fluminense politics for most of the years to come. In addition to his skill in dealing with the masses of paper-work that the fluminense Assembly generated, he also proved to be very clever in exercising his authority over the Assembly as a whole to secure approval for most of the policies presented by the Provincial Presidency. In other words, he was one of the best examples of what one might call a 'professional politician'. He was the chief officer of the fluminense Assembly administrative secretariat, from its beginning up until the 1880s, and prior to that he had been involved in the organization and publication of the Provincial Assembly Anais (published proceedings). In 1868, deputado José Batista Pereira defined Vieira Souto as the person with the best grasp of all matters relating to the Assembly. He was also regarded as the deputado with the best understating of the set of formal legal rules that

6 Until that time, the Assembly’s annual session had begun in March each year.
governed the fluminense Assembly’s work.7

With the beginning of the 1850s, fluminense representatives attending the Provincial Assembly began to discuss ways to improve the conditions of the roads in the province in a more systematic manner. The first debate granted extra cash for work being carried out on the Campos-Macaé Canal. The project was supported by most of the deputados provinciais, despite opposition from deputado João Caldas Viana. He was a Campos representative, and was highly critical of the canal’s backer, Visconde de Araruama.8 Viana argued that this entrepreneur had already profited far too much from the provincial treasury and that the time had come for someone new to be chosen. Not only that, but Viana also believed that the work could be done for less money and fewer concessions than those granted in the bill under discussion. In this last point, he was strongly supported by deputado Fabiano Pereira Barreto.

Deputado Antonio Gorgolino was opposed to the proposal in

7 Rio de Janeiro (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da ... Op Cit. 1868. p. 13. In 1883, Vieira Souto was also called to the ‘provincial Presidency’s chancellor’ inside the Assembly, a reference to his special relationship with first Inácio Francisco Silveira da Mota and then José Ricardo de Sá Rego, who followed Dias da Mota as provincial president. Vieira Souto was continuously reelected as fluminense deputado provincial from 1854 till 1879, only missing the 15th fluminense legislature (1864-1865) due to the massive Liberal presence in the Assembly. It is not clear why he ceased to be elected as a fluminense deputado, since he remained in his post at the Assembly’s secretariat. In 1887, deputado provincial Oscar Várandy proposed a vote in praise of Vieira Souto’s dedication during his fifty-one year period as chief officer of that secretariat. See Ibid. 1883. Tome I. p. 183; and 1887. p. 392.

8 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1850 (issues 8399 & 8405).
all respects, arguing that Campos already received a disproportionate amount of funding from the provincial treasury.9

Despite this opposition, the concession was approved in the 1850 provincial budget, although no specifications were made regarding who was to be awarded the contract for the work on the canal.10 The Campos-Macaé Canal was again discussed in 1854 and 1860, when again the contract signed between the provincial administration and the entrepreneur in charge of the work was once again a cause of conflict.11

The Nogueira Canal was another project considered by the fluminense Assembly in 1854. Deputados Francisco Cardoso and Vieira Souto favoured its construction, whereas deputado Francisco Leocádio de Figueiredo was very much against it. In 1856, extra funds were voted for the company in charge of the project together with extra financial

9 Ibid. 1850. (issue 8411). It is interesting to note that Gorgolino was a representative of Angra dos Reis, in the southern region of the province.


11 In 1854 Figueiredo defended provincial vice-president Barão do Rio Branco for signing the contract, which was strongly opposed by Vieira Souto. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issues 276 & 280). In 1860, Paes Leme attacked the Provincial Presidency for having suspended the existing contract. New authorization was granted for the Provincial Presidency to sign another contract, so that the work could be carried out. Like many other public works in the province, conclusion of the Canal work coincided with the arrival of a major railway in the region, which took most of the traffic that the canal had been intended to service. See: Jornal do Comércio. 1860 (issue 193) and law n. 1249, December 16th, 1861, article 6, in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1861. p. 99.
incentives as each stage of the project was completed. This move was opposed by Figueiredo.12 His persistent criticism of all moves to establish a better transportation in the north of the province may well have been an attempt to protect the interests of São João da Barra which were based on the coastal trade, which Figueiredo represented.

Another proposal dealing with the northern fluminense region was introduced in 1852 by deputado Luis Mota Leite de Araujo. This called for the concession of extra funds to complete work on the Cantagalo-Macaé road.13 The road was a vital project to secure a continuous flow of produce from Cantagalo, which could be easily shipped from Macaé to the large commercial markets based in Rio de Janeiro city and, as will be seen below, it was the subject of more legislation in 1854.

It was only in 1853, however, that a more comprehensive move was made towards the establishment of a wider transportation system in the province. During that year, the fluminense Assembly held its first discussions of proposals for a railway to be built in the province. As might have been predicted, the project proposed to link Niterói and Campos. It is symptomatic that it was only suggested following moves by central government to facilitate the construction of a rail link between the Córte

12 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issues 281, 284 & 285) and 1856 (issues 283 & 288).

13 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1852 (issue 9082).
and the Paraíba river valley area, the D.Pedro II railway. This double action - by the national and provincial administration - would reveal some sort of compromise between leading groups within the fluminense province, in that if the central government assumed the burden of financing a major project to serve the needs of the coffee sector, then the provincial government had no alternative but to secure the establishment of another railway project in the northern part of the province. In 1854, further debates on the Niterói-Campos railway proposal had the support of all deputados in the Provincial Assembly. During that year, the Provincial Presidency annual report argued that the proposal could only go ahead if the provincial finances were to improve. Deputados Joaquim Manuel de Macedo and João Batista de Castro de Morais Antas took the lead in defending the project and convincing the Provincial Assembly to take a firm stand against the Provincial Presidency's position.

Although the first moves were being made to set up a transportation network in the province, deputados and the provincial government could not continue without also


15 One might also argue that each administrative level - national and provincial - sought to support the economic areas most vital for each of them.

16 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issue 270). Those deputados argued that the future of fluminense provincial finances depended precisely of the construction of the railway to improve its economic situation.
considering ways to handle the growing financial crisis in the province. The confrontations already described testify to the real dilemma facing the fluminense treasury, and the fact that sooner or later a strategy would have to be put into effect to reconcile both the need to invest in provincial roads and the province's financial difficulties. 1854 was the year in which the initial boundaries within which this strategy would evolve were defined. The first step to be taken was a bill proposed by deputado Caldas Viana, which called for the approval of a Provincial Presidency decree to allow part of the provincial expenditure to be covered by money previously allocated to provincial debt repayments.17 This would enable the treasury to continue investing as planned in new road proposals, despite failing to re-establish an economic balance in the province. Deputado Caldas Viana was supported by deputados Jerônimo José Teixeira Júnior, Francisco Leocádio Figueiredo and Francisco Antonio de Sousa. Angelo Tomas do Amaral, although not against the bill in principle, argued that the provincial deficit had appeared officially for the first time in 1852, and then grown a great deal in 1853. He blamed past Provincial Assembly finance Committees for trying to conceal the situation and argued that the time had come to put matters right. It was at least necessary to establish the real amount of the deficit, so that payment could be planned. He believed that a loan or a bond scheme had to be officially

17 See Ibid. 1854 (issues 231 & 236).
set up, so that a concrete basis could be provided for further investments in the province. However, deputado Tomas do Amaral failed to convince the Assembly of the urgency of these measures, and the bill was approved as originally presented.18

Once a solution was found that would officially deal with the provincial financial crisis, the next step was to define a more specific strategy to promote road building in the province. The fluminense Assembly could not continue without defining its priorities on this issue. A first step in this direction was a bill granting an extra 2% guarantee capital return to the D.Pedro II railway project, on top of the 5% already granted by the central government. The proposal had massive support inside the Provincial Assembly, a clear indicator of the many difficulties the national government was having in finding a suitable contractor to undertake such an important enterprise.19

The second move was taken by the fluminense Assembly

18 Ibid. Between 1848 and 1859, Angelo Tomas do Amaral was the secretary in charge of the Secretaria da Provincia do Rio de Janeiro To a large extent his position would have facilitated the deputados provinciais's position presenti ng new road proposals, whereas the Caldas Viana bill only secured freedom for the provincial president to act as he wished in regard to the allocation of financial funds in the province.

19 Ibid. 1854 (issue 279). Also see EL-KAREH, Almir Chaiban. Op Cit. 1980. pp. 37-43. The author argued that in Europe most railway enterprises had a guaranteed return of between 5% to 6%. Shortly after the 2% interest guarantee was voted by the fluminense Provincial Assembly, a suitable contractor was finally found in 1855, the English engineer Edward Price.
in passing decree n. 724, on 25 October 1854.20 This legislation finally defined the ten provincial roads which were to become the central focus for establishing a transportation network in the province. The law also prescribed how private companies were to be organized to carry out construction and maintenance work on the chosen roads. The list of provincial roads represented an even distribution of the various areas in the province, and also included roads in need of maintenance work or needing extension to reach newly occupied areas.21 However, the vital importance of this law lay in the provisions it made for the setting up of companies willing to undertake road work projects. It established that the provincial government was to provide a guarantee return of 5% on capital invested in those companies, as well as other facilities and concessions usually granted to similar provincial enterprises. This was a major piece of legislation, a milestone for later provision for most bills on interest guarantee concessions passed by the provincial government. Although it did refer to railway proposals in the province in particular, this legislation was used in forming most of the companies in this field in the


21 The project listed the following roads or routes: 1)Airó to Resende; 2)Presidente road (between Itaguai and Barra Mansa); 3)Mangaratiba to Rio Claro; 4)Estrada do Comércio; 5)Petrópolis to the bridge over the Paraibuna river; 6)Porto das Caixas to Nova Friburgo or Cantagalo; 7)Estrada Presidente Pedreira; 8)Cantagalo to Macaé; 9)Campos to Sao Fidélis; and 10)Serra do Paraty bypass.
succeeding period.

The Porto da Caixas-Cantagalo Railway was one of the first proposals to emerge as a result of the 1854 legislation. Initially planned as a road under the above legislation, it was later transformed into a railway project after obtaining a special 7% interest guarantee.22

Another road to be debated in the Provincial Assembly following the 1854 legislation, was that to link Petrópolis to the Companhia União Indústria road bridge over the Paraibuna river. This would then become part of the largest national road, which stretched from Rio de Janeiro city to Juiz de Fora, in Minas Gerais province. Despite agreeing that the road had to be built, many deputados provinciais were very strongly opposed to the terms on which the work contract was being set up. Yet, despite this opposition, the contract was finally approved. Later in 1858, a group of fluminense deputados sent a petition to the Provincial Presidency, asking for information on the terms on which the contract was signed and the amount of provincial money paid for the work.23

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23 As the fluminense Assembly usually simply granted the Provincial Presidency powers to sign work contracts, it was commonplace for the deputados provinciais to oppose the terms on which the contracts were finally signed. Financial misdealings were cause for renewed discussions of the Companhia União Industria in 1859, when it was also alleged that the provincial administration was involved. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1857 (issue 278). Also see Jornal do Comércio. 1858 (issues 336 & 342) and 1859 (issues 11, supplement 14 & 221).
Thus, the events that followed the 1854 provincial legislation appear to have proved the argument that a compromise was necessary for further allocation of provincial resources among the various proposals for road developments in the province. The legislation also established the institutional terms under which the fluminense government would come to rely on private companies for the construction of future road in the province. However, growing economic pressure on the provincial treasury was in near future to lead to a revision of that balanced development road programme.

Meanwhile however, a very different kind of response was being displayed regarding to European colonization as means of off-setting the effects of the suppression of the Atlantic slave traffic in the fluminense province. In general terms, deputados provinciais indicated a total lack of concern on this issue, particularly when compared with the urgency which they exhibited in discussing road proposals for the province. Colonization was primarily regarded as a means of scoring rhetorical points rather than a practical matter for debate within the fluminense Assembly. In 1853, Barão de Lages proposed that a special Assembly committee should be set up to examine and recommend ways to promote European colonization in the province.24 He was the only fluminense deputado during the 1850s to push

24 Barão de Lages, Braz Bellens and Fabiano Pereira Barreto were the members elected to that Committee. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1853 (issues 230 & 231).
this issue in the Provincial Assembly. A farmer himself, he argued that there was an urgent need to secure a continuous flow of European immigrants to the province.25 Many deputados discounted Lages' ideas, arguing that colonization was bound to fail in Brazil, since the more favourable conditions prevailing in the United States would inevitably attract the vast majority of European settlers wishing to immigrate.26 Despite this, work still went on in the Assembly special Committee, elected in 1853. In the following year it presented a bill on the matter.27 It proposed that the land given to the province in 1842 by the national government should be surveyed and divided into lots for immigrants. It also established that the provincial administration would repay each immigrant the difference between the cost of a passage from Europe to the United States and the one from Europe to Rio de Janeiro province. The administration would also provide immigrants with tools and seeds, so that they would have some initial encouragement to start working as soon as possible. To the Barão de Lages' astonishment, a number of deputados provinciais proposed that the bill should be sent to other Assembly Committees affected by the proposal, so that a more

25 In 1854 a bill was proposed in the fluminense Assembly to send two fluminense students to Europe to learn new techniques in agriculture with the intention of using these students to open new schools to disseminate the ideas they would learn abroad. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issues 220, 221 & 224).

26 See also deputado Teixeira Jr speech in: Idem.

27 Ibid. 1854 (issues 264 & 270).
comprehensive assessment could be produced. The pressure was such that later in the year the bill was finally re-directed to all related committees. In 1855, the bill was again debated when the Assembly committees finally presented their view of the bill to open the discussion. Once again, a group of fluminense deputados managed to obtain the Assembly's approval for a petition re-directing the bill. This time, it was sent to the Provincial Presidency which, they argued, also had a major say on the matter. Barão de Lages was disturbed by the renewed opposition to the bill. On 3 October 1855, he made a passionate speech in which he expressed his dismay at the fluminense Assembly's lack of interest in acting on such an important issue. From this one might argue, that from as early as 1854, fluminense society did not recognize external colonization as a feasible solution to the growing labour crisis in the province. This later became very explicit, during debates on the 1859 provincial budget. Deputado José Joaquim Heredia de Sá, a Campos representative, strongly attacked attempts to allocate provincial public funds to the establishment of such colonization schemes. Instead, he defended a colonization programme based on use of the

28 The proposal was made by deputado Morais Antas, who had the support of deputados Caldas Viana, Figueiredo and Leite de Araujo. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issue 270).

29 Ibid. 1855 (issues 249 & 268).

30 Ibid. 1855 (issues 2nd series, n.3 & 6). No more comments were found on this particular project, after it remittance to the Provincial Presidency.

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Brazilian-born labour. He went on to say:

'What form of colonization should we choose? To follow the fashion? And bring Swiss, Belgians, Germans - almost all of them protestant - to a catholic country? To bring men from Europe to the heat of the tropics, [where] they are unable to withstand the severity of our climate and become the victims of the yellow fever and other diseases'...

'This type of colonization is not possible, we must fall back on internal colonization'... 'There are many Brazilians suitable for this employment who are not being utilised'... 'firstly because they do not have land to work, and secondly because deflected into service in the National Guard and the Army'... 'Should these Brazilians join our colonies, the result will be wealth and prosperity for all.'

It is also interesting to observe that he was the deputado provincial who had previously criticised the export agriculture system. This had taken place during a debate on a proposal to grant a special loan to the company in charge of constructing the Niterói-Campos Railway. A passionate supporter of this project, he argued that the railway would be a fundamental asset to further development in the province. This was because 'the southern lands are exhausted, and Campos may become the granary of the province, particularly as the south is given over entirely to coffee, and produces no food for the consumer'. As a result, he argued, the lack of available land in the south would inevitably drive farmers to migrate to the far north of the province. Later in 1861, this situation was once

31 See Jornal do Comércio. 1859 (issue supplement 282).

32 Ibid. 1858 (issue 360). Also see the conclusion of his speech, quoted in the previous footnote, when Heredia argued that 'in a few years time there will be coffee and sugar in Brazil, but no manioc, rice or corn; there will be starvation and when the inferior classes are faced with this, they will be driven to commit robbery and murder to survive'.
again a factor in the discussions on a bill to set up a shipping service along the Itabapoana river, in the north of the province. According to deputados Figueiredo and Francisco Cardoso Jr, this would provided essential service since the area was attracting a large number of new settlers from other parts of the fluminense province and Minas Gerais, who were willing to open new farms in the region.33

Criticism of the export agriculture system was also expressed by some deputados provinciais who argued the need to find other alternatives. Since late 1840s, the provincial Assembly had been granting small amounts of money to various proposals to set up new types of activity in the province. Some people took advantage of this fact to try out new and potentially risky schemes. The Cardoso family, from Itaguai, benefited a great deal from such concessions when they were (unsuccesfully) trying to establish a silk industry in the region. Members of the family who sat in the Provincial Assembly frequently asked for extra cash to support the enterprise, which was mainly sponsored by the provincial government in the first place.34

33 See RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit... 1861. Tome III. p. 64. According to deputado Cardoso Jr, the project was also very important to protect the area against Espírito Santo willingness to take possession of these extremely fertile bordering regions. This had already led to a bill proposal in the National Assembly.

34 See the debate on November 11th, 1853; in: Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1853 (issue 286). Later in the 1860s a number of protests were presented to the fluminense Assembly, calling for an investigation of alleged financial misdealings in the Itaguai company. This was the only case found by this research in which formal steps were taken to charge those responsible.
of 1854 and 1855, three other bills were also approved granting provincial support for improvements in the fluminense sugar sector and for tea cultivation in the province.35 All these proposals, were only intended to create alternatives to coffee rather than to export agriculture itself, as Heredia himself tried to imply in the statements quoted above.

To a large extent, concern with the need to seek agricultural diversification in the province was also related to the 1850s food crisis. Few contemporary references appeared in the debates that were published in the Diário do Rio de Janeiro, but in 1855 the newspaper published an article denouncing the great rise in food prices.36 It was only in 1857 that the Provincial Assembly indicated some concern with the crisis, when the Assembly approved deputado Caldas Viana's proposal to set up an investigatory committee to examine the causes underlying the food shortages in most fluminense markets.37 It produced no immediate results, although a report was later published in the Provincial Presidency's annual report, which was 

35 Ibid. 1854 (issue 280) and 1855 (issues 214, 217, 241 & 262). Bills on sugar proposed: 1) development of improved techniques for sugar manufacture; 2) the purchase of new sugar manufacture equipment, recently developed in Europe and, 3) extinction of cockroaches in the sugar-cane plantations. This last was only approved after an amendment which granted the same type of concession to destroy ants in coffee plantations.


37 Ibid. 1857 (issues 286 and 296).
probably part of the research done by the inquiry. Apart from this, deputados provinciais also showed concern with preventing an increase in the municipal tax on exported foodstuffs.

This same type of concern also formed the background for early criticism of the way in which the roads and railways were being sponsored by the provincial government. By the end of the 1850s, some deputados provinciais had begun to question the Assembly's bias towards providing provincial financial sponsorship for three major projects in particular. They feared that the remaining road proposals, defined in the 1854 legislation, would lose the Assembly's previously stated commitment, given the growing financial difficulties being experienced by the provincial public treasury. In 1859, deputado Heredia stated that if the fluminense Assembly was really serious in its concern over food supply in the province, money also had to be spent on the municipal road system. This was the only way in which most local areas would be able to trade any surplus foodstuffs with other parts of the province.

38 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Presidency of... Op Cit. July 29th, 1858. Appendix K. The report took the form of a questionnaire answered by various prominent farmers in the province. Most of them blamed slavery and the export agriculture system for the crisis.

39 See Jornal do Comércio. 1859 (issue 271). Leading Assembly members, deputados Vieira Souto, Eduardo de Andrade Pinto and Caetano de Andrade Pinto all signed a protest against the rise in Paraty's food export duty, approved in the 1860 municipal budget bill.

40 Ibid. 1859 (issue 282 supplement). Heredia makes particular reference to the example of the town of Lages, in Campos, which had a large food surplus, although isolated in
Administrative reform was also another matter often raised in the Provincial Assembly as means of reducing provincial expenditure. This, however, met very particular objections. Attempts were made to begin reforms in 1850, 1851 and 1852, when the various provincial budgets each granted powers to the Provincial Presidency powers to reduce personnel and some of the administrative offices. In 1854 and 1856, deputados provinciais Leite de Araujo, Figueiredo and Antonio Pedro Gorgolino attacked the Provincial Presidency for having made no use of these provisions. Yet despite the pressure, the Presidency did not present a reform bill until 1858. Delays in actually setting up a provincial administrative reform may possibly indicate an arrangement between the Provincial Presidency and most fluminense deputados not to implement effective cuts in provincial administrative personnel. However, events in the far north of the province. Another point he made was with regard to the fishing trade, which he believed had a great potential in the province if offered the necessary provision.

41 See laws of June 19th, 1850 (article twenty-five); n.559 dated September 24th, 1851 (article fifteen); and n.633, October 18th, 1852 (disposicoes gerais, article one). In: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1850 (p.89), 1851 (p.49), 1852 (p.86-87). Also see similar move in the municipal budget bill in law n. 950, November 15th, 1856 (article three). In: Ibid. 1856 (p.180).

42 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issue 267) and 1856 (issue 280).

43 The bill was finally approved by the fluminense Assembly in January 1859. See Jornal do Comércio. 1858 (issue 359) & 1859 (issue 20).

44 Most measures taken by the fluminense administration to that date, rather than reducing costs, seem to have increased the provincial expenditure on the
the course of the 1858 Provincial Assembly session, revealed a complex number of issues involving the need to reconcile provincial expenditure cuts with the requirements of a successful provincial administration of the time.

In 1857, Antonio Nicolau Tolentino was appointed to the post of provincial president. This move was seen by the Provincial Assembly as the consolidation of the Política de Conciliação in fluminense politics. Deputados Ernesto de Sousa Oliveira Coutinho and Carlos B. Moura proposed a motion to congratulate the central government on Tolentino’s nomination. Deputado João Caldas Viana was the only one to oppose the proposal, arguing that he did not welcome the new political phase.45

Despite this initial show of support, Tolentino’s popularity with the fluminense Assembly was short-lived. On 23 August 1858, a clear confrontation developed between the Assembly and the Provincial Presidency, which culminated in the two month postponement of the Assembly’s annual session.46 Whilst most fluminense deputados agreed that the raising of new loans was the best way to finance new road schemes in the province, president Tolentino was in favour

administrative sector. One of the best examples may be seen in the retirement scheme created in 1854. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issue 231).


46 The last straw in the conflict was Tolentino’s refusal to approve the construction of a road linking Barra Mansa to Passa-Vinte. See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1858 (issues 232 & 234).
of retaining provincial finances under a tighter control. Nor was Tolentino entirely in accord with the idea that road development was the major priority to be tackled in managing fluminense province. He was concerned with creating a more balanced administration, in which all matters, such as immigration and administrative reform, would be equally taken into account.

Tolentino was one of the very few people who managed to build a public career in nineteenth century Brazil without relying on status and patronage. He occupied many posts in the provincial and national public administration as he gradually consolidated his position on the national political scene. His nomination to the fluminense presidency in 1857 was, in many respects, the reward for his efforts. Nevertheless, there was more involved than his own personal performance. According to Antonio Candido Mello e Sousa, his nomination owed a lot to central government plans to reform the way in which the provincial executive was organized; in short, to transform that office into a 'professional administrative post'. Tolentino’s past records marked him as an efficient civil servant, but he was not the skilful politician needed to push such a


48 Ibid. pp. 128-133. President Tolentino issued very controversial edicts, such as the decision that provincial civil servants posted in Niterói had to live in the town, when at least one third of them lived in Rio de Janeiro city. In the 1858 administrative reforms he outlined a professional career structure which was based on competitive entrance examinations and gradual promotion, according to an individual’s work performance.

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controversial move through. This led to the shaping of another major conflict between him and the fluminense Provincial Assembly.

Antonio Candido Mello e Sousa stresses very strongly in his article that the conflict between the fluminense Assembly and President Tolentino was primarily based on disagreements over the issue of administrative reform. Although it must be agreed that this was a major aspect, no one can deny that disagreements over the developments of the road network was equally as important. In the long term, fluminense deputados were becoming tired of provincial presidents who claimed to regard the matter as an important one, but who at the same time took no steps to encourage its implementation. Most provincial presidents insisted on waiting for a central government initiative, particularly after the first arrangements made regarding the construction of the D. Pedro II railway.

The central government acted promptly to resolve the deadlock between the fluminense Assembly and the Provincial Presidency. First, a new provincial president was appointed

49 As if protests that had taken place soon after 1850 - at the time of the suspension of the Atlantic slave traffic - were only just occurring almost ten years later. At first fluminense politicians and landowners were confident that the central government would provide them with the roads it had promised. Central government difficulties in fulfilling its promise led to increasing dissatisfaction among those they had been made to. This was coupled with the way in which Tolentino issued the 1858 provincial administrative reforms, which deeply upset the fluminense deputados, who were directly affected by the new changes introduced.
to heal the breach. He was in turn followed by a number of provincial presidents who were very careful to conciliate the fluminense Assembly, given the lack of the necessary funds to heavily invest in building new provincial roads.

Peace was finally achieved in the following year, when João de Almeida Pereira Filho became provincial president. He was a former fluminense deputado himself, and had already served as the provincial president before. He possessed the key qualifications needed to promote a more stable environment in which all factions in the fluminense Assembly and the provincial administration could be drawn together. This was not only necessary for the success of the Política de Conciliação in Rio de Janeiro province, but also to encourage a dramatic shift in strategy to deal with road policies in the province.

5.3 - Changes in transportation policies.

There seems to be little doubt that local areas had great expectations following after the suppression of the

50 Tolentino was replaced by the most well-known diplomat in Brazilian history, José Maria da Silva Paranhos, the future Visconde do Rio Branco. Also see SOUSA, Antonio Candido de Mello. Op Cit. 1988. 138.

51 Visconde do Rio Branco was replaced by various major fluminense provincial political figures, who were in very close contact with most of the fluminense deputados provinciais in that decade. See Appendix III.
Atlantic slave traffic. The provincial government commitment to set up a road network in the province, as expressed in the 1854 legislation, appeared to have been reduced to the development of three major projects: the Conpamhia União Indústria road, the Porto das Caixas railway, and the Niterói-Campos railway. The awareness of this situation led to heavy criticism of the provincial government by many deputados provinciais. This was thrown into even stronger relief by the new political impetus in the country, the Conciliação. This helped to reduce the effectiveness of the fluminense Assembly leadership in securing the passage of many key projects. During this period, deputados provinciais spent a great deal of time on discussions to allot a fair share of provincial revenue to all municipios in the province. By the end of the 1858 session, the situation became particularly tense, when those trying to achieve an equal distribution of revenue and those few deputados who believed this was impossible, given fluminense society's basic priorities, appear to have reached deadlock. Early in the 1859 Assembly session, the new electoral division system was used to express the deputados frustration due to the lack of any response from the provincial administration.52 The deputados provinciais argued that once the necessary amounts assigned to these three major road projects quoted above, were subtracted from the total provincial revenue, the remainder should be equally divided among the nine newly-established provincial

52 See FIGURE III - VI.
electoral districts they all represented. Deputados Eduardo Pinto, José Fernandes da Costa Pereira, Figueiredo, Heredia de Sá and Caetano Pinto defended this strategy as the only way to stop the way in which major public works were being imposed in the Provincial Assembly whilst safeguarding the interests of their local communities. In rebuttal, deputado José Fernandes Moreira argued that this would destroy the representative and administrative government in the province, in that the locality would impose itself over the provincial interests as a whole. He implied that the Brazilian political system was not prepared to withstand the pressure coming from local areas as it lacked funds to respond to it whilst establishing the necessary structures to protect the country’s export agriculture system. Priorities had to be established, following which deputados provinciais could not allow themselves to express local demands in such way, as this would undoubtedly jeopardize the entire future of the province. In other words, if the major fluminense agricultural sectors were to continue to be privileged — meaning that priority would be given to the establishment of major road and railways links between themselves and Rio de

53 See Jornal do Comércio. 1859 (issues 16 and 17). They argued that the alternative possibility would be to divide the remaining provincial revenue into thirty equal portions, one for each of the fluminense municípios existing.

54 Ibid. He blamed the electoral reforms for promoting such a clear identification between local areas and their representatives within the Provincial Assembly, causing the disruption of the fluminense Assembly debates in such way.
Janeiro port — then rapid steps had to be taken to overcome this strong opposition. A compromise was found, and the division argument was dropped. A temporary agreement was reached in the decision to send four representations to the National Assembly, seeking its financial support for the major road schemes. Leading deputados provinciais appear to have convinced the Assembly that if the central government were to ease the existing economic burden on the province, more cash would become available to assist local road schemes.

It might be argued that a careful and well-designed strategy was underway to reevaluate the way in which public works were being supported by the Provincial Assembly. First of all provincial president Tolentino had to go. As mentioned above, the central government might be said to have played an important part in this reorientation process. Initially, it was very skilful in dismissing president Tolentino without either admitting an error or showing contempt for the Provincial Assembly's position on the provincial president's decision to postpone the Assembly's decision to send four representations to the National Assembly, seeking its financial support for the major road schemes.55 Leading deputados provinciais appear to have convinced the Assembly that if the central government were to ease the existing economic burden on the province, more cash would become available to assist local road schemes.

55 See Jornal do Comércio. 1859 (issue 20). The representations asked the national government to release the fluminense administration from its previous commitment to financial assistance to the two major national transport projects: the D.Pedro II Railway and the Cia União Indústria road. There was also a petition calling for the opening of a channel through the Sepetiba bar and another asking for the suspension of the 2% additional tax on exports imposed by the central government.

56 It is important to stress the fact that the attempts of the fluminense deputados to establish a more equal division of fluminense provincial revenue, were taking place at the same time as president Tolentino was in open confrontation with the fluminense Assembly.
annual session. After that, the central administration was very careful to nominate a series of fluminense provincial presidents who were strategically chosen to reconcile Provincial Assembly and Presidency in reaching a solution to the conflict. By April 1859, the conflict was under control and the fluminense Provincial Presidency in position to deal with the re-direction of the most vital policies in the province.

It is important to point out that the leading economic sectors in the province were also strongly in favour of this change in policy. This reflects the participation of local groups in this process, particularly with regard to the move to press on with the construction of the D.Pedro II railway. This could only strengthen the strategy from the Provincial Presidency's point of view.

The end of this transitional period was commemorated with a banquet, held by the fluminense Provincial Assembly in honour of the provincial president and his administration,

57 This was clearly indicated earlier on, during clashes over the proposal to divide provincial revenue into equal shares for all municípios in the province. Deputados Heredia and Figueiredo defended the proposal, fearing that the fluminense treasury would engage itself to financially support another major railway project, the Vassouras branch-line connecting with the D.Pedro II Railway. This project, still to be formally proposed in the Provincial Assembly, was the reason for some fluminense deputados to oppose the equal division of revenues. Special reference was made to deputado Fernandes Moreira, who they believed, was directly involved in the effort to convince the Assembly to support the presentation of the railway proposal. See Jornal do Comércio. 1859 (issues 16 & 17).
in August that year. 58

It is important to note that neither the provincial government nor the fluminense Assembly saw cuts in provincial administrative costs as a way of balancing fluminense provincial public expenditure. This is even more surprisingly considering that this political rearrangement took place at the same time as the 1858 administrative reforms, issued by the president Tolentino were also being discussed. As previously indicated in this study, the fluminense deputados were not entirely satisfied with the way in which the presidency carried out the reforms. Many argued that it had only produced a sharp increase in salaries, and a consequent increase in provincial expenditure. As result, an amendment was made to the provincial budget in October of that same year, calling upon the Provincial Presidency to once again implement a sharp reduction in the number of provincial administrative personnel. However, no modifications were introduced. Later in the following year, deputado Pedro Betim Paes Leme complained of the Provincial Presidency’s stubbornness in failing to comply with the Assembly’s authorization to reduce administrative costs. He was a representative of the

58 Jornal do Commercio was careful to report the event, describing it as 'a rich dinner, elegantly served and attended by all of the senators of the province, the [national] deputados of the same province and a large number of the deputados provinciais, together with His Excellency the president of province, the secretary and chief of police for the province'. Jornal do Commercio. 1859 (issues 258) p. 1.

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coffee sector in the Paraíba river valley and closely associated with the large farmers in the region. This type of protest, however, seemed unable to alter the way in which the provincial administration was organized. Nevertheless, as the provincial financial crisis continued to develop, the farmers' representatives in the Provincial Assembly tended to increasingly complain about the state of affairs, whilst fluminense politicians seemed more concerned with finding a different approach to deal with the lack of cash in the provincial treasury.

This state of affairs leads one to argue that leading deputados provinciais and the Provincial Presidency appear to have agreed that the best way to tackle the deadlock facing the provincial treasury was to make cuts in the provincial public works budget. The dilemma, however, was how to decide which public works should be dropped and which

59 See Jornal do Commercio. 1860 (issue 193). He claimed to be very disturbed by the growing imbalance between expenditure on public works and administrative personnel in the province.

60 Also see another attempt in the Provincial Assembly to reform the provincial administration in 1861. Deputado Joaquim Saldanha Marinho blamed the difficulties experienced in effectively dealing with the problem on the continuous rotation of personnel through the provincial presidential post. The reform was also very difficult to implement, he argued, due to the links between patronage and public interests, which ultimately resulted in the growing need to accommodate a large number of proteges within a fairly small administration. Despite support from the opposition for his proposal, it failed to be approved. See RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa... Op Cit. 1861. Tome I. pp. 111-116.

61 See a newspaper article, criticizing the guaranteed interest concession by the provincial government on large public work projects as the main reason behind the provincial deficit. In: Jornal do Commercio. 1859 (issue 238).
should be carried out. There was little doubt that the real burden was caused by the larger projects, which required a major provincial commitment to fund the guaranteed return for the companies charged with their implementation. There were a number of these projects, which required greater or lesser amounts of provincial aid. The decision finally came out as an amendment to the 1859 provincial budget bill, proposing the suspension of all provincial interest guarantees on all projects except the Cantagalo Railway, the Cia União Indústria road and, the provincial concession of an extra 2% guaranteed interest on the D.Pedro II railway.62 It is very difficult to estimate the real impact of this move, since it is almost impossible to verify the amount being spent on all of the projects. Nevertheless, one fact remains clear: the bulk of public work expenditure remained almost untouched, since the three most expensive projects remained intact. It might be argued that the move was carefully executed, so that all parties would agree upon the need for the measure without realizing its essential failure to establish any sort of concrete changes. Nevertheless,

62 The amendment was signed by deputados Fernandes Moreira, Vieira Souto, Luís Pinto de Oliveira and Eduardo Pinto, who changed their positions on this issue without any explanation. See Jornal do Comércio. 1859 (issue 290). Also see law n. 1169, November 11th, 1859 (article ten); in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1859. p. 193.

Further provincial aid was later granted to the three referred projects, for the construction of branch-lines to service these roads. Also see: Jornal do Comércio. 1860 (issues 187, 192, 200, 204, 205 & 213); and RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Anais da... 1861 Tome II (pp.4, 33, 51-54) & Tome III (pp. 35, 118-119, 131, 145-149, 209-210). 1862 Tome II (p.55) & Tome III (p.168). 1864 Tome II (p. 111).
the decision to restrict provincial support for other public works proposals was taken even further during the following year. It was only in 1861, however, that the strongest criticism to date yet was made of the way in which the provincial government had been using the promise of interest guarantees as a policy to develop key public work projects.

Deputado José Esperidião de Santa Rita, argued that:

'These subsidies for roads and canals in Campos have seriously over-extended the province of Rio de Janeiro; I will repeat what I have said before in this respect; these thoughtless actions, often to the profit of certain and known individuals, have emptied the public coffers. It is a new industry in the country, an industry which has enriched many people'.

As this indicates, there were still members of the fluminense Assembly who remained unconvinced by the move to reduce public works expenditure in the province. In the particular case above, deputado José Esperidião was protesting against a simple proposal to build a prison in Campos. He had close ties to the Rio Claro and Angra dos Reis municípios, and felt very strongly about the kind of 'preferential' treatment that some areas received from the provincial government.

63 There were two proposals to restrict provincial expenditure on public works projects in the province even further. Firstly, a decision to veto any provincial bill that required an extraordinary credit for its execution. Secondly, a decision that in no circumstances could the Provincial Presidency authorize financial compensation for contractors when costs overran the arrangements they had with the provincial administration. This was a clear move to curb that office's freedom to manoeuvre. Both proposals were approved as parts of the 1860 provincial budget bill. See Jornal do Comércio. 1860 (issues 179, 198 & 219).

64 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Anais da... 1861. Tome II. p. 114.
5.4 - The Liberal interregnum.

As might have been expected, various conflicts remained unresolved within the Provincial Assembly. Despite all attempts to reconcile both sides to supporting certain key policies, the only agreement reached was a temporary 'cease fire'. As time went by, the Provincial Assembly faced renewed calls for action. Equally, changes in the national political scene also helped to generate new conflicts within the fluminense Provincial Assembly. The political re-orientation taking place in many local groups was very much linked to the development of new political alliances that was taking place on a national level.66 The organization of the Liga Progressista, and its subsequent control of the national government, led to a growing number of disputes over elections at the local level. This was also one of the reasons behind the arrival of a new group of politicians in the fluminense Assembly in the mid 1860s, who described themselves as a new wing of the Liberal Party.

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65 He was also the leader of the Maromba group within the fluminense Assembly. These were deputados who defined themselves as neither conciliados or conciliadores, but who were neither members of the Conservative or the Liberal party. In other words, independents. See Jornal do Commercio. 1860 (issue 198 supplement). Also see Chapter I, pp. 34-35.

66 See Chapter I, p. 34.
Most of the time they were in opposition to the Liga, although they would take a particular stand regarding each of the various fluminense provincial presidents. The so-called ligueiros – Liga Progressista supporters – remained a minority group inside the Provincial Assembly for almost the entire period that the Liga Progressista controlled the national government. This was initially due to the existence of a conservative majority in the fluminense Assembly, which developed an alliance with those liberals who remained opposed to the Liga. From 1864 to 1868 the new Liberal party wing produced a majority inside the Provincial Assembly. This was due to provincial president Policarpo Lopes Leão, who was, as was argued at the time, appointed to the post with the special mission of ‘wiping out the traces’ of a fourteen-year Conservative domination of fluminense politics.

In 1861, the Conservative party member Luis Alves Leite de Oliveira Belo was appointed to be the new fluminense provincial president. This led some people to believe that if the Liga was to succeed the fluminense politics, something had to be done to open a viable space for effective liberal participation in the provincial political and administrative system. In 1862, major debates were held in the Provincial Assembly on the way in which elections were conducted by the conservative administration.

67 Once again, elections to the fluminense Assembly were held prior to the change in national government control.

68 Also see Appendix III.
in the province. A clear tendency to favour conservatives was considered to be unacceptable in a period in which national politics were being conducted under the mutual agreement of most members of the two political parties. Not only this, fluminense ligueiros deputados also found the choice, in 1862, of Luis Belo as fluminense provincial president unacceptable. They could not see how, as a 'red conservative', he could represent a Progressista cabinet in the province. This issue clearly attests to the Conservative Party’s stranglehold on the fluminense province, as well as to the difficulties inherent in operating a system imposing political opinions from above. Deputado Frederico de Morais Costa, a ligueiro leader in the fluminense Assembly, described this situation by saying that his opposition to the current provincial administration was based on the fact that it was an ‘instrument of a party which after fourteen years of

69 Many speeches were made denouncing this issue, the most interesting by deputado Figueiredo, an ex-Conservative who became a ligueiro leader in the Provincial Assembly. In the end, he came to agree that no politicians could criticize the way in which elections operated in the country, since they all depended on the existing system to obtain a seat in any political institution in the country. In the end, many deputados agreed that they had to accept some kind of electoral intervention, as long as the boundaries of 'fairness and honesty' were observed. See RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1862. Tome III, pp. 166-167.

70 Deputado José Pedro Figueiredo de Carvalho classified this state of affairs as contradictory to the needs of a representative system. The country was dominated by one political opinion, and the province by another. In: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1862. Tome II, p.102. Also see the speech by deputado Eduardo Pinto, in which he called upon the central government to act 'before it is too late'. In: Ibid. p. 160.
rule views with impatience the slipping from its grasps of the power, to conserve which it had already successfully employed this ingenious invention known as the Conciliação... 'the president of the province [Belo] has been preserved in this post, which for him has served as a weapon against the government he himself represents. From this arises the impossibility of dealing with the difficulties which beset [the administration] of the province'.

Fluminense deputados provinciais supporting the Liga Progressista tried to achieve a compromise with any who were willing to accept the new political situation, by using a traditional conservative argument regarding the non-political nature of the Provincial Assembly. Nonetheless, the conservative majority reacted against this, and began to impose a guillotine on the provincial budget bill debates. Many deputados provinciais claimed that such a major conflict had never taken place inside the Provincial Assembly. Deputado Vieira Souto, the main conservative leader in the fluminense Assembly, defended the move by saying that it was the Provincial Assembly's primary duty to secure the prompt passing of the provincial budget. He also argued that conflicts were inevitable in a legislative

71 Ibid. Tome II, p. 130.

72 This was based on the argument that the Provincial Assembly was only supposed to discuss administrative matters, in which no political debate should interfere. Deputado José Batista Pereira defended this position to justify the fact that for the time being Liberals and Conservatives could stay and vote together in the Provincial Assembly. Pereira later became the key Liberal leader in the fluminense Assembly to oppose Conservatives deputados. RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1862. Tome III, p.78.

73 Ibid. Tome IV, pp. 76, 88, 92-96. Provincial Assembly members voted that the December 17th and 19th daily sessions would only end after the budget bill debate had been voted on in the two last readings.

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system and that it was up to the leading faction to safeguard its will, no matter what manoeuvres it had to use to do so.74

Apart from the provincial budget bill debate the conflict between the conservative majority and other groups in the fluminense Assembly also centred on other issues. Cuts in the provincial administrative costs still remained a major issue for discussion. The subject was considered from two related angles. First, criticism of the Provincial Assembly’s ambiguous attitude towards calls for cuts. This was indicated in the debates over deputado Eduardo Pinto’s proposal to abolish the post of assistant officer in the provincial Public Works department. The conservative group in the Assembly did not support the proposal, despite claiming that it would welcome any proposals to reduce provincial public expenditure. Deputado Figueiredo - who by then had changed sides and became one of the main leaders of the Liga faction - supported Eduardo Pinto’s proposal very strongly. He was clever enough to exploit the Assembly’s lack of coherence in dealing with cuts in administrative costs, saying that:

‘every day is made miserable by those who for sheer pleasure, as a point of honour, censure bureaucracy and in the Assembly declare that the public offices are overstaffed and that the major part of the province’s revenue is spent on this; however, should it become necessary for them to provide evidence for these assertions, they retract and retreat in the face of patronage, in the face of interests’...’in dealing with lower-ranking employees orators come to this Assembly to demonstrate the need to reduce the bureaucracy in the province, beginning with these

74 Ibid. Tome IV, p. 161.
jobs - but all of these positions together do not amount to one half of what is paid to just one of the administrative chiefs of the province'. 75

A second approach to this issue focused on the ambiguity of the deputados provinciais own personal background's when considering the matter. Batista Pereira argued that because of the loyalty civil servants owed their superiors, they were unfit to represent local interests inside the Provincial Assembly. 76 This was because the most important duty of the deputado provincial was the inspection and surveillance of the fluminense provincial administration. At the same time it is unlikely that Batista Pereira's own personal background could not withstand such a direct and clear criticism of the organization of provincial politics and he was clever enough to modify his previous position to a more flexible one. In the end, he concluded that deputados provinciais who were also civil servants, had the ability to distinguish interests prevailing at each of the two institutional levels: the political and the administrative ones.

Nevertheless, most deputados provinciais seemed to be

75 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1862. Tome IV, p.104. He went on to say that this situation was even worse because the administration's chief officers also held many posts within the national administration, which took most of their time and kept them at the Córte. He cited as one example the provincial education chief officer, who had three posts at the Córte, despite the good salary that he was receiving from the provincial treasury.

76 Ibid. Tome III, p. 78; also see pp. 93, 100 & 172 and Tome IV, p. 144. It is interesting to note Batista Pereira's contradictions in arguing in such a way, since he himself was a civil servant.
discomforted by Batista Pereira’s remarks. Vieira Souto attacked him fiercely, describing his attitude as cynical and hypocritical. Even deputados Figueiredo de Carvalho and Eduardo Pinto stated that Batista Pereira should have first left his job at the provincial administration before coming to the Provincial Assembly to attack those who were in the same position himself. As a result, deputados provinciais once again failed to pass cuts in the provincial administrative costs.

The debate on Camaras Municipais finances also provided an arena for intense clashes between the two factions in the Assembly during the 14th legislature (1862-1863). Deputados provinciais had a long tradition of criticizing the way in which the vereadores conducted municipal affairs in the province. This was also partially due to the provincial government’s growing tendency to squeeze every single source of public revenue out of the fluminense municipios. During the early 1860s this concern increased, resulting in the setting up of a Provincial Assembly special committee to examine the way in which vereadores had been organizing municipal budgets and expenditure records. Vieira Souto tried to compromise by blaming the municipal administrative officers for the unsatisfactory situation. He contended that they were the ones who really handled local administrative affairs, since

77 Ibid. Tome III, p. 78.
78 Idem.
79 Ibid. Tome II pp. 154 & 173.
vereadores were very busy people who only accepted election to their post in a public-spirited attempt to help their local communities.80 Other suggested other reasons to account for municipal administrative mismanagement. Deputado João Batista Cortines Laxe blamed the central government for its frequent intervention and encroachment on Camaras Municipais powers and responsibilities. It often imposed new obligations on municipal authorities without granting the financial means needed for their successful accomplishment.81 Deputado provincial Manuel Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck temporarily shifted allegiance, abandoning the Conservatives to support the Ligueiro group in defending the Camaras Municipais against this latest attack.82 This temporary shift was probably caused by his strong associations with municipal institutions. However, according to deputado Eduardo Pinto, another issue was to be blamed for the crisis in municipal credibility. He argued that the continuous rotation of different provincial presidents produced great instability at the municipal

80 Vieira Souto went on to say that vereadores were not even paid to undertake such a major responsibility. Deputados provinciais should have more sympathy for the vereadores’ position. In: Ibid. Tome III p.61. It is also interesting to note that previously Vieira Souto himself had been a vociferous critic, attempting on every possible occasion to complain about what he called the vereadores’ incompetence in dealing with municipal affairs.

81 Ibid. 1863. Tome II, p.103. Cortines Laxe published a major study on municipal legislation and the Camaras Municipais in 1885.

82 Ibid. 1863. Tome II, p. 160. Up till then, Manuel Werneck had been closely associated with the so-called ‘pure’ Conservative wing, which did not accept any type of association with the Liberals in the Progressismo.
level. This was caused by the constant fear that new local nominations would bring changes to local administration each time that a new president was appointed.83

Another area of conflict between the two main factions during the 14th term of the fluminense Assembly may be observed in the debate on central and provincial government relations.84 This was first raised in the Assembly during a discussion on the existence of indians in the province.85 Deputado Joaquim Alvares de Azevedo argued that the provincial government was in direct conflict with the Diretoria Geral de Indios, a national administrative body set up to deal with the indians in the country. Alvares de Azevedo had no doubts that a great number of them still existed in fluminense territory. Nonetheless, he argued that:

"the president of province knows that the lands of the indians have been extorted from them despite their rights, yet His Excellency is afraid to offend the new holders of these lands because they are more powerful than their victims"..."in contradiction"...

"the central government [through the Diretoria Geral dos Indios] understand the need to continue the catechism of the indians in the province of Rio de Janeiro; [but] the provincial government says that no such need exists, because no indians exist in this province".86

On the one hand, this is an illustration of the escalation in land disputes in the province during the 1860s, whilst on

83 Ibid. 1862. Tome III, p.102.
84 Also see Appendix II for the dates of the fluminense legislatures.
85 Ibid. Tome III, pp. 156-'57.
86 Idem.
the other, it also indicates the way in which the provincial government intervened on behalf of the landowners' interests when dealing with the central administration.87

Discussions on the end of the Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais agreement on coffee revenue collection also touched on some aspects of the relationship between provincial and central government. Early in 1861, deputados attending the fluminense Provincial Assembly decided to grant the Provincial Presidency the powers to renew the agreement.88 Minas Gerais province, however, was unwilling to renew it without an improvement in the previous unfavourable terms of the earlier agreement.89 In 1862, deputados provinciais Batista Pereira and Manuel Ribeiro de Almeida called upon the fluminense government to organize a new agreement as soon as possible, so that an end could be made to the increasing defrauding of on coffee revenues.

87 A different discussion also involving a land dispute took place on October 30th, 1863. A proposal was made calling for the suspension of legislation which dealt with appropriation of land, so that public works could be carried out, in which a distinction was made between those who had access to land through the Sesmaria scheme and those who had actually bought their lands. The former were considered to be under an obligation to return their land free of charge because of the obligation they had, under that scheme, to use the land as a 'for the public weal'. See Ibid. 1863. Tome I, pp. 60-62.

88 Ibid. 1861. Tome III, pp. 222-224.

89 The agreement signed in the early 1850s stated that a superior quality coffee was produced in Rio de Janeiro province, and consequently it should be subject to a more expensive duty. Minas Gerais farmers paid less tax, but also received less money for the coffee they sold at the export ports. Later in the 1860s, Minas Gerais coffee production improved dramatically, in quantity and in quality which explains why the fluminense administration was never able to obtain a further agreement for renewal.
They blamed Minas Gerais for receiving coffee duty from many fluminense farmers. They believed that the decline in revenue was not cause by a decline in fluminense coffee production in the latter years, but rather by growing corruption in the handling of fluminense coffee duty payments. Deputado Vieira Souto took a more conciliatory position, arguing that the problem was being caused by the difference in coffee tax prices between the two provinces. He went on to say that it was only a matter of balancing the prices. He also believed that it was pointless to blame Minas de Gerais province, since fluminense farmers had the ultimate responsibility for misleading the fluminense province. If anyone was to be blamed it had to be the National Assembly for not acting to stop the conflict between the two provinces. He argued that:

'if the representatitives of Brazil in the National Assembly had less care for politics and more for the administration of the country (tumultuous applause) naturally they would have already examined these issues, and the remedy is neither difficult to discover or to apply'...‘there is little time for political discussion but they consider nothing but politics. The administration of the nation is something which no-one is concerned with’...‘no sooner do they finish with the votes of thanks (which take several weeks) than the annual laws appear’...

'which consume whole sessions; at this time it rains amendments, the world and all his proteges scramble aboard the little bandwagon which serves that Assembly until one beautiful day someone says that it is time to vote, closing the discussion and its only then that any notice is taken of the mountains of paper which cover the table and which are approved or

90 Ibid. 1862. Tome III, pp. 36, 61 & 81. Deputado Batista Pereira argued that in municipios such as São Fidélis, Paraiba do Sul and Valença, coffee production was just beginning to boom.

rejected as God wills'... 'it frequently happens that such approvals and rejections are in contravention of all good sense. It is a sad spectacle to take part in such a vote as these!'... 'What kind of example is this to be given by the National Assembly!'... 'I lament and decry the passivity with which the National Assembly views the spectacle of two sister provinces at odds, and so embittering and disrupting a relationship which should always be the most amiable. However, the remedy is extremely simple (applause). This occasion has furnished me with the opportunity to express my complaints, and so I have taken advantage of it'. 92

Vieira Souto's strong words regarding the National Assembly surprised most deputados the fluminense Assembly. Deputado Figueiredo de Carvalho welcomed his speech, which for him came from the least likely of the deputados provinciais to speak in such way. The lack of opposition to Vieira Souto's speech might be said to have indicated the realization of most fluminense representatives that his words profoundly described the workings of the fluminense Provincial Assembly worked. However, the coffee tax issue remained unresolved. 93 Complaints were again heard at the fluminense Assembly in 1865 and 1868, showing the difficulties the Provincial Assembly experienced in reconciling the interests...


93 Deputado Figueiredo de Carvalho argued that this was causing a massive migration of fluminense farmers, such as Comendador José Eugénio Teixeira Leite. They were moving out into the Zona da Mata, south of Minas Gerais, attracted by the easy availability of land and the region's tax system. In: Ibid. 1862. Tome III, pp. 61 & 73.
of the farmers with those of the provincial administration.94

In a similar conflict, deputados provinciais also demonstrated their discontentment with central government's ineffectual efforts to change the way the meia siza tax (charged on the slave trade) was collected by the Córte.95 Differences in the rate of tax charged in the province and at the Córte, created a situation in which most people chose to pay it at the Córte rather than to the province.96 In 1863, deputado José Sizenando de Avelino Pinho proposed the payment to the provincial treasury of a fixed amount (40$ réis) on every transaction in slaves, taking place either in the province or at the Córte.97 This met strong opposition on the grounds that this would impose more duties on fluminense farmers rather than restrict the dominance of the Córte. Again, this placed the fluminense Assembly in a

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94 In 1865, deputado Francisco Portela blamed the fluminense authorities for presiding over the organization and management of an incredible system of extortion and corruption revenue. He appeared that the Mesa Provincial, based at the Córte, was deeply involved in the case. It was also very worrying, he argued, that the office refused to supply the Provincial Assembly with the information it had asked for, so that measures could be taken to remedy the situation. In 1868, deputado Joaquim Leite Ribeiro de Almeida, who was closely associated with fluminense farmers in the Paraíba river valley, defended the argument that the solution lay in the equalization of coffee duty in both provinces. See: Ibid. 1865 (p. 310) & 1866 (pp. 617-618).

95 Tax paid by those who bought the slaves. It was at the Córte, the biggest slave market in the country, that fluminense farmers mainly bought the slaves they needed to work their lands.

96 Ibid. 1862. Tome III, p. 38.

97 Ibid. 1863. Tome II, p. 81.
difficult position in which they had to try to reconcile the administrative need to increase provincial revenue with defending the farmers' interest, in the face of the Córte stranglehold on the slave trade. It was no surprise when the farmers' interests eventually prevailed, and no changes were made in the existing scheme. The matter is also a very indicator of the strong position still maintained by those who at the Córte, controlled the bulk of the country's internal slave trade.98

Debates in the Provincial Assembly also reflected a number of conflicts at the local level. The most relevant one dealt with a dispute between Vassouras and Valença, over the route and location of stations on the D.Pedro II railway, then under construction in the area.99 Two deputados provinciais, the brothers Manuel Jacinto and Francisco Nicolau Nogueira da Gama, who had close links with farmers in Valença, presented a motion asking the Provincial Presidency to provide copies of the proposals sent by the railway management. They also wanted to obtain documents related to the provincial public work department view of these proposals. In reality, their real aim was to call attention to the fact that the provincial government was


opposing the railway’s plans, and so favouring Vassouras as the chosen site for the future railway station in the region. 100 Deputado Vieira Souto was quick to defend the provincial government. Nevertheless, he later came to agree with the Nogueira da Gama brothers that the railway management’s proposal was the best deal for the province. He also warned Valença Camara Municipal to wary, as he had no doubts that Vassouras would make strenuous effort’s to acquire the D.Pedro II railway station for itself. 101 Many deputados were prepared to defend Vassouras. Figueiredo, Joaquim Inácio Alvares de Azevedo, José Magalhaes Calvet, Figueiredo de Carvalho and Joaquim Leite Brandão refused to accept Vieira Souto’s view that there was a plot by Vassouras to undermine Valença’s interests. Instead the Provincial Assembly had to realize the need for Vassouras’ representatives to demand that the railway management should fulfil its earlier pledges to construct the station in their

100 It is interesting to note here the Provincial Assembly’s ability to interfere in the most vital discussions regarding the D.Pedro II Railway. Despite the fact that the railway was mainly sponsored by the national government, and as such, regarded as national project, the fluminense decision to grant a guarantee of an extra 2% interest to the project, enabled the Provincial Assembly to express views regarding the development of the railway. Thus, it could provide local sectors with an extra channel for expressing their demands with regard to that railway.

101 Vieira Souto argued that the decision to build the station on a site closer to Valença was due to the general principle followed by the railway management to build stations at crossroads, where more products and more people would be reached and serviced. See: Ibid. 1862. Tome I, p.43.
municipio. It might be argued, however, that the desperate need referred to was not related to the prosperity that Leite Brandão wanted to affirm, but rather of the growing difficulties the municipio was having in sustaining the growth in coffee production.

Another important conflict which developed inside the Provincial Assembly took place over a proposal to light the streets of the provincial capital, Niterói. During the 14th legislature, a proposal was presented to grant J. Aradjo Coutinho Viana facilities to improve Niterói's gas street lighting. A major conflict took place over the proposal, which was defended by deputado Jerônimo Lima Campos against strong opposition from deputados Figueiredo and Figueiredo de Carvalho. Figueiredo's strong determination to stop the proposal reflected his deep involvement in provincial affairs, despite representing a Macaé in the Assembly. Both deputados opposed the bill on the grounds that it was very expensive and that the proposed improvement could be made without offering such generous

102 Ibid. 1862. Tome I, p. 50. See also p. 50 for a petition sent to the Provincial Assembly by 304 farmers from Valença which, according to Vieira Souto, included very important people from all political, groupings in that municipio.

103 See TABLE II - II. See also Chapter II.

104 In 1854 a first contract was set up. In: Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issue 285). Also see 1858 provincial budget bill, law n. 1069 (14/11/1857), article three, paragraph eight; in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1857. p. 170.

concessions to the contractors. Lima Campos appears to have reacted very strongly to these assertions, but not all of his speeches were published. The majority of deputados supported the proposal. Deputados who were opposed to it tried to restrict the concessions granted by presenting a number of amendments to the proposed bill. However, they failed to gain the approval of the Assembly, demonstrating the conservative majority’s close involvement with the entrepreneurs behind the proposal.

Returning to the previous argument, in which deputados provinciais believed that if the Liga Progressista was to succeed in fluminense politics it would be necessary to mount a 'clean-up' campaign, it could be argued that Policarpo Leão was appointed provincial president for precisely this reason. As seen above, the 1862 Assembly session was marked by many conflicts between progressista and conservative deputados provinciais. At the end of it, most issue were decided according to the wishes of the

106 It is possible that on many occasions there was a deliberate strategy in nineteenth century Brazilian politics, to prevent the public having knowledge of vital speeches to favour the approval of vital pieces of legislation by the Assembly. Also see: GOUVêA, Maria de Fátima Silva. 'The Brazilian Chamber od Deputies’ debate over the passing of the Free Birth Law of 1871'. M.A. University of London, 1984. p. 29.

107 The approval of the bill in its original form finally produced a split in the Conservative Party within the Provincial Assembly. Deputado Figueiredo finally took a leading role in the Progressista group inside the Assembly, completely abandoning his former political position.

108 See also Appendix III.
conservatives. During the 1863 session, however, most of them were amended to fit a progressista stance. One of the best examples of this process was the suspension, after Policarpo Leão was appointed provincial president, of the decision taken in 1862 to improve Niterói street lighting.109 This move was strongly protested in the Provincial Assembly, even to the point that a special committee was elected to consider whether the presidential decision was right or not. Strong clashes took place when the committee failed to reach a unanimous decision on the provincial president’s action. Deputados Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa and Bento de Oliveira Lisboa condemned the suspension, whereas deputado João Cerqueira Lima defended the provincial president’s powers to judge whether a contract drawn up by the Provincial Assembly served fluminense province’s best interests.110 Both sides in the Provincial Assembly were extremely sensitive on the issue and were not prepared to compromise. Only a small number of the conservative majority pledged support to the new provincial president. Even more striking was the formation of a coalition between the small liberal group and


110 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1863. Tome II, pp. 152-156. Another interesting example of president Policarpo Leão’s attack on earlier decisions taken by the Conservative majority was the suspension of all provincial financial aid granted to the Companhia Seropédica based in Itaguai. He did this following allegations of financial misdealing by the company. In: Ibid. 1864 (Sessao Extraordinária). p. 193.
the conservative majority, in strong opposition to the Provincial Presidency. They argued that the 'oligarchy had fallen, but was replaced by the notorious directory, a thousand times worse than what had gone before' and that provincial president Policarpo Leão and his fellow partisans were promoting 'the increasingly direct, vital and growing influence of the 1842 liberal elements, on the souls of certain men'.

Despite their strong opposition, Conservative leaders accepted that they had to co-operate with the provincial government to secure the passage of the provincial budget bill. Yet despite this argument, strong conflicts inside the Assembly meant that for the first time in its history the fluminense Provincial Assembly failed to issue the provincial budget bill. The conservative opposition was so determined that the Provincial Presidency refused to grant

111 It is important to note that on many occasions the Provincial Assembly majority of deputados opposed the Provincial Presidency. This produced various results, accordingly to the divisive issues behind the conflicts.

112 Italics as in the original. Ibid. 1863. Tome, II, pp. 161 & 156. This last argument was the favourite motto for Conservative criticism of the Liberal Party in the Assembly. This argument was used many times by the conservative minority later in 1864. In response, Liberal representatives always blamed the Conservative Party for having instigated the 1842 rebellion. See: Idem. 1864 (Sessão Extraordinária). pp. 28, 32, 174 & 236. Also see below for further discussions on this issue in 1868.

113 They argued this was the most important duty in the provincial legislature, otherwise they maintained a strong opposition against provincial president Policarpo Leão, whose nomination they regarded as big mistake. See: Ibid. 1863. Tome II, p. 76; with regard to Conservative deputados protests against Policarpo Leão nomination, also see pp. 77, 157, 161, 184 & 191.
extra daily sessions for the Assembly’s final vote. This astonished the fluminense deputados, who did not expect this type of attitude from president Policarpo Leão. Even deputado Figueiredo, a leader of the Liga Progressista in the Assembly, expressed his disbelief. Equally, it might be argued that the Assembly conservative majority had already decided to prevent the final vote on the provincial budget bill being taken. This was to be the final strategy to express its total opposition to and lack of co-operation with the Provincial Presidency.114

This conflict appears to have been reinforced by changes made in the provincial administrative personnel by provincial president Policarpo Leão. This annoyed many deputados, particularly with regard to the modifications in local police authorities. This was said to have been due to the dissolution of the National Assembly and the Liga Progressista’s need to re-organize the state apparatus for the forthcoming elections.115 Deputado Joaquim Leite Brandão argued that:

114 Ibid. 1863. Tome II, p. 77. Also see p. 184, where Vieira Souto was meticulous in demonstrating how dear the discussion of the provincial budget bill was to members of the Conservative Party. He went to all the trouble of producing a table with estimates of past efficiency and speed on the part of the previous conservative majorities in the Assembly in producing and voting the bill. Also very interesting was his ability to match the dates in the table with those of the period in which he had been elected to the Assembly.

'these dismissals took place, Mr. President, to engineer an election victory; these changes reached from the Provincial Presidencies to the neighbourhood inspectorate, the post men and even prison officers, almost all were touched and altered.' 116

In this way, Policarpo Lopes Leão managed to 'clean up' the province, weakening the conservative stranglehold and establishing the conditions for an increasing liberal participation in the management of fluminense affairs. 117

In the case of Provincial Assembly, the result was astonishing. The 15th legislature (1864-1865) brought an overall liberal majority into the Assembly. 118 During the 1864 extraordinary session the heart of the conservative deputados opposition continued to be based on protests against the recent reorganization of the fluminense

116 Ibid. 1863. Tome II, p. 161. There were also descriptions of replacing juízes municipais in most municípios. Conservative deputados provinciais were unhappy with the fact that Policarpo Lopes Leão had dared to change personnel in regions considered to be under conservative political influence, many of which were the heart of the so-called 'red' conservative wing, such as Saquarema and Mangaratiba. Also see: Ibid. 1863. Tome II, pp. 118-120 & 158.

117 This was the vital element in the success of the Liga Progressista in fluminense politics. As the conservative presence was so strong in the province, action was needed to create space for liberal participation, so that the two political parties could be evenly, represented in the fluminense provincial government.

118 The conservative minority was made up of only three deputados provinciais. They were Candido José Rodrigues Filho, Manuel José Marinho da Cunha and João Nepomuceno Castrioto. Deputado Figueiredo, leader of the Liga, tried to convince these three members to join the rest of the deputados in the fluminense Assembly, quoting examples of many conservatives who did so at the national level. In response, one of them argued that although small, the 'radical conservative minority' would work very hard in opposition within the Provincial Assembly. In: Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 09.
In response, liberal deputados attacked previous conservative governments for being more concerned with their members' own private interests than with the efficient management of provincial affairs. Liberal deputado José Segundino Gomensoro argued that:

'I salute my country on the occasion of the overthrow of the feudal power which for many years has sunk its roots in the soil of Brazil (Applause)'. 'I bless this day because I have seen the reign of patronage and nepotism, the rule of egoism and vice thrown to the floor (Applause). I salute my country for seeing an end to the power of men who, far from serving the interests of the country, consult only their own needs; who far from wishing to establish meaningful institutions, have used every means available to them to circumvent the law.'

This criticism also led deputados provinciais to exchange fierce words over what Candido Torres described as the farce of a representative system. He carefully described the various strategies used by provincial president Policarpo Leão to secure a liberal majority in the forthcoming provincial legislature. Free elections were a fiction in Brazil, he argued, since the Provincial Presidency would always make sure that the results would match its political interests. In response, liberal

119 Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 09-10.
120 Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 174.
121 Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 10, 12-14, 114-115 & 126. Later in the year, Candido Torres also described the way in which the current provincial president, Bernardo de Sousa Franco, postponed juizes de paz elections, so that they could continue to act in favour of the Liberal Party in forthcoming elections. He also argued that: 'until now, Mr. President, the appointment of almost all justices of the peace and the majority of [electoral] colleges has been in the Conservative Party's gift' when someone replied that 'it is for this reason that they could arrange the elections (Applause). They had set up the machinery'. See:
deputados argued this was the strategy used by Conservative Party to retain power over the previous fourteen years. Deputado Felipe Jansen de Albuquerque Júnior also argued that:

‘the conservatives, when out of power, are accustomed to say that the most legitimate triumphs of the liberals are the offspring of fraud and violence, from their own experience of what they themselves do. That is, the noble deputy ignores the electoral history of Brazil, which should tell him that we no longer live in the days when bayonets were used to extract a bloody victory from the ballotbox’...‘I see now that the Liberal Party has won peacefully and pacifically on all fronts, without the use of brute force, but only with the support of the ideas which rule the century (Applause), I do not see the old Conservative Party of the last fourteen years which used the law for conscription in the National Guard as electoral manoeuvre, which made of independence a most shameful obedience, coercing votes, with the threat of conscription for those who did not obey their wishes (Applause)’...‘[after] the fourteen years of terror which have produced so many widows and orphans’...‘who are the Conservative Party to accuse the Liberal Party, in this present sea of roses?’

However, further debates in the Provincial Assembly revealed that the main political issue in that legislature was not the conflicts dividing conservative deputados from those who supported the Liga. Once the latter had defined the line of attack against the Conservative Party and its past provincial administrations, clashes begun to take place among the various liberal groups attending the Assembly. Much of the blame for this situation was laid on former provincial president Policarpo Leão. The decision not to

Ibid. Tome II, p. 99; also see p. 107.

122 Ibid. 1864. Tome II, p. 147.
grant an extension to the 1863 session and the way in which he carried out personnel changes throughout the provincial administration, were the main causes for dispute in the divisions among the majority of deputados supporting the central government. Deputados expressing a trenchant opposition to the former provincial president Policarpo Leão, tended to identify themselves more closely with municipal local interests. Later in 1865, they began to refer to themselves as the localistas.123 Deputado Francisco Portela, however, was one of the first deputados in the Provincial Assembly to criticize the Liga Progressista from a new and different approach.124 He argued that:

‘there exists a mixture of repugnant ideas among them which have brought discontent conservatives and credulous liberals to power and which have only caused the unscrupulous to flourish’...‘The head of the conservative hydra has been cut off but this was only possible because it was no longer its head and now preparations are being made to do the same to the Liberal Party (Many interruptions)’...‘the liberals

123 It was only in 1865 that this expression begun to be used by both sides when referring to this group of deputados inside the Assembly. During that year, the group of deputados supporting the Liga Progressista in the Provincial Assembly became a minority and began to attack the localistas for ‘respecting neither time nor place: they appear to consider all occasion opportune in serving the interests of their localities’. In: Ibid. 1865. p. 140. Leaders on the Liga Progressista side were deputados José Pedro Figueiredo de Carvalho, José Tito Nabuco de Araujo, José Batista Pereira and Francisco Leocâdio de Figueiredo. The localistas most outspoken representatives were deputados André Lino da Costa, Manuel Joaquim da Rocha Campista, Francisco Portela, José Heredia de Sã and Manuel José de Sousa.

124 He was the first fluminense deputado provincial to pledge his support to the republican ideal, despite his belief that the country still needed another fifty years of monarchy before embarking on a Republican system of government. See: Ibid. 1865. p. 318.
are being sacrificed, who without governing are yet charged with the responsibilities of power (Applause)'...‘it would be preferable for the true Conservative Party to take power rather than for confusion to continue to reign’.125

As he pointed out, the emerging new liberal group did not find itself recognized under the new political alliance prevailing in the country as had been expected. At the provincial level, the Liga Progressista had neither the support of the liberal majority nor of the small group of conservative deputados provinciais. Leading deputados, who favoured the central government, were unable to exercise authority over newly elected liberal fluminense deputados. This meant that the fluminense Provincial Presidency was only able to rely on a small number of deputados in the Provincial Assembly. These deputados closely identified themselves with the clashes in the 1862 fluminense Assembly, which they defined as the beginning of the liberal struggle to regain its place in fluminense politics. They were unhappy with the fact that ideas they had defended in 1862 had still not been approved in 1864, particularly the proposed reforms to reduce provincial administration costs. This was a basic issue dividing the liberal groups. In May 1864, three special Assembly committees were elected to propose administrative reforms in the provincial departments

125 Ibid. 1865. p. 318. Italics as in the original. He concluded his speech by blaming this situation on the tendency for private interests to rule over public ones. Earlier in 1864, deputado Heredia de Så also pointed out that the current political situation was not being conducted by truly liberal leaders. In: Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 196.
for education, public works and the treasury.126 This, however, was taken as a criticism of those who favoured the Liga and the Provincial Presidency, as they had already made proposals to grant the power to the Provincial Presidency to itself implement reforms in the very same administrative areas.127 The two sides reached deadlock. The conflicts became more bitter when Nabuco de Araújo presented a petition asking the Provincial Presidency to hand over documents relating to provincial coffee revenue collection during the preceding years. Nabuco de Araújo wanted to challenge the Provincial Presidency annual report statements on the decline in coffee production in the province, which he felt were a simplistic way of justifying a lower provincial income and the cuts in provincial expenditure made by president Policarpo Leão.128 This was the tinder which sparked off a major struggle between the two liberal groups. Later on, deputado Nabuco de Araujo appears to have realized the repercussions of his move in increasing conflict and jeopardizing hopes for liberal unity in the

126 Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 244-247. The proposal to elect these committees came from deputados Francisco Portela, Nabuco de Araujo and Francisco Pinheiro Guimaraes.

127 See amendments proposed to the 1864 provincial budget bill, in: Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 265 & 274. These amendments called for the same1862 proposals to have these three departments subject to the Provincial Presidency’s Secretary, instead of the provincial president. Leading deputados provinciais supporting the Liga Progressista - and the provincial president - were Figueiredo de Carvalho, Figueiredo, Batista Pereira, Augusto de Castro e Silva and Manuel Rodrigues Jardim.

128 Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 170-172.
province, as well as damaging his party’s attempts to run the fluminense provincial administration successfully. Shortly afterwards, he withdrew his petition and began to move towards an alignment with the deputados supporting the Liga Progressista. However, the damage had already been done and the split between the two groups had already crystallized. As a result, the smaller group of deputados, who favoured the government, became isolated and withdrew its amendments from the provincial budget bill. The three Assembly special committees remained the final official forum for establishing administrative reforms in the province.

These conflicts, however, were viewed from a different angle by deputado provincial André Lino da Costa. A provincial civil servant himself, he claimed to represent the provincial administrative employees in the fluminense Assembly. He argued that his class was no more than a plaything to the members of the Provincial Assembly. They enjoyed criticising the provincial administrative personnel, but did not have the courage to carry out the modifications they discussed. He also argued that whilst it was easy to say that provincial civil servants were inefficient, if this was really the case, then the deputados provinciais should put things right as it was their place to do so. According to Lino da Costa, they did not because of the lack of real

129 Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 272. Also see the 1865 session debates.
The divisions inside the Assembly led to an extremely difficult debate on the provincial budget bill. There was strong pressure for the liberal majority to co-operate in the quick passage of the bill, in an attempt to prevent a repetition of the 1863 clashes. At the end of the 1864 extraordinary session, deputado Figueiredo de Carvalho was confident that the two liberal sides had finally managed to end their conflicts and would vote together for approval of the 1864 provincial budget bill. In his speech, he was careful to say that it was very urgent that divisions should be left behind, as otherwise the future of the Liga Progressista in relation to the fluminense executive would be compromised. Despite Figueiredo de Carvalho's success in cobbling the two factions together in May, the divisions between them were only to intensify later in the following 1864 ordinary session. In another attempt to rally the liberal groups once again, deputado Batista Pereira repeatedly stated that it was the Liberal Party's duty to secure the passage of the budget bill.

130 Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 255 & 278. Later on and again in 1868, deputado Batista Pereira argued that the way to improve conditions in the provincial administration was to replace the large number of minor and badly-paid training posts with a few efficient professional well-paid workers. See: Ibid. 1864. Tome II, p. 114; and 1868. p. 660.

131 And together with it any hopes for the Liberal Party's participation in the fluminense government. Ibid. 1864. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 287-288 & 302-305.

132 This was especially important to the Liberal Party, he argued, since this was the only possible way to secure people's participation in constitutional
debates on the distribution of provincial revenue among the various municipios only led to the intensification of the Assembly's existing conflicts. Liberal deputado provincial Albuquerque Júnior, representative for Angra dos Reis, argued that everyone would agree with him that:

'the budget is prodigal in subsidising the navigations of the north, whilst in the south not one single project receives a grant, and the southern municipalities have been neglected and disdained whilst those of the north are highly favoured and well-served. This distinction in the division of the province's revenue is what angers the southern representatives and makes them raised their weakened voices to protest such acts (Applause)'.

...'the northern municipalities must flatter the committee [for provincial finances] more than those of the south do'.

Despite this vehement protest, other liberal deputados provinciais continued to press for further funding concessions to northern municipios. Deputado Júlio César de Miranda Monteiro de Barros wanted provincial support for the construction of a road to link São Fidélis to Santo Antônio de Pádua. Deputado Portela also wanted extra funds to improve facilities in São João da Barra port, which was vital to Campos trade. The Conservative minority also attacked the ruling side of the Assembly for producing a budget which simply copied former budgets that the Conservative Party had presented in recent years. They also


133 Ibid. 1864. Tome II, pp. 148-149.

134 A farmer himself, he argued that he knew no better lands for agriculture than those in the north. See: Ibid. 1864. Tome II, p. 289.


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criticised the way in which debates were being pushed through without proper consideration in the Provincial Assembly, which they argued was incompatible with liberal ideals.136

Later in 1865, an illustrative discussion was held on the reasons why it was so difficult to vote the provincial budget bill on schedule, even without taking the usual political conflicts in Assembly into consideration. Deputado Portela argued that the current the Provincial Assembly’s lack of credibility, as a political and administrative institution, was one the main reasons behind for this state of affairs. He argued that:

‘the Provincial Assembly was corrupted at its birth; the corruption [in the elections]which began so early, today predominates’...'[because of] the demoralization of the parties, the most impassioned representatives are returned, who lack any experience of public affairs but who are the most convenient, politically'...'A period of two months is not sufficient for the deputies to become acquainted with the issues just as two years for each legislature is insufficient to establish new deputados so that they will learn and collaborate more in the running of the province'...‘they only know the most urgent needs of their municipalities'.137

According to him, the Assembly’s remedy lay in the setting up of direct elections. The provincial legislature should also be extended to cover a four year term and an annual session of four months duration.138

136 Ibid. 1864. tome II, pp. 80 & 175-177.

137 Ibid. 1865. p. 317.

138 Ibid. 1865. p. 318. Also see the 1861 speech of deputado Manuel Ribeiro de Almeida Júnior, in which he also blamed the short provincial legislature for the province’s political instability. He also blamed the rapid turnover in provincial presidents for this instability. See: Ibid.
Relations between the fluminense province and the national capital city were also raised during the 15th legislature. Deputado Heredia de Sá made an interesting observation regarding the attitude that deputados provinciais were evincing in the provincial budget debate. He argued that in the previous few weeks it had become increasingly difficult to maintain a quorum in the Assembly, so that debates could be carried on. Most fluminense deputados had developed the habit of leaving the Assembly earlier than they were supposed to. He went on to say:

'I do not wish to scandalise [my colleagues] by telling the truth, and so I will say in great secrecy, that I do not know why a great number of my colleagues take the 13:30 boat to the Côrte. I do not know what attracts them to this boat, but by a few minutes after one o’clock very few deputados remain in the Assembly’...‘this being so, if the budget remains in the second part of the Order of the Day, it will never be voted on.’

Later in 1866, conservative deputado Candido Torres again raised this issue. He explained that most deputados provinciais came from distant areas in the province. Most found lodgings at the Côrte, becoming dependent on the ferry service to attend the Provincial Assembly. This could be ascribed to two reasons. First, the fact that it was much easier to find temporary accommodation at the Côrte, a bigger city with a wider range of cheaper places to stay.

1861. Tome III, p. 121.

139 Ibid. 1864. Tome II, p. 60. Italics as in the original.

140 Ibid. 1866. p. 06. According to him there was only one line linking Niterói to the Côrte. It operated every three quarters of an hour, and delays were inevitable.
Secondly, it was easier for deputados provinciais to rely on a larger number of people to help find suitable accommodation at the Córte. It could be argued that this probably was the underlying factor leading deputados to stay at the Córte, particularly when taken in conjunction with the opportunities it offered for their future political careers.

The nomination of Bernardo de Sousa Franco as fluminense provincial president in November 1864 led to many changes in the way that deputados provinciais related to each other within the Assembly. Most deputados provinciais saw his nomination as a retrograde step in his political career, given the fact that he was already a senator and state-councillor for life. Some deputados provinciais argued that he would find it very difficult to settle in such a low key position, in which he would be subordinate to the ministerial cabinet. However, the deputados supporting the Liga Progressista had other expectations. They hoped Sousa Franco would be able to reconcile the various fluminense liberal factions, which were so deeply divided in the Provincial Assembly. However, the 1865 Assembly Mesa election was to prove the failure of these hopes. Instead of bringing the liberals together,

141 Bernardo Sousa Franco was a former liberal deputado provincial and fluminense provincial president, mentioned earlier in this Chapter. See pp. 210 & 212-213.


143 It took six daily sessions to obtain the minimum quorum to carry out that first election. Later on, deputado Augusto José de Castro e Silva argued this was due to the
president Sousa Franco only altered the relations between the two liberal groups inside the Assembly and the Provincial Presidency. The former opposition to the Provincial Presidency, the liberal group which refused to join the Liga, moved to support the fluminense president, whilst the minority who favoured of the Liga Progressista turned against the provincial president. This re-orientation of groupings inside the Assembly gave room to a temporary alliance between the few conservative deputados and supporters of the Liga.144 According to deputado Batista Pereira, president Sousa Franco's actions only reinforced existing divisions among the fluminense liberals.145 Conflicts over the 1866 provincial budget bill multiplied, culminating in a total re-orientation of liberal groups inside the Assembly. By the end of the yearly session, there was no clear indication as to which group of deputados provinciais still supported the Presidency. Faced with this enormous opposition, president Sousa Franco decided not to grant extra daily sessions to the Assembly.

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144 Deputado José Batista Pereira led this opposition group. The key conservative leader, deputado Candido Torres missed most sessions in 1865.

145 Ibid. 1865. p. 258-262. Batista Pereira expressed his deep resentment over the fact that president Sousa Franco did not appreciate the struggle the Liberal minority - who favoured the Liga Progressista - had been leading inside the Provincial Assembly since 1862, to open the way for Liberal Party participation in fluminense politics. Sousa Franco's imposition of the budget bill the Provincial Assembly was extremely worrying and indicated a bleak future for the Liberal Party in fluminense politics.
which closed in 1865 without passing the provincial budget bill.146

During the following fluminense legislature (1866-1867) conflicts still divided liberal groups in the Provincial Assembly. This time, at least seven conservative deputados were elected to the Assembly. There are clear indications that attempts were made to reconcile the differences between the liberal deputados prior to the beginning of the Assembly's 1866 extraordinary session, but they failed to work. As soon as the session began, deputado Batista Pereira proposed a referendum against provincial vice-president Tavares Bastos, for not having arranged for the necessary maintenance work to be done on the Assembly building.147 According to deputado Bernardino Alves Machado, this move caused a break-down in previous arrangements to align the liberal deputados.148 As a result, the confrontation among the various groups inside

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146 Ibid. 1865. p. 338

147 Ibid. 1866. (Sessao Extraordinária), pp. 04-05. José Tavares Bastos was appointed provincial vice-president four times between February 1864 and October 1866. He had a very tempestuous relationship with most members of the Provincial Assembly, as follows. Also see Appendix III.

148 Alves Machado argued that provincial vice-president Tavares Bastos compelled his supporters to withdraw their vote for his candidature as the Assembly's board president in reprisal to Batista Pereira's referendum. This move was also commented on by Sizenando Barreto Nabuco de Araujo and Manuel Rodrigues Jardim, who also changed positions after the provincial vice-president's decision to withdraw support for a move to reconcile liberal groups together. In this way, Tavares Bastos was supported by liberal deputados and opposed by those favouring of the Liga Progressista. In: Ibid. 1866. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 45-48.
the Assembly was such that it took seven consecutive daily sessions to obtain the minimum quorum to elect the Assembly’s board and, and another ten daily sessions to finally elect the Assembly committees.\textsuperscript{149} The election was only made possible after two liberal deputados, who until then had supported vice-president Tavares Bastos, changed sides and finally broke the political deadlock in favour of the who supporters of the Liga Progressista.\textsuperscript{150} This was a major blow to Tavares Bastos, who had to face a Provincial Assembly Mesa which was deeply opposed to his administration. There were a great number of calls for his resignation in the face of his defeat within the Assembly.\textsuperscript{151} Conflicts grew stronger during the rest of 1866 extraordinary session, and once again the provincial budget bill was not approved. This was again the result of the clear confrontation between the liberal deputados and

\textsuperscript{149} This was a clear illustration of how the deputados’ platforms to elect the Mesa and Assembly committees were arranged outside and well before the beginning of the annual session. Any break in the existing alignment would cost a great deal of time and effort to obtain a new coalition to elect these vital posts inside the Provincial Assembly.

\textsuperscript{150} These were the priest Joao Onofre de Sousa Breves and Joaquim Jose de Morais Costa.

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid. 1866. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 46. According to deputado Bernardino Alves Machado, vice-president Tavares Bastos only decided to convene the Assembly’s extraordinary session in response to mounting pressure at the Senate for him to do so. One might argue that the deputado Batista Pereira’s decision to challenge the provincial vice-president’s authority as early as the opening of the extraordinary Assembly session, reflected deep issues other than the poor condition of the Assembly building.
the supporters of the Liga Progressista. In the entire history of the fluminense Provincial Assembly, an extraordinary session had never previously failed to pass that bill. Later in the year, the 1866 ordinary session was also marked by a large number of conflicts. This time, the opposition justified its position regarding vice-president Tavares Bastos on the grounds that he had placed the sole blame for the continuous disturbances of the fluminense legislature on the Assembly’s opposition.

It was only in October 1866, after the nomination of Esperidião Elói de Barros Pimentel as fluminense provincial president, that fluminense Assembly debates managed to regain some semblance of order. Deputado Vieira Souto, who had been elected to the current fluminense legislature, again played a vital role in bringing together all sides in the Assembly in an effort to secure the approval of the 1867 provincial budget bill. As a member of the provincial finance Assembly committee, he proposed that no further criticism should be made against former vice-president Tavares Bastos while discussing or voting the budget bill. Vieira Souto argued that some sort of criticism of

152 Vice-president Tavares Bastos was supported by liberal deputados, while those who favoured the Liga Progressista were led by deputado Batista Pereira in the opposition to his administration.


154 Ibid. 1866. p. 25. Deputado Batista Pereira did not agree with this strategy. Instead he argued that the 1864 provincial budget law should be re-validated for the 1865 financial year. In this way all financial decisions taken by former provincial vice-president Tavares Bastos, while in office, would remain illegal without Provincial
the former vice-president would still find its place in the forthcoming budget bill, as it would indicate his responsibility for imposing new provincial taxes without the prior consent of the Provincial Assembly. Soon after, the budget was finally passed.

Interestingly enough, it was only after this agreement was reached that an amendment was presented by the Assembly's provincial finance committee calling once again for the concession of provincial subsidies to two major public works, previously sponsored by the provincial administration: the Campos-Macaé canal and the Companhia União Indústria road. It seems clear that former Assembly political conflicts, combined with a period of domination by the so-called 'localista' deputados provinciais, had resulted in these two major public works being temporarily put aside by the provincial administration. It might be argued that the urgent need to get the fluminense legislature running smoothly once again, which was clearly indicated by deputado Vieira Souto, had a lot to do with the move to reintroduce provincial subsidies on major public works being carried out in the province.155

Despite this brief truce, the 1867 annual Assembly session was to see renewed conflicts among the fluminense Assembly's recognition.

155 In a similar vein, debates also took place on a proposal to extend the Cantagalo railway, from Porto das Caixas to Vila Nova, in the Guanabara bay. Deputado Eduardo Pinto described the project as being very important to the trade between the northern region of the province and the wider markets of Niterói and Córte. See: Ibid. 1866. p. 341.
Members of the former 1862 minority, who supported the Liga Progressista, sided with the conservatives to defend provincial president Esperidião Pimentel. Deputado Figueiredo de Carvalho, in a surprising move, changed sides to align himself with the localistas, the liberal deputados. He argued that he could not accept president Esperidião Pimentel's tendency to favour Conservative Party members in the province, despite pledging his support to the Liga Progressista at the national level. This, argued Figueiredo de Carvalho, left the provincial government in an extremely vulnerable position. Deputado João Onofre Breves agreed with him, saying that:

'Mr. President, such is the doubt and uncertainty which characterizes the current political scene; so critical are the circumstances in which the country finds itself, on the one hand embroiled in a war which devours our present resources and comprises futures ones, whilst on the other we are threatened by an agricultural crisis which is tending to revolutionise the country and to extinguish its only sources of wealth'.

For the first time a fluminense deputado provincial drew a connection between the Paraguayan war and the then current political chaos. It seems relevant that at the height of the war deputados provinciais did not discuss its implications in the management of provincial affairs. There

156 Ibid. 1867. pp. 135-137. Batista Pereira attacked Figueiredo de Carvalho for his insistence on keeping the fluminense liberals divided over the fluminense Executive.

The conservative wing supported the Provincial Presidency, despite opposing the Liga Progressista, which was still in charge of the central government. See Joaquim Leite Ribeiro de Almeida speech, in: Ibid. 1867. p. 225-227.

157 Ibid. 1867. p. 218.
were a few occasions on which deputados complained about the Guarda Nacional's commands and the Camaras Municipais obligation to supply the provincial government with a certain number of soldiers to serve in the war.158 Complaints came mixed with revelations of corruption in elections, showing a clear relationship between the two issues in the eyes of the Assembly. Camaras Municipais seem only to be punished for failing to provide the required number of soldiers if they were openly opposed to the Provincial Presidency. However, it is unclear how the fluminense Assembly actually viewed the war or what sort of implications it had for the daily life of fluminense society.159

A major cause for conflict in the fluminense Assembly was the poor liberal performance in recent election in the province. Provincial president Esperidião Pimentel was blamed for much of the dishonesty and corruption involved in these elections. According to deputado João Onofre Breves, he was responsible for instigating a deliberate policy of persecution against his political enemies, including some of the most prestigious provincial families, such as the Sousa

158 Ibid. 1865 (p. 262); 1867 (pp. 229 & 251-252); & 1868 (p. 433). Also see tables published in provincial presidential reports, stating the number of soldiers each municipio managed to supply the government with; in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Presidência da... Op Cit. 21/05/1867. Tables no. 4 & 5; and 29/02/68. Table no.3.

Breves in São João do Principe and the Cardoso in Itagual. Deputado Batista Pereira, however, had a different view of the Liberal Party's failure to win recent elections. He argued that:

'if anyone has injured the Liberal Party, it is certainly not us [who support the Liga Progressista], but those would attribute their defeat at the ballotbox to a lack of political support. If the Liberal Party is not victorious, it was because of this disunity which has arisen in its ranks, of this profound dissidence which divides the notable men of this party and has made the friends and co-religionists of yesterday irreconcilable without them, however, as yet understanding what was the political root which has produced so lamentable a divergence.'

5.4 - The Conservative 'revival'.

When the 17th fluminense legislature (1868-1869) opened, Zacarias' party had already lost control over the central government, bringing the Liga Progressista to an end. Zacarias' dismissal by the Crown, provided the

160 Ibid. 1867. pp. 219-220. João Onofre Breves also cited the persecution of the Liberal leader João Pedro de Almeida in Angra dos Reis.

According to conservative deputado João Leite Ribeiro de Almeida a total number of 159 new local police authorities was appointed by the liberal government in the province to assure its victory in the elections. Nevertheless, it failed to do so. In: Ibid. 1867. pp. 226-227.

161 Ibid. 1867. p. 279.

162 See Chapter I, pp. 36-37.
grounds for a number of sharp exchanges inside the fluminense Assembly. Leadership in the Assembly was volatile, reflecting Liberal Party's inability to secure its victory in the provincial elections prior to Zacarias' departure.163 Divisions among liberal deputados were no longer an issue within the Provincial Assembly. Together they held the majority in the Assembly's in 1868, but were superseded by the conservatives in 1869.164 The whole issue of political changes in the central government was brought up during debates on misconduct in the most recent provincial elections. According to deputado João Onofre de Sousa Breves, former provincial president Esperidião Pimentel had worked very hard to elect members of the Conservative Party in São João do Principe. Nonetheless, his attempts failed when faced with the 'true and earnest influence' that Comendador Joaquim José de Sousa Breves had in the region.165 Deputado Luis José de Carvalho Melo Matos

163 See debates on which political group should form the majority party in the Provincial Assembly. In: Ibid. 1868. pp. 254, 259-260, 430, 451 & 685.

164 The most outspoken conservative deputados provinciais were Vieira Souto, Ribeiro de Almeida, Luis Joaquim Duque Estrada Teixeira, Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa and João Monteiro da Luz. On the Liberal side, there were deputados Batista Pereira, Heredia de Sá, Felipe Jansen Albuquerque Jr., Antonio de Almeida Bahia, Galdino Fernandes Pinheiro, Antonio de Miranda Varejão and João Batista Cortines Laxe.

165 Ibid. 1868. p. 220. According to Onofre Breves, Comendador Breves did not need the support of the local police authorities to safeguard his party's position in São João do Principe.

In 1868, Jornal do Comércio published a series of letters exchanged between Comendador Breves and his rival Comendador Joaquim José de Gonçalves de Morais. They discussed the way recent elections were held in São João do
suggested another vital element to explain the common allegations of electoral misconduct in São João do Principe.

He explained that:

'The electoral college of São João do Principe always attracts attention because it handles the verification process for the fourth district. It is the major college in the district and as such exercises the most influence over the result of the election; it is the college which can make or break candidates. This would be enough to draw attention and deserve a detailed and diligent examination, but there is also something more'... 'it has been twenty years since the college of São João do Principe has held an election which has not been compromised, which has not been the cause of complaint by one or both of the great political parties in the province; nor is it only the conservatives who have made this complaints; the very party to which the 'influences' in this college would appear to belong, has denounced it to the country and condemned it'... 'Even [the liberal deputado provincial] Batista Pereira himself has said that it violates the rules of justice and honesty.'

It was probably because of these peculiarities - size and power to alone elect someone - that led deputado Almeida Bahia to indicate that there was a tendency in central government to refer its proteges for election via the 4th electoral district. This helped to provide some room for manoeuvre to 'adjust' results in their favour. He went on

Principe, in which Gonçalves de Morais had dared to interfere with Breves' partisans. They also discussed the roots of their land dispute, which resulted from divisions of common family estates. See the editorial section 'Cartas ao Editor' in: Jornal do Comércio. 1868 (issues 244 to 281) and 1869 (issues 04 to 21). Also see debates at the fluminense Assembly on the dispute between the two men, in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit... 1868. pp. 588-593.

166 Ibid. 1868. p. 22.

167 This also added an extra vital component to encourage electoral misconduct in that particular electoral district.
to describe the way that this process took place, by saying that:

'a swarm of speculators are at present contesting the election to this Assembly in the fourth district. More than fifty-six hopefuls'... 'Côrte men' (laughter) wish to be elected'... 'the presidents of the province are the ones who organise this platform, or shall I rather say, who choose the majority of the deputados who will become their court in this Assembly (laughter)'... 'I do not know if the platform exists, I do not know their names, except that I have heard it said that the sons and relatives of ministers, public figures, subdelegados and even a neighbourhood inspector all want to be deputados for the fourth district'... 'this is a serious matter'... 'none of these candidates are committed to local interests, none of them are from São João do Principe'... 'They know only what goes on at Côrte, and especially in the Rua do Ouvidor. [They know] good Havana cigars, true (laughter) but of the bridges, highways and byways, nothing; they are ignorant of everything. They only want the post of deputado for the sake of the subsidy which the province gives, and not come here (laughter) or even find themselves a place as a public prosecutor, etc (continued laughter)'... 'It is from this that all ills come; it is necessary that all of the interested parties in the localities should be convinced of this truth'.

Despite Almeida Bahia's satiric tone, he offers a very detailed picture of the way in which such elections were held. In addition to São João do Principe, many other municípios such as Itaguaí, Niterói, Angra dos Reis, São Fidélis, São João da Barra, were also the scene of.

168 Ibid. 1869. p. 424.

169 In reply to Almeida Bahia, deputado João Alves Meira asked if he thought that the provincial president was responsible for defining the election results beforehand. Bahia replied he believed that this was the case, since the president was the one in control of the entire electoral machinery. Should an unwanted person was elected, he said, there was still the possibility of issuing a lawsuit against him, so that he would be considered legally disqualified from taking his seat at the Provincial Assembly, as someone was at that time trying to do to he himself. In: Ibid. 1869. p. 424.
interference by the fluminense Executive in the electoral procedures. All these references clearly illustrate the process by which the Conservative Party regained political power in the various levels of the fluminense society after the fall of the Liga Progressista. According to liberal deputado Almeida Bahia this big readjustment was like the return of the 'grande familia' to dominate fluminense politics. He went on to say that:

'The sons, brothers, cousins and even more remote relatives of provincial presidents and ministers all wish to be deputados, many of them without any qualification for this; it is intended to impose on the province, on the people, candidates who the people do not know and then this discord begins to appear (applause). For example, the son of Minister Paranhos goes there to be elected deputado for the province of Mato Grosso, where he has never been and where he is completely unknown - and this by the imposition of the government, after his candidature for the province of Sergipe was refused (applause).'

Almeida Bahia was referring to the then forthcoming National Assembly elections. Deputado Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa could not hide his direct involvement in this political reorganization process, when he himself had family links with members of the new conservative cabinet. He was a key fluminense conservative candidate in the National Assembly, and reacted very strongly to Almeida Bahia comments. Nonetheless the move to discuss the lack of

170 Ibid. 1868 (p. 559) and 1869 (pp. 297-299).

171 Ibid. 1868. p. 589.

172 In response to this, Bahia simply replied that he should not complain since he was getting his own share from the new political momentum. Deputado Figueiredo, a former supporter of the Liga Progressista, tried to conciliate both by saying that if fluminense candidates for the forthcoming
integrity in the country's representative system could not be silenced. Deputados made it clear that the political system was becoming incapable of accommodating all those who were to take part in the country's political and administrative system.173 Competition was getting fiercer and patronage becoming an increasingly important requirement for the pursuit of a political career. At the same time, deputados provinciais believed that politics was losing its true nature, as the government was no longer the product of a consensus among groups in the country which shared a common set of aims to be implemented in the country. The electoral system was an easy target to hold responsible for all the failures of the country's political system.174

In a similar move, deputados provinciais also considered the way in which ministerial cabinets were being consecutively replaced. According to deputado Albuquerque Júnior, Zacarias' fall meant the 'death of the representative system in the country'.175 It was very

173 This was one of the main reasons which can explain the large number of this type of complaints expressed during this legislature. Although one might argue that the Conservative Party was taking very strong action to once again reinforce its position in the province, the degree to which those protests were being put forward revealed a more important political component in these new conflicts emerging.

174 It was easy to blame somebody other than deputados provinciais themselves. See deputado Antonio de Miranda Varejão's speech for an example of this type of attitude, in: Ibid. 1868. p. 541.

175 Ibid. 1868. p. 426.
difficult to understand the nomination of a conservative cabinet which had to deal with issues such as the need to press on with the labour transition, the conclusion of the Paraguayan war and the need to issue paper currency to ease the country’s current financial deadlock. Nonetheless, he could not understand one particular aspect:

'The Provincial Assembly should note that the conservatives have a constant fear of revolution because they provoke it (applause). They say that the liberals are anarchists, and accuse the Liberal Party of seeking a revolution — but they do not remember that the Minister of Justice sent 1,220 rifles to Ceará and Paraná by steam packet’... ‘To what end do they arm the provinces with the tools, the accoutrement of war?’... ‘And what will naked and unashamed absolutism do?’... ‘It is dictatorship in delirium’... ‘It is anarchy in all senses when it is those who sleep with the phantasm of revolution, who seek it and desire it, who provoke it and hope for it. (very well!)’... ‘It is the destroyers of 1842 who are completing their work in 1868!’ 177

Conservative Party stratagems to establish itself in power once again, were marked by so many contradictions that internal divisions would, he argued, almost inevitably arise. To speed up this process, he believed that the Liberal Party should temporarily withdraw from politics. This would favour the emergence of a conservative dissident group given the wide range of conflicting issues facing the

176 Ibid. 1868. pp. 426 & 447. He described the chief minister, Conselheiro Paulino Soares de Sousa (filho) as a person foreordained to live a life of contradictions, ‘accepting today what before he classified as theft’. He was also very sharp in his criticism of Paulino’s decision to nullify the elections of some fluminense municipios on political grounds in which no misconduct was found to justify such a decision. Also p. 448.

177 Ibid. 1868. pp. 463-468. He described attacks on the liberals elected to the Provincial Assemblies of Bahia, São Paulo, Paraná, Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul and Alagoas.
Most members of the Conservative Party in the Provincial Assembly were unable to respond to such a strong wave of criticism. Only deputado Ribeiro de Almeida managed to answer some of the points made by the liberals. He blamed the liberal fragmentation over the Liga Progressista for the fall of the Zacarias Cabinet. He argued that divisions inside the Liga, made it impossible for the national government to properly cope with the hard decisions required to run the Paraguayan war. This made the Liga Progressista unfit to run the country.

A major theme for discussion resulting from the debates over the degeneration of the electoral system was the implications it had for the way in which fluminense provincial legislation was passed. Deputado Albuquerque Júnior argued that:

'It is a waste of time to vote on projected bills, when those that have already been sanctioned are not executed'... 'Your Excellency knows that it is not sufficient for the Provincial Assembly of Rio de Janeiro to decide'... 'In order to achieve our ends it is necessary to engage the sovereign will of the provincial government; sovereign because in the distribution of public monies the government does not address the needs of the localities [but rather] the electoral services which ask for'... 'illusory laws'.

178 Ibid. 1868. p. 468. Deputado Albuquerque Júnior’s speech foresaw some of the conditions that were to lead to the formation of conservative dissidência, two years later.

179 Ibid. 1868. pp. 611-612.

180 Ibid. 1868. pp. 685-686. Also see an earlier speech by Jansen de Castro Albuquerque Jr., in which he blamed this discrediting of the provincial legislation as the central cause of the growing decadence and financial
In order to be elected as a deputado provincial a candidate had to rely a great deal on patronage. In exchange when elected, a deputado had to work hard to secure the interests of those who had promoted his election. That was why, he argued, the provincial budget bill often had large numbers of amendments and additional articles. They were deputados last attempts to express some kind of recompense to those who supported their election. This established a tendency for passing provincial budgets which did not meet the real needs in the province for the running of the provincial administration. As might be concluded, illusion played a vital role in fluminense politics, in which local and provincial politicians were linked to each other through this huge imaginary collection of provincial laws.

Benevenuto Augusto de Magalhães Taques was the first conservative to be nominated fluminense provincial president, after the downfall of the Liga Progressista. He promptly acted to change the holders of key offices in the provincial administration, as seen above. Nevertheless, as deputado Albuquerque Júnior once again noted, the new provincial president also contributed a great deal to the growing conflicts among the fluminense conservatives, particularly those attending the Provincial Assembly. He crisis dominating many fluminense municipios. In: Idem. 1864. Tome II, p. 145.

181 Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa also commented on this issue, in: Ibid. 1868. p. 686. Also see pp. 280-281, when deputado Vieira Souto drew a similar picture of the way in which the National Assembly passed the national annual bills.
described how president Magalhães Taques did not pay attention to his party’s proposals when they were put forward inside the Assembly. He did not even sanction some of the bills supported and approved by his own party.182 Albuquerque Júnior ended his speech by saying that he knew the reason for this uneasy relationship among conservatives, but would not reveal it. Later on, in the course of the last day of the 1868 annual session, deputado Batista Pereira attacked provincial president Magalhães Taques for fuelling conflicts between his administration and the Provincial Assembly. As result, conservative deputados were divided among themselves, and only few of them attended the last few Assembly sessions. At the same time the Assembly drafting committee proposed a revised version of the provincial budget bill, in which the provincial president had much less freedom to manipulate the provincial economy himself.183 By acting in this way, the Assembly implied a lack of confidence in the provincial president. Liberal deputado Batista Pereira tried to find a compromise by proposing a substitute budget bill to replace that presented by the

182 Ibid. 1868. pp. 451-452 & 658. Also see p. 173; an Assembly special committee was elected to analyze the reasons given by the Provincial Presidency for not sanctioning some of the bills passed by the fluminense Assembly. One of the bills, taking over bridges in Niterói to be used in the ferry service linking the provincial capital city to the Córte, was sent back to the provincial president without the introduction of any alterations, in a clear attempt to confront the fluminense Executive on its decision.

Assembly committee. The Provincial Assembly decision to approve Batista Pereira's bill illustrates the size of the conflicts dividing conservatives deputados from the fluminense Provincial Presidency.

In the Assembly 1869 session the confrontation between the two grew even further. Although not openly accepting the existence of conflicts as such, conservative deputados maintained an attitude of covert opposition towards the Provincial Presidency. In the end, this culminated with conservative deputados' decision not to attend final daily sessions the Provincial Assembly and consequently not pass the provincial budget bill.

A number of major issues divided conservatives deputados in the course of the year. The most important of them all was regard to the conservative national government and its management of the Paraguayan war. According to deputado Albuquerque Júnior, one part of the Conservative Party wanted the end of the war as soon as possible, whilst the other - that in control of the central government - was determined to carry on with the war until total victory.

184 Deputados in the provincial finance committee: Luis Honório Vieira Souto, Melo Matos and Tomas José Coelho de Almeida.

185 One of the main issues behind the conflict among conservatives was the continued policy of the Provincial Presidency to persecute the Cardoso family from Itaguai, once traditional supporters of the Conservative Party in the province for a long time. Another issue was the early discussions of the proposal to sell the Casa de Saúde Niteroiense, an issue that dominated most of the debates of the 1869 Assembly session.
was finally achieved, no matter what this would cost.\textsuperscript{186} He argued that everyone was well aware of the strong confrontations between conservadores vermelhos, the red or radical conservatives in control of the government, and the conservadores jovens, the Conservative Party's youth wing.\textsuperscript{187} Deputado Antonio de Miranda de Varejão indicated that the conservatives representing Rio de Janeiro province at the National Assembly were the leaders of the young opposition. He quoted Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa' speeches in the National Assembly, in which he strongly criticised the continuation of the war.\textsuperscript{188} Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa, who was also a fluminense deputado provincial in the 1868-1869 legislature, replied that this was the only point of disagreement between the two conservative factions. He also believed that this was natural, as the war was an extremely controversial issue and very difficult to decide upon. He ended his speech by once again stating his opposition to the continuation of the war.\textsuperscript{189}


\textsuperscript{187} He argued that the two sides were exchanging daily articles, published in the Diário do Rio de Janeiro newspaper. In: Ibid. 1869. p. 130.

\textsuperscript{188} Ibid. 1869. pp. 295-296. As indicated in Chapter III, Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa wrote a major work on electoral procedures in nineteenth century Brazil. He firmly believed that the introduction of direct elections would provided a solution to all the country's political problems.

\textsuperscript{189} Ibid. 1869. p. 296. Despite the lack of other debates on the war inside the Provincial Assembly, it might be argued that it was probably the case that the
At the provincial level, there were a larger number of issues dividing conservative representatives. Diogo Teixeira de Macedo was the new man in charge of the Provincial Presidency management. He was a well known fluminense politician, a former deputado provincial himself who had also held many posts in the provincial administration. Nonetheless, Macedo failed to reconcile fluminense deputados provinciais and the Provincial Presidency. He was said to be a 'weak' man, without personal opinions, who did no more than to simply sign the official documents prepared by the provincial administrative senior officers. Apart from this, there were another five issues dividing the conservatives. The first affected fluminense agriculture: an article was added to the provincial budget bill, proposing that the province should grant concessions to accelerate the completion of work on contradiction between war and slavery was becoming far too strong. This appears to have been the underlying issue behind the young Conservatives opposition to the war. Also see deputado Albuquerque Júnior's speech, describing clashes between the Ministerial Cabinet and the Emperor over a slave owner who almost re-gained ownership of a slave, after the slave had served many years in the war. This was only stopped by the Emperor's personal intervention after the Cabinet had decided to allow it. In: Ibid. 1868. p. 297.

Deputado Varejão also indicated the fact that Macedo had financial interests in the fluminense province, where he was a large landowner. In: Idem. 1869. p.297.

These remarks were made by deputado Batista Pereira, who was said to be quoting Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa own remarks. In: Ibid. 1869. p. 339. Earlier on, president Macedo had ordered the dismissal of an employee of the Provincial Assembly secretariat, without the prior consent of the fluminense Assembly president. This led deputado José Antonio Magalhaes Castro to renounce the Assembly's presidency as a protest against the provincial president's attitude. See pp. 05-06.
the D.Pedro II railway fourth branch line. The proposed article was presented by the leading conservative deputados: Manuel João Marinho da Cunha, Antonio Paulino Soares de Sousa and Luis José de Carvalho Melo Matos. Many deputados felt the move could not be justified, since the financial burden would be enormous and only a few areas in the province would benefit from such a huge expenditure.

A second issue was raised during debates on deputado João Nepomuceno Castrioto’s bill proposing measures to prevent coffee tax evasion in the province. The proposal was not welcomed by many deputados provinciais, who under the leadership of conservative deputado Coelho de Almeida, were campaigning for the total abolition of this tax. As a result Castrioto’s proposals remained stacked in the fluminense Assembly Secretary’s drawer, and were only discussed in later years.

Another extremely controversial issue was discussed in October 1869. Deputado Leite Ribeiro proposed the concession of a provincial yearly financial grant to all Camaras Municipais in the province. As previously seen, this had already been considered the fluminense Assembly during the previous fifteen years. Leite Ribeiro proposed

192 Ibid. 1869. p. 474. The provincial move was as an attempt to anticipate the work due to the central government delay in fulfilling its agreement with the railway company.

193 Ibid. 1859. p. 55. Also see in 1868. pp. 571-572.

that the décima urbana (property tax) - collected in each Camara Municipal by the provincial treasury - should revert to the Camaras Municipais themselves. The entire Provincial Assembly accepted that the fluminense Camaras Municipais should be granted financial aid, but few deputados agreed with the method proposed by Leite Ribeiro’s bill. The richer a Camara Municipal was, the larger its property tax was and, consequently, the more financial aid it would receive. Deputados provinciais Luis Joaquim Duque Estrada Teixeira, Joaquim Morais Costa and João Alves Meira strongly opposed the project, for perpetuating financial inequality among fluminense Camaras Municipais.195 Duque Estrada also believed that the bill would strengthen the municipios’ economic autonomy and, at the same, reinforce local political autonomy.196 Deputados Vieira Souto and Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa tried to compromise by proposing the election of a special Assembly committee to recommend changes in Leite Ribeiro’s bill. After some time, the Assembly voted to approve the special committee’s replacement bill, which granted a fixed amount to each municipio in the province instead.197 This would limit the

195 As some deputados provinciais argued, Niterói and Campos, being the largest cities in the province, produced the highest amounts of income from property tax. At the same time, they were also the municipios in the best financial position in the province.

196 However, this was not so much so, as the bill prescribed further submission by the Camaras Municipais to the provincial treasury, as shown below.

197 The bill was approved despite the continued opposition of conservative deputado Duque Estrada.
benefit to be given to wealthy Camaras Municipais whilst at the same time increasing the amount to be granted to those less off. The scheme, however, preserved an important feature to enforce provincial government authority over the Camaras Municipais. By retaining the property tax system as a provincial source of income, the financial grant to be given to local authorities - which came out of that income - was provided as a temporary concession only. No long commitments were made by the Provincial Assembly. At the same time, Camaras Municipais found themselves with less room for manoeuvre in their own finances, since the approved scheme imposed a system of tight provincial controls on municipal public spending. Local authorities were required to describe each past year’s expenses in great detail before being allowed to receive the following year’s provincial grant. In exchange for the provincial concession, Camaras Municipais became financially responsible for caring for the local poor and those in police custody, as well as the maintenance of local roads. This was a heavy economic burden to transfer to the local authorities, leading some deputados to wonder if the concession was really worthwhile.

The fourth issue to divide conservative deputados provinciais in 1869, also touched on the Camaras Municipais. Some deputados wanted to impose fines on Camaras that exceeded their municipal budget bill allowances.198 This was the Provincial Assembly’s legal responsibility, which

Deputados argued was rarely exercised. Deputados Marinho da Cunha and Batista Pereira argued that the move would grant the Provincial Presidency an extra weapon to persecute its local political enemies. Deputado Vieira Souto replied that this could not be the case, since it was only a matter of the Camaras Municipais acting as prescribed in law. A compromise was found in a proposal by Cortines Laxe, which only issued a reminder to Camaras Municipais to keep their spending within the terms prescribed by municipal budgets.

However, the crucial issue which most deeply divided the conservative deputados in 1869 was yet to come. In the previous provincial budget bill, the Assembly had granted the Provincial Presidency the powers to renew, a previous contract with the Casa de Saúde Niterói management on new lines. The hospital provided services in the provincial capital, and was regarded as the main public medical service subsidised by the provincial government. The new contract conditions proposed by the Provincial Presidency were not accepted by the hospital’s managers. The issue was only

199 They indicated the fact that deputados provinciais were too closely related to Camaras Municipais to be able, themselves, to impose fines on local authorities.

200 In reply Deputado Batista Pereira argued that if the case was as simple as that, why not grant the Provincial Assembly powers to fine fluminense provincial presidents who also exceeded the provincial budget bill. See: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1869. pp. 307-309.

201 He was a liberal deputado closely associated with the interests of the Camaras Municipais interests. Also Chapter III, pp. 182.
raised at the very end of the 1869 provincial budget debates. Deputado Vieira Souto and other conservative deputados presented an additional article to this bill, which would allow for a 320,000 réis payment to enable the province to take-over the hospital.202 Conservative deputados Duque Estrada and João Monteiro da Luz reacted very strongly against the proposal. They argued that they could not accept that such an enormous amount of money would be spent in such meaningless way. Deputados who voted in favour of the measure only did so because they feared to upset the hospital managers, who were very important electoral ‘influences’ in Niterói.203 The confrontation between the two sides was such, that the provincial budget bill debate ground to a halt. This, argued deputado Batista Pereira, was the excuse many conservative deputados were waiting for to stop the passage of the bill. At this point, deputado Leite Ribeiro decided to leave the Assembly, and was followed by the deputados who were opposed to the takeover of the hospital. They argued that since they were unable to convince the Assembly to stop such a move, they had no alternative other than to leave the Provincial Assembly and prevent the passage of the provincial budget.

202 Ibid. 1869. p. 484. The additional article was signed by Vieira Souto, Ribeiro de Almeida, José Mariano de Amorim Carrao, Lino da Costa and Francisco José de Sousa Lopes. Francisco Leocádio Figueiredo and some other liberals were also in favour of the proposal.

bill, which they contained such a measure, which believed would seriously damage the province’s finances.
6.1 - Introduction.

If the previous period had been mainly characterized by divisions among fluminense politicians in the Provincial Assembly, it might be said that the opposite was true of the period under consideration here.

As was seen in Chapter V, the 1860s were chiefly notable for the lack of consideration given to the leading economic interests in the province in Provincial Assembly debates. At first, major political conflicts split the fluminense liberal deputados, who formed the largest single group of provincial representatives in many of the legislatures during the decade. The period was also marked by a strong representation of local interests in the Provincial Assembly, which helped to weaken the influence of leading provincial economic sectors inside the Assembly at that time. When the conservative deputados once again gained the majority at the end of the 1860s they were also divided on a number of issues. From a broader perspective, one of the most important of these was the Paraguayan war.
From a provincial point of view, the difficulties of again finding places for all the associates of conservative deputados within the provincial hierarchy, led to major conflicts between conservative deputados and the Provincial Presidency.

The 1870s and 1880s saw a complete reversal of the earlier situation. Although most deputados provinciais saw themselves as members of distinct and separate groups, it is right to argue that the striking feature of the period was the ability of the fluminense deputados to create and defend a unified set of strategies inside the Provincial Assembly which were pursued by the bulk of its members for most of the period. As will be shown throughout this section, it appears to have been the case that the fluminense politicians' previous political experience enabled them - despite their external differences - to stick together and agree on basic priorities in the face of the growing economic crisis affecting the export agriculture in the province. The 1871 Free Birth law, appears to have been the catalyst in sparking this movement, and it could also be argued that the fluminense case provides a key example of how many dominant Brazilian groups envisaged the process of labour transition, the downfall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic in the country. Because of the particular internal conditions relating to the fluminense export agriculture, the dominant fluminense groups needed to organize and implement a complex and extremely well coordinated set of stratagems to remodel their
society in response to the dramatic changes in its modus vivendi. Politicians played a fundamental role in this process, by instigating the 'right' moves at the 'right' times. The price to be paid, however, was an inevitable loss of status for fluminense province in relation to other provinces in the country. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, it had become obvious that the province could no longer sustain its previous growth in coffee production (and revenue) which had been a prime factor in justifying its national preeminence. 1 Secondly, as a consequence of its loss of political and economic status, the province had to come to terms with a revision of its 'special' relationship with the central government. As a result of this process, fluminense politicians had to decide to defend what they saw as basic fluminense provincial interests, to the detriment of what they had previously shared with the central government. 2

A number of issues illustrates the effects of this revisionary process. Conflicts with the central government over the construction of the Leopoldina railway might be said to have been the recurrent theme of the process of reorientation. Another issue which was discussed earlier,

1 Nonetheless, fluminense politicians appear to have claimed the opposite. At the same time this process exacerbated conflicts on a national level among the various provinces regarding the amount of economic and political support they all provided and received from the national government. Also see Chapter I.

2 The re-examination of the way in which railways were being developed in the country, provides one of the best examples of this new attitude in the behaviour of fluminense politicians.
also helps illustrate the nature of this move: the period saw renewed proposals to have the provincial capital transferred from Niterói to Campos. Although there was little support for such measure, debates on the issue do illustrate how deputados provinciais envisaged the northern município as an important alternative economic and political centre for fluminense province. On the many occasions that the idea was proposed, there was an element of discontent with regard to the way that central government was considering fluminense provincial interests. In many respects, it might be argued that the proposal symbolised a reflection — by provincial politicians — of the close relationship between the province and the central government. The more opposition they felt to the central government, the more thought they gave to altering that relationship.3

6.2 — New investment in roads and the abandoning of the European colonization programme.

At the national level, the splitting of the Conservative Party after the Free Birth Law, in 1871, led to the formation of the Conservative dissidência, as has

3 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1870 (p. 385); 1871 (p. 156); 1878 (p. 212); & 1888 (p. 507).
already been discussed in Chapter I.4 This move was especially felt inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly, firstly because the dissidência was led by the fluminense Conservative Party leader, Conselheiro Paulino Soares de Sousa; and secondly because the national government seems to have tried very hard to repress the dissidents, and fluminense province was the centre of the movement. Up until 1878, deputados provinciais maintained a facade of divisions within divisions, which in reality produced the strongest unified opposition to the provincial and national government ever seen within the Provincial Assembly. It was impossible for the Provincial Presidency to exercise any sort of control over events taking place inside the fluminense Assembly. This is best demonstrated by the fact that Assembly debates in 1872, 1873 and 1874 failed to provide the Provincial Presidency with provincial budget bills.5 During the 19th and 20th fluminense legislatures (1872-1875), the Provincial Assembly was formally divided into four main groups. These were the conservative

4 According to deputado provincial Josino do Nascimento e Silva Filho, the conservative dissidência only came about in response to the dissolution of the National Assembly on May 22nd, 1872, rather than to the passage of the Free Birth Law itself. Conselheiro Paulino Soares de Sousa, conservative leader in that Assembly, proposed vote of no confidence in the Ministerial Cabinet, which was approved by the deputados and led to the dissolution of National Assembly dissolution. See: Ibid. 1874. Tome I. p. 157; also see JAVARI, Barão de. Op Cit. p. 162.

5 In 1873, the Assembly passed the bill, but the provincial president refused to sanction it. Later, in the 1874 extraordinary session, the Assembly decided not to alter the bill, again reaffirming its opposition to the provincial government. Once again, the bill was refused sanction.
dissident deputados; the conservatives who favoured Barão do Rio Branco's Cabinet but opposed the fluminense Provincial presidency; the conservative governistas deputados - who defended both provincial and national government - and the liberal opposition.

The word 'dissidência', as the denomination of a conservative group, fell out of use after 1875 but it is still possible to observe the same pattern of divisions among deputados attending the fluminense Assembly long after that date. However, deputados provinciais were extremely careful to no longer use the expression which was probably a result of arrangements made among the top echelons of the Conservative Party. Generally speaking, the bulk of the debates produced in the fluminense Assembly, throughout most of the 1870s, were concerned with provincial opposition to Barão do Rio Branco's Cabinet. This opposition was expressed in many respects.

Firstly, they opposed the way in which the 1871 law was passed. According to deputado Jerônimo Nogueira Penido Júnior,

'It was not good, it was not just, nor was it done in a convenient or proper fashion because it was hoped to benefit the slaves and what is even worse was the way in which the Cabinet acted to achieve it, imposing it on Parliament, taking from it the august right of consideration, discussion and free voting (applause)'.

Politically speaking, deputados provinciais were more concerned with criticising the mechanisms used to make sure

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the 1871 legislation would be approved by the Brazilian Parliament, than with its actual contents. Liberal deputado Carlos Antonio de França Carvalho, when comparing these manoeuvres with the way politics were exercised in most European countries, argued that:

'In Brazil, Mr. President, the political system adopted is very diverse. They are not party leaders, those who the same parties judge to be the most dignified, the most loyal, the most intelligent and the most proper to represent their relations, their needs, civilization and morality, but it is those who are imposed by nominated decree (much applause)... 'there is no legitimate party in power'.7

The awareness of deputados that key national politicians, like Conselheiro Paulino Soares de Sousa (Filho), were being temporarily excluded from the decision-making process led them to question the course being taken by politics in the country.8

At the provincial level, fluminense deputados began to more strongly criticise the role of the Provincial Presidency in protecting the central government's own interests to the detriment of the provincial ones. This was a major means of attacking various fluminense provincial presidents during the period. In 1872, deputado Francisco Alvares de Azevedo Macedo gave a highly detailed description of the strategy developed by sections of the Conservative Party to prevent the fluminense Conservative dissidência

7 Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 78.

8 As seen before, deputados provinciais tended to highlight the failures of the central imperial political system when it was convenient to do so. Despite being a 'temporary' type of criticism, it is interesting to note how acute and objective their comments were once they were no longer favoured by that very same system.

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from taking part in elections. Firstly, a new provincial president was appointed, Bento Luis de Oliveira Lisboa, who was a former fluminense deputado provincial himself and an important member of the fluminense Conservative Party, well acquainted with the internal workings of fluminense politics. Provincial president Bento Lisboa relied a great deal on the political support of one particular conservative in the province: Visconde de Niterói. Deputados provinciais would frequently describe the way in which Visconde de Niterói interfered in the organization of the fluminense Conservative Party electoral platform, as well as in the elections themselves to crush any possibility of a dissidência victory.

At the same time, it could also be argued that it was becoming increasingly difficult to pursue a successful political career as the years went on. This was mainly because of competition, which was getting even fiercer. Long established fluminense families were increasingly anxious to see their children obtain positions in the political and administrative system. In 1873, deputado André Lino da Costa drew attention to clashes between different generations of administrative personnel and of politicians. He argued that the problem was, 'today we have] half a dozen fellows who desire power, although convinced of the present impossibility, forgetting the

9 Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 12 & 23; and 1873. p. 296.
tactics of their predecessors'. They should wait, he argued, as their chance to fully participate in politics would come along very soon. Although he did not pursue the topic, Lino da Costa appears to have been aware of the fact that as the time went on there were fewer places available for a larger number of people anxious to participate in fluminense politics.

Another issue which might be described as an example of the degeneration of the political system was the way the provincial and the municipal budget bills continued to be treated by the Provincial Presidency. Members of all shades of political opinions in the fluminense Assembly were united in this complaint. The less money the fluminense treasury had to spend in the province, the more deputados tended to complain about the Executive's inefficiency in carrying out all the proposals made in the budget bills. Deputado Joaquim José de Sousa Breves Filho, believed that the provincial budget bill should be like a

'an iron chain which imprisons a provincial president, is however worthless, with no value whatsoever. This is because as the central government sends letter for English eyes to all quarters, we here [in the province] must calculate our budget so that a simpleton might read it.'

10 Ibid. 1873. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 89.

11 See in particular speeches by deputados José Morais da Costa and Joaquim Leite Ribeiro de Almeida, in: Ibid. 1875. pp. 252-253; and 1877. p. 381.

12 Ibid. 1877. p. 373. The expression 'coisa para inglês ver' became quite popular in Brazil, after the passing of various pieces of legislation on the suspension of the Atlantic slave traffic, which were issued with the sole purpose of deceiving the British government.
He argued in this way, because:

'whose provincial president pay respect to the budget which we have voted on? Have we not received these letters of credit after the expenses were incurred asking the Assembly to pay for them'... 'Was it not better to state the budget in a single article, which says that the provincial president has the powers to spend public monies as he wishes.'

As Breves Filho precisely indicated, it was not only a question of the Executive's inefficiency in complying with the budget requirements, but also the fact that the Provincial Presidency itself made various expenditures without the Provincial Assembly's prior consent. This completely defeated the purpose of having a budget bill, once again weakening the Provincial's Assembly position in deciding provincial expenditure.

Deputados also discussed the role of the Provincial Assembly inside the provincial political and administrative system as whole, in the same reflective way. Once again, deputados indicated that the period of time in which the Provincial Assembly met was far too short.

13 Ibid. 1877. pp. 373-374.

14 Later in 1877, deputado Antonio Francisco Ribeiro argued that it was unacceptable to the fluminense Assembly to have a budget which already included the concession of powers to the Provincial Presidency to open extra credits should the budget not manage to cover all provincial expenditure. See: Ibid. 1877. pp. 424-425.

15 Ibid. 1872 (p. 258) & 1873 (p. 258). According to deputado Alfredo Rodrigues Fernandes Chaves, two months was not enough for the Assembly to provide the provincial government with the legislation it need to properly run the provincial administration; in: Ibid. 1873. p. 437. Also see p. 155, where Vieira Souto expressed his astonishment to see deputados' opposition to having the Assembly annual session extended. 'As if the Assembly session was a kind of epidemic that should last for as short as possible'. He also mentioned pressure from the Provincial Presidency to
deputado José Morais Costa:

'There is no-one who would deny, Mr. President, that the provincial representation is today, a true and complete fiction; it is intended by the additional act to supervise the provincial government and to promote the material and moral welfare of the province, but its role today is very niggardly; it is reduced to a gathering of individuals who lecture and discuss theories and abstract principles which have no meaning in the real world; and the provincial presidents, encouraged by the central government that, between its delegates and the Provincial Assemblies will always give preference to the former over the latter; these presidents have already decided that the Provincial Assemblies are a mere branch of their secretariat! (very good!')16

Having established this, deputados provinciais also used a few major provincial issues to express their opposition to the Provincial Presidency up until 1878. The first of these centered on calls to raise the subsidy paid to deputados provinciais for attending the Provincial Assembly. Deputado provincial Carlos Castrioto defended the measure, which he believed was long overdue. The cost of living was rising and most deputados were having to spend extra cash from their own pockets to pay for most of their daily expenses while attending the Assembly in Niterói.17 Deputado João Monteiro de Luz stressed the need for the fluminense Assembly to negotiate the increase with the provincial president beforehand. Otherwise, the Provincial Presidency would inevitably block the measure by using the votes of all the deputados provinciais who also worked in have as short a session as possible.

16 Ibid. 1874. p. 60.

17 According to him, the fluminense deputados were only following a similar attempt made early that year at the National Assembly. In: Ibid. 1873. pp. 459-460.
the provincial administration, against the proposal.\footnote{18} Negotiations began, and the bill to increase the fluminense legislature's subsidy was successfully approved shortly after. Nonetheless, provincial president Manuel José de Freitas Travassos failed to sanction the bill, astonishing the entire Assembly. The argument that was used to veto the proposal was that the province was in too poor a financial position to afford such an increase. The move was a blow to the attempts that were being made to reconcile dissident deputados with the fluminense Provincial Presidency, and deputados Carlos. Castrioto and Monteiro de Luz used the issue to revive the conflict between the Assembly and the provincial president during the 1874 session. The subsidy increase bill was again approved and re-submitted to the Provincial Presidency in its original form.\footnote{19} On this occasion the Assembly used a more sophisticated strategy to return the bill, by presenting it as one clause in that year's provincial budget bill. As a result, President Freitas Travassos refused sanction to the budget, and the fluminense province remained without the benefit of this vital piece of legislation for three consecutive years.\footnote{20}

\footnote{18}Ibid. 1873. pp. 298-299.

\footnote{19}Ibid. 1874. p.263. Only four deputados provinciais voted against the project this time - Paulo José Martins Rocha, João Batista Pereira, José Viriato de Freitas Júnior and Joaquim Leite Ribeiro de Almeida - showing the massive support in the Assembly to repudiate the previous provincial president Freitas Travassos attitude.

\footnote{20}Nevertheless, the fluminense deputados provinciais subsidy was later increased, in that same year. See Chapter III.
Another matter of conflict between the Provincial Presidency and the fluminense Assembly was the proposal by the Assembly's provincial finance committee to grant 550,000$000 réis to Barão de Nova Friburgo, the entrepreneur who undertook the project to extend the Cantagalo Railway. The proposal was a response to Barão de Nova Friburgo's claims that extra money was needed, as the contract did not cover the total cost of the work. This time, most deputados were not sure which way to vote. Provincial president Freitas Travassos had already made his opposition to the concession clear through the speeches of his son, a member of the Provincial Assembly, deputado Galdino Freitas Travassos. According to deputado Baltazar Bernardino Pereira, who opposed the proposal, the total value of the proposed concession amounted to the equivalent of one fifth of the total provincial revenues.21 Yet despite this opposition, the concession was approved as a subsidiary article of the provincial budget bill.22 This was probably another reason for president Freitas Travassos having refused to sanction that year's provincial budget. Later in 1876, the Cantagalo Railway and its manager, Barão de Nova Friburgo, were once again the cause of intense debate within

21 Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 228.

22 Most dissident deputados favoured the concession; whereas liberals and governistas were opposed to it. The final vote was very close, fourteen to thirteen. See: Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 480.
the fluminense Assembly.23 Only on this time occasion Provincial Presidency did not oppose the Assembly over the issue.24 Discussions on a provincial administrative reform in 1876 were also to provide an arena for bitter conflict between the fluminense Assembly and the Provincial Presidency.25 Early in 1874, the Assembly approved the organization of a special committee to study and propose costs-cutting exercises and changes in the organization of administrative offices, employees and their wages.26

23 As a result of the non approval of the budget in 1874, Barão de Nova Friburgo failed to obtain the cash he claimed he needed. In 1876, his associates inside the fluminense Assembly proposed a bill suspending the Cantagalo railway contract. They claimed Barão de Nova Friburgo was no longer in a position to honour the agreement he had previously signed with the provincial administration. Intense discussions followed, in which the fluminense deputados disagreed on the basis for the suspension of the contract and the re-purchase of the railway by the provincial administration. In: Ibid. 1876. pp. 94, 122, 135, 144, 157, 173, 183, 195, 205, 219, 228, 299, 316, 333, 336, 351, 364, 378, 385, 387, 393 & 404.

24 Also see debates over the Niterói-Campos railway, in which fluminense southern deputados opposed the concession of extra funds to the railway on the grounds that the north was far too greatly favoured by the provincial government. In: Ibid. pp. 87, 132, 192-193 & 347.

25 Also see Chapter III, p. 144. Earlier in 1870, there were a number of protests from deputados about the huge size of the fluminense administrative personnel. One said that 'a grandson who lacks the necessary energy to fight, sufficient health to enter into commerce or some such trade, the result is that the only thing he is fit for is a place in the bureaucracy, then everything will turn to his advantage, as he is nurtured on the breast of the State'. In Ibid. 1870. p.345. Also see p. 341.

26 Two conservatives deputados, Antonio Paulino Soares de Sousa and José Viriato de Freitas Júnior, and the liberal leader, Batista Pereira, were elected to this special committee. In: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1873. (Sessão Extraordinária),
According to deputado Batista Pereira, provincial public expenditure had increased 150% since 1868. There was only one possible way of explaining such a dramatic increase: an enormous growth in expenditure on provincial administrative personnel. He indicated that the total spent on this item alone amounted 198:000$000 réis in 1868, whereas by 1874 the provincial budget assigned a total of 408:056$000 réis on the item.27 There was a clear consensus among all factions of the Provincial Assembly that administrative reforms should be made to deal with the matter with utmost despatch.28 It was in fact a conservative deputado Ribeiro de Almeida, who laid the blame for the situation squarely at the feet of past conservative provincial governments.29 This had been due, he argued, to the lack of a solid Liberal Party presence which could challenge these past administrations. As a solution, he proposed a 5% tax on the salaries paid to provincial administrative personnel, including the deputados' subsidies.30 Against this radical proposal, the Assembly's specially-elected committee only

27 Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 122. Later in 1878, deputado José Barbosa Torres quoted Conselheiro Pereira da Silva as saying that Brazil had 68,746 civil servants, which required an annual expenditure of 48,000:000$000 réis, half of the country's total public income; in: Ibid. 1878. p. 269.

28 Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 110.

29 Ibid. 1874. pp. 504-511.

30 Ibid. 1874. p. 506. Ribeiro de Almeida proposal to tax provincial administrative personnel did not find much support at this occasion. Nonetheless, it was to be considered again in the 1880s. See below.
managed to propose a simple concession of powers to the Provincial Presidency for setting up the reform itself.\textsuperscript{31}

Shortly afterwards a reform was carried out and submitted to the Assembly for approval. Another special committee was once again elected to evaluate the reform and guide discussions of it in the Provincial Assembly.\textsuperscript{32} In normal circumstances, it might have been expected that a bill issued by a conservative provincial government would be automatically approved by a conservative majority inside the Provincial Assembly.\textsuperscript{33} However, this was not the case. The Assembly special committee was divided over its position on the reform issued by the Provincial Presidency. One of its members, deputado Manuel Antonio Rodrigues Torres, took it upon himself to express the Assembly’s dissatisfaction with the way in which the reform was carried out\textsuperscript{34}, with the full support of key Conservative Party leaders in the Assembly, such as deputados Josino do Nascimento Filho, Antonio

\textsuperscript{31} The Provincial Assembly would then have to approve the reform afterwards. See law n. 2171 issued on December 20th, 1875; in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province): Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1875. p. 117.

\textsuperscript{32} RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1876. p. 64. Deputados elected to the committee were: Manuel José de Sousa, Carlos Castrioto, Manuel Antonio Rodrigues Torres, Miguel José Tavares and Modesto Alves Pereira de Melo. They were all key conservative representatives on both sides of the Assembly.

\textsuperscript{33} This was particularly the case after the conservative ‘dissidência’ was brought to an end.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid. 1876. p. 143.
Another committee member, deputado Manuel José de Sousa promptly defended the Provincial Presidency, by arguing that although the reform might not bring an immediate reduction in administrative costs, it did establish a simplified administrative system, in which speed and decentralization would ultimately produce cuts in expenditure. The few liberal deputados attending the Assembly were also opposed to the reform which, according to Baltazar Bernardino Pereira, was responsible for a one-third increase in the previous total for provincial administrative personnel costs. Opposition was so strong that a temporary relief was only found in a decision to postpone the debate. Later, however, during the provincial budget debates, deputados Manuel José de Sousa, Carlos Castrioto and Modesto Alves Pereira de Melo presented an additional article to the budget, approving the Provincial Presidency deliberação which carried out the administrative reform. The Assembly was thrown into turmoil. A great deal of political pressure was exerted to ensure that this time the reform would be approved no matter what. To make sure that the additional article was approved, a permanent session was called, which

35 It is interesting to note that these three deputados had previously identified themselves as conservative dissidents. Later they were forced to change their position by pressure from the top Conservative Party national leadership, see: Ibid. 1876. pp. 624-631 & 675.
36 Ibid. 1876. pp. 155-156.
37 Ibid. 1876. p. 257.
lasted for four consecutive days and nights.\textsuperscript{38} It was only then that deputados Nasimento Silva Filho and Macedo Soares finally decided to drop their original opposition and vote in favour of the amendment. Both deputados accepted the fact that they had to do so to comply with orders given by the Conservative Party's top leadership.\textsuperscript{39} In this way, the reform was finally approved as part of the provincial budget bill that was issued later that year.\textsuperscript{40}

In a related move, fluminense deputados provinciais also finally decided to raise most provincial taxes in order to increase public provincial revenue income. Some deputados argued that the provincial budget deficit was becoming unmanageable, and that quick effective action was needed. As deputado Batista Pereira pointed out, the total provincial debt had increased from 2,878,000$000 reis in 1868, to the level of 5,229,000$000 reis in 1874.\textsuperscript{41}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid. 1876. pp. 582-635.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Ibid. 1876. pp. 631 & 675.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Another debate regarding fluminense administrative personnel took place in the 1877 Assembly session. Liberal deputado Batista Pereira proposed a bill to alter the administrative personnel system of retirement. Deputado Vieira Souto wanted conservative deputados to support his own proposal instead. In response, deputado Rodrigues Torres argued that Vieira Souto had a great eagerness to represent the interests of provincial administrative personnel himself, as if he had an empregomania, a dangerous illness which should be avoided. The debate was postponed as a temporary solution to the deadlock between the two proposals. In: Ibid. 1877. pp. 91-97, 170-173, 181-191, 192-203 & 206-210.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Ibid. 1874. pp. 79-80. Later on, however, Batista Pereira argued that raising tax revenue would not be the most convenient strategy to increase the provincial public income, as the tax collection system was not a reliable one. The best option, he believed, was to carry out severe cuts
\end{itemize}
deputados called for the reform of the entire national tax collection system, so that a better system could be created which could separate the duties due to the national, provincial and municipal treasuries. Meanwhile, the first actual step taken to increase taxes was the re-introduction of a provincial duty of 3% on exported sugar. After that, most municipal and provincial taxes were slightly increased through determinations in subsequent municipal and provincial budget bills. In 1877, an interesting discussion took place over a municipal budget bill proposal to tax farms producing sugar spirit (aguardente) whether for trade or personal consumption. Deputado Paulo Francisco da Costa Viana, a Campos representative, strongly opposed the measure, whereas deputado Ribeiro de Almeida, from the Paraiba river valley, strongly defended it. Ribeiro de Almeida argued that sugar farmers should contribute to the in provincial public expenditure. In: Ibid. 1874. p. 203.

42 See Vieira Souto’ speech in April 11th, 1870. In: Ibid. 1870. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 53-57. Deputado Luís Alves Leite Oliveira Belo Júnior later also suggested that European colonization would only succeed in the province, if the municipal tax duties were transformed in order to grant Camaras Municipais some sort of financial autonomy, since ‘slavish societies’ could only produced a ‘slavish population’. In: Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 91.

43 See law n. 1543 in December 10th, 1870, article 8; which also established duties on fluminense exported cotton and tobacco, which were only suspended in 1873. See: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1870. p. 142.

44 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1876. pp. 442-446. Deputado Costa Viana argued that sugar was doing very badly in the international market, due to recent floods in Campos, and the tax would come at a very bad time.
provincial treasury. The proposed tax was only a minor contribution compared to what the coffee sector had been placing in the provincial public treasury. Deputado Antonio Francisco Ribeiro tried to reconcile the two positions by suggesting that all farms, whatever they grew, which also produced aguardente would have to pay the excise duty. Despite this conciliatory attempt, the deputados provinciais failed to reach a common position and the proposal was finally dropped all together. The issue is particularly important as a means of illustrating the strength of the sugar lobby inside the Provincial Assembly, despite the coffee sector's dissatisfaction with their large contribution to the province's income.

Another vital conflict also expressed by deputados provinciais referred to their awareness of the contradictions inherent in the relationship between national and provincial politics. During the 1875 municipal budget debates, a major dispute took place between conservative deputados Fernando Francisco da Costa Ferraz and Ribeiro de Almeida, over the method to be used in evaluating Camaras Municipais financial records. Costa Ferraz challenged the Assembly's municipal finance committee to impose fines on Camaras which had failed to produce the documents required by law for the organization of their budget and expenditure. He also launched a major attack on the way in which Camaras

46 Ibid. 1876. p. 472.
Municipais had acted during the recent elections, blaming local authorities for endless complaints of mismanagement. Ribeiro de Almeida, a member of the committee and a vereador himself, reacted very strongly to these criticisms. He criticised Costa Ferraz himself for being an outsider, and unaware of many of fluminense province's local peculiarities, who had only been elected deputado provincial as a result of contacts he had on the other side of Guanabara bay. Costa Ferraz, he argued, could not be sympathetic to the difficulties Camaras Municipais had in dealing with all the paper-work necessary to proper municipal management. This, was because he was always,

'glutted on the pleasures and luxuries of Córte, the illustrious deputado is naturally greatly in favour of the concentration of money, of administrative centralization. In his rarified haunts, the illustrious deputado feels gigantic in comparison with the municipalities of the province, whose vereadores are no more in His Excellency's eyes than pigmies. I, to the contrary, Mr. President, as an inhabitant of the province and vereador of a Camara [Municipal] may not enjoy the advantages which the Imperial Capital offers to its inhabitants, as for a long time have devoted all my energies to raising the municipal element'...'[This is because] I understand that it is the municipios of this vast country which furnish the luxury and grandeur which the noble deputado enjoys in the capital of the Empire'.

Ribeiro de Almeida went on to describe the key role Camaras Municipais in the successful end of the Paraguayan War. They had all worked very hard to help the central government during that very difficult period, doing everything possible to obtain as many soldiers as possible to fight in the

47 Ibid. 1875. p. 300.
Worst of all, he said, who was Costa Ferraz to criticize Camaras Municipais for election mismanagement, when he himself was the best exemplar of central government mischief in manipulating local election results in the province. Costa Ferraz remained untouched, arguing that despite the fact that he was not a local man, he had been elected deputado provincial to the Assembly, and that was what mattered. The sooner the Assembly’s annual session ended, the better, so that he would no longer have to cross the Guanabara bay. Almost all deputados provinciais supported Ribeiro de Almeida in his criticism of Costa Ferraz. At the end of the debate, no fines were imposed on delinquent Camaras Municipais. The further the financial crisis deepened, the more political discontent was expressed by deputados opposing central government interference in the management of fluminense provincial affairs. Although they were not in a position to limit central government action in this regard, deputados were able to show their dissatisfaction and try to safeguard some of the interests of their closest associates, as in the case of the Camaras

48 Ibid. 1875. p. 300.

49 Ibid. 1875. p. 302.

50 Ibid. 1875. pp. 306 & 369. In reply to this last statement, deputado José Rodrigues Coelho commented that Costa Ferraz left no doubts that the fluminense Assembly was a form of a martyrdom to him.

51 Instead, an annual subsidy was later granted to all Camaras Municipais. The issue had already been discussed in the Assembly, as previously seen, coming into effect in 1877. See: Ibid. 1874. pp. 447-449; and article 13 in law n.2.242 (20/02/1877), in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1877. p.88.
Besides this strong commitment of most deputados provinciais to oppose the Provincial Presidency, they also proved to have had the vital ability to re-establish new guidelines to direct the fluminense response to the labour issue. A number of debates took place on the need to support European colonization programmes and the establishment of railways in the province up to the end of the 1860s. As previously observed, fluminense deputados took direct action in relation to the setting up of a railway programme. Although most deputados knew this was not enough and that a more complex and well-planned programme of action had to be established and put into practice.

It might be argued that it was the 1871 Free Birth law which finally forced fluminense Assembly members to come to terms with the need to take more coordinated action. In

52 Also see Ribeiro de Almeida's remarks on the recent changes implemented in the organization of the provincial administrative office in charge of looking after public works. He criticised the new system for centralizing the inspection system even further. He argued that once again Camaras Municipais were left unattended, whereas chief inspectors remained comfortably based at the Córte. In: Ibid. 1877. p. 381.

53 It is important to indicate the impossibility of this present research covering all the railway proposals presented and discussed at the fluminense Provincial Assembly. There were a large number of them. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, the research was organized according to an analysis of issues raised in every year's provincial budget bill debates. Nonetheless, the most important ones, as defined by the deputados provinciais themselves, were subject to further research.
1872, deputado Luis Matoso Duque-Estrada Camara argued that the 1871 law was like a warning to fluminense farmers, as to the rest of the nation, that the move to replace slaves with free-workers was underway. The sooner that it was accomplished the better, so that no one would be taken by surprise when abolition finally became reality. So, he argued, the fluminense Assembly had to make a serious move to truly establish European colonization in the province.

He then touched on the issue at the back of the minds of all fluminense landowners: how this was to be done without accepting the inevitable process of land division in the province. How was the fluminense province to afford the organization of a European colonization scheme and the payment of wages to free-workers, given the province’s poor financial situation. Little land remained unattached and the coffee producers were working hard to sustain present production levels. Prospects for the future were particularly gloomy.54 Later in 1874, deputado Viriato de Freitas Júnior expressed these same fears when speaking on future effects to be expected from the 1871 bill:

'I have thought seriously on this subject: for is the division of the great properties and the disorganization of the work which are, as no-one can deny, the ultimate consequences [of this act].'.55

Despite all this concern, the only action which was immediately taken by deputados provinciais was to increase


55 Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 143. Italics as in the original.
the annual police contingent, as a response to the fears of fluminense farmers that the slaves would rise in riots, in the hope of accelerating the total abolition of slavery.56

It was only in 1875 that more concrete steps were taken with regard to the labour issue. During that year's provincial budget bill debates, deputado José Morais Costa proposed the election of an three member special committee to examine and propose ways of overcoming the capital shortage and labour crisis affecting fluminense export agriculture.57 Few deputados shared Morais Costa's belief that the fluminense economy was performing badly. Nonetheless, they agreed upon the fact that something had to be done.58 Two months later, deputado Viriato de Freitas Júnior, presented some of results produced by the special committee to the Assembly. The first major conclusion drawn by the committee was the fact that there was no such thing as a crisis of capital availability in the province.59

Actually, consultations with the Caixa Hipotecária do Banco


57 Ibid. 1875. p. 135. Earlier in 1874, Luis Alves Leite Oliveira Belo Filho also said that because of the 1871 legislation fluminense society was in panic, and that 'this panic is real, and is growing day by day and has already begin to affect the credit. And what is credit? It is confidence itself'...'founded on hope, support in the present with eye on the future'. Ibid. 1874. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 90.

58 Members elected to the Assembly special committee were Francisco Alvares de Azevedo Macedo, José Morais Costa and José Viriato de Freitas Júnior. Also see debates in: Ibid. 1874. (p. 542) and 1875. (pp. 135, 139, 314 & 368).


353
do Brasil - Banco do Brazil mortgage fund - led the Assembly committee to affirm that no more capital could be made available in the province than had already been. According to figures supplied by Banco do Brasil, more than half of the bank's total expenditure on loans was advanced on mortgages in the fluminense province. To confirm this statement, Viriato de Freitas Júnior produced a table showing the distribution of these mortgages throughout the municipios of the province, as shown in TABLE VI - I. Valença had the largest number of mortgages, as well as the highest total mortgage value in the province, closely followed by Vassouras, Paraiba do Sul and São Fidélis. These four municipios alone accounted for half of the entire total value of mortgages in the province.

Having established this, deputado Viriato de Freitas Júnior then went on to discuss the need to support European colonization and ways of improving the division of labour in fluminense export agriculture. He began by assuming that the Provincial Assembly had already done what had been necessary to improve the fluminense railway system. He argued that the time had come for the fluminense Assembly to decide what the next steps should be. He made the point that the Provincial Assembly was not inclined to support any proposed colonization scheme. So, it was very urgent to

60 Ibid. 1875. p. 486. It is also interesting to note the fact that deputado Manuel Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck made a number of side comments on Viriato de Freitas Júnior speech, in which he drew the Assembly's attention to the fact that new additional railway proposals were a much better option than that for colonization. He implied that the fluminense farmers, whom he claimed to represent inside
## TABLE VI - I

### NUMBER OF FARMS AND SLAVES MORTGAGED IN THE PROVINCE OF RIO DE JANEIRO IN 1874 (by município)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUNICÍPIOS</th>
<th>FARMS</th>
<th>SLAVES</th>
<th>MORTGAGES(*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angra dos Reis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araruama</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>292,005$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barra de S. João</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>190,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barra Mansa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>822,730$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capivary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campos</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>454,187$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantagalo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,064</td>
<td>1,296,620$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Frio</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>57,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estrela</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itaborai</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>214,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itaguai</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>36,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iguassú</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>196,600$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magé</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>93,026$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macaé</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>392,100$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maricá</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>124,800$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niterói</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Friburgo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>386,728$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirai</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>885,774$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraíba do Sul</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1,498</td>
<td>1,553,719$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resende</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>863,845$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. João do Principe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>167,327$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Fídélis</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1,245</td>
<td>1,586,172$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Maria Madalena</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>235,394$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Antonio de Sá</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>55,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saquarema</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>50,000$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vassouras</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2,803</td>
<td>2,490,028$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valença</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3,511</td>
<td>3,905,487$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 256 16,248 16,472,522$

**SOURCE:** RIO DE JANEIRO (PROVINCE). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1875. p. 483.

(*) For the sake of simplicity, figures have been rounded to the nearest whole unit.
establish a policy which would support schemes to improve the export agriculture productive system in the province, such as the engenhos centrais - the central mills - and the introduction of techniques to eradicate the weeds and ants affecting coffee and sugar plantations. He also stressed that the Provincial Assembly should carefully consider the various ways in which a decision was to be reached. Once this was done, direct action had to be taken as soon as possible, he argued, since the worst thing that could happen was indecision and a lack of precision on the part of the Provincial Assembly in dealing with the formulation of provincial policies. If did happen, it would only increase grounds for speculation and economic instability.61 He believed only decisive action would help to guarantee the implementation of successful policies in the province. As a result of his campaign succeeding provincial budget bills granted various guaranteed interest concessions to proposals for setting up new engenhos centrais and various new railway branch-lines. At the same time, deputados provinciais once again shelved the debate on proposals for European colonization until 1887.

61 Ibid. 1875. pp. 486-487. He stressed the need for a steady and continuous support for whatever decision the Assembly should finally reach.
It was in 1878, amid this process of redefining policies, that the fluminense Provincial Assembly saw the Liberal Party take office as the central government, a position it held until 1885. Despite this change, however, the 22nd fluminense legislature (1878-1879) still had a conservative majority. Conservative deputados described the sight the central government in the hands of a liberal-republican coalition as 'unacceptable', and renewed their attacks on liberal representatives by once again blaming their party for causing the 1842 liberal rebellion. They argued that the Liberal Party's past made it 'naturally unfitted' to cope with the responsibilities entailed in managing the country's affairs. As one form of protest, conservative deputados sent a motion to the National Assembly calling for direct elections to be introduced in the country as soon as possible.

62 The legislature was elected under a new electoral legislation, which replaced the former system electoral colleges by twenty-seven new electoral districts. See FIGURE III - VI.

63 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1878. pp. 227-228. It was common to see the Liberal Party referred to as the 'Monarquista' Party. This was an effort to differentiate the party from other liberals who also supported the republican ideal.

64 The move angered liberal members. In reply, deputado José Barbosa Torres blamed the Conservative Party itself for provoking the rebellion. In: Ibid. 1878. p. 266.

65 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1878. pp. 291-298 & 438-439. In 1874, a similar motion was also approved by the fluminense Assembly.
Later, fluminense legislatures showed an even balance of power inside the Provincial Assembly. The 23rd legislature (1880-1881) was notable a large liberal majority, but in the 1882-1883 period, the reintroduction of the previous system of provincial electoral districts helped conservative representatives to establish a majority in the Provincial Assembly. After that, the 25th legislature (1884-1885) produced an Assembly in which both the Liberal and the Conservative Parties held twenty-one seats, with the Republican Party holding the balance of power with four representatives. Yet despite the changes in political representation, these three provincial legislatures shared a common characteristic in that they all maintained a hostile attitude towards the Provincial Presidency.

However, of vital issue considered in this period mentioned encouraged a common stand by most fluminense deputados provinciais, despite their differences in political labels. In 1881, a bill to sell the Cantagalo railway, together with the concession to build the Rio

Also see: Ibid. 1874. p. 487.

66 Divisions within the Liberal Party could also help to explain the conservative electoral performance. Conflicts between the liberal provincial president and conservative deputados provinciais led to a refusal to sanction the 1882 provincial budget bill or to call the 1883 Assembly extraordinary session.

67 There were also reference to a few local disputes in the period. In 1878, Comendador Joaquim José de Sousa Breves was once again the subject of bitter exchanges between deputados Barbosa Torres and José Tavares. Ibid. 1878. pp. 316-318. Despite Comendador Breves’ age, he was said to still be deeply involved in local politics.
Bonito branch-line, was proposed to the Provincial Assembly. The proposal appears to have been the solution decided on by provincial president Martinho Alvares da Silva Campos to restore provincial finances and to obtain guarantees that the Rio Bonito branch-line project would go ahead without the use of provincial public income. Some deputados argued that the Cantagalo railway could easily be sold for 10.000:000$000 réis, which could then be used to reduce the provincial budget debt to a total of little more than 4,000:000$000 réis. Debates on the proposal took a very long time and two substitute bills were presented by deputados José Sá Carvalho and Ismael Torres de Albuquerque. It was only in 1882 that the sale was finally approved, and the contract was only signed after the buyer committed himself to building the Rio Bonito branch-line. Later financial difficulties led the entrepreneur, Manuel Gomes de Oliveira, to return to the Provincial Assembly in order to have the original agreement altered, which the Assembly did.

68 Early in 1879, the fluminense Assembly approved the Companhia Ferro-Carril Niteroiense to be taken over by the Cantagalo railway, making it the largest railway conglomerate under provincial management. Ibid. 1878 (pp. 259 & 397-400) and 1879 (pp. 204, 346, 362, 390, 404, 418, 435, 468, 477, 498 & 541).

69 The idea to extend the Rio Branco branch-line, as far as Macaé, was first proposed at the 1880 fluminense Assembly by the republican deputado Francisco Portela. Financial difficulties led to the postponement of the bill debates. See: Ibid. 1880 (pp. 481, 587, 628-631), 1881 (pp. 15, 93, 206, 359, 430, 445-449, 469, 475 & 489) and 1885 (Sessão Extraordinária, pp. 103-118).

70 Ibid. 1885. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 104.
in 1884. However, the Provincial Presidency refused to sanction the Assembly's decision, and the contract was suspended in its entirety. Having done so, the provincial president called an extraordinary session in early 1885, to enable the Assembly to revise the matter formally. In the opening session, provincial president José Cesário de Faria Alvim expressed the need for the deputados to review their former decision in agreeing to such contract, which could not be accepted by his government under any circumstances.

The move clearly indicated the culmination of a struggle - although a covert one - between the Provincial Assembly and the national government over the railway issue. The diversity of interests involved in the development of railways within the country which had, almost inevitably, to be located in fluminense provincial territory, appears to have led to a clash between some of those interests. As deputado Francisco Portela pointed out in 1885, the change in the provincial president attitude profoundly surprised the Assembly and there was a suspicion that there had to be more involved than the simple matter of contract terms, given that the Provincial Presidency had shown support for this particular proposed sale up until the end of the 1884 debates. Deputado Portela then went to

71 According to deputado Francisco Portela, entrepreneur Gomes de Oliveira could not obtain loans for the branch-line work unless the Assembly would grant his enterprise an 'irrevocable interest guarantee' to help raise the required funds. In: Ibid. 1885. (Sessão Extraordinária), p. 109.

72 Ibid. 1885. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 04-06.
question the reasons offered for such a sudden change. He argued that:

'Since 1881, there has been a firm plan to kill the Cantagalo railway and to allow the powerful Leopoldina Company to enter the province as its owner'... 'they do not want the Cantagalo proposal because they wish to carry all the freight to the city of Rio de Janeiro. To be brief, this is the true, the dominant motive'... 'The Leopoldina wants to kill the Cantagalo. But we cannot consent to this'... 'What I see, and I must speak of with all frankness, is that this encouragement given to the interests of the province of Minas Gerais will suffocate, will asphyxiate the just, the legitimate, the vital interests of the province of Rio de Janeiro (applause)'... 'it is necessary to state the terms of this project very clearly: the general government has shown itself to be ill-intentioned towards the province of Rio de Janeiro; this, cannot accept so brutal a blow to its great railway [Cantagalo] from the national government'... 'Unfortunately, the province of Rio de Janeiro cannot find one single man in any party who is resolved to take a firm and decided stand to represent this province against that of Minas Gerais in this conflict of interests. The Carangola railway is obliterated by the Manhuassu branch-line, that of São Antonio de Padua is closed by the Leopoldina, and the Leopoldina Company entwines itself like a serpent around the province of Rio de Janeiro to asphyxiate it in its coils.'

There were very few times in the entire history of the fluminense Assembly up to that date that, such a clear statement against the central government had been recorded in the Assembly Anais. Even more striking was the fact that nobody in the chamber rose to refute Francisco Portela's

73 Ibid. 1885. (Sessão Extraordinária), 118-119. The reason given by provincial president José Cesário de Faira Alvim for not sanctioning the proposed sale was based on the assumption that fluminense finances could not stand such a large financial burden should something go wrong. Nonetheless, Portela argued that this was the very basic principle behind the concession to guarantee interest, as otherwise everyone would assume that the Rio de Janeiro province was no longer a reliable economic partner.

74 Ibid. 1885. (Sessão Extraordinária), pp. 113-114 & 117-120.
statements. The mere fact that so much provincial public money had been put into a single project would in itself justify a such reaction. However, as Portela stated so precisely, there was more involved than that. The fluminense province was being treated as a second-best, and there was a clear indication that the central government favoured the interests of Minas Gerais. Deputados provinciais attending the 1885 extraordinary Assembly session appear to have been determined to show their rejection of the central government's attitude towards the province's most prestigious railway. But the question remained of how they were to do so. The fluminense deputados themselves knew that very little could be done, and as Portela had already said, there was no fluminense politician strong enough to withstand the pressure from Minas Gerais. Deputados knew they could only protest verbally. As a result, at the end of the 1885 extraordinary session, the contract of sale was finally suspended, demonstrating the power of the Provincial Presidency over many fluminense deputados, mainly because of the positions they held in the provincial administration. However, later in the 1885 ordinary session, the conservative leader in the Assembly, deputado Pedro Luis Soares de Sousa, proposed that representations should be made to the National Assembly to

75 It might well be the case that it was more 'strategic' to favour the Leopoldina Railway rather than the Cantagalo one. Nonetheless, the issue here has to be seen from the fluminense point of view, which did not accept its fall in status with regard to the position previously shared with the central government.
protest about the Minas Gerais Provincial Presidency and former provincial president José Cesário de Faria Alvim's decision to permit an invasion of fluminense territory for the construction of the Leopoldina railway Manhuassu's branch-line. The motion was supported by all the fluminense deputados, who also decided to elect an Assembly special committee to prepare the test in which such a strong protest was to be expressed. No reactions to the representation on the part of the national government were recorded in the Provincial Assembly, but another bill proposing the sale of the Cantagalo railway was submitted during the Assembly's 1886 session. Only this time the buyer that the fluminense Provincial Presidency had in mind was the Leopoldina railway itself, as may be seen from the contract signed in 1887.

A number of factors could explain the change in the fluminense Assembly's attitude in approving such a sale. There were important changes among the deputados provinciais who attended the Assembly in both provincial legislatures, which was partially explain a more favourable tendency in

76 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1885. pp. 147-149.

77 See law n. 2.848 in November 18th 1886; in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1886. pp. 225-228. Also see SIQUEIRA, Edmundo. Resumo histórico de The Leopoldina Railway Company Limited. (Rio de Janeiro, 1938). In this study, the author describes the way in which the central government supported the Leopoldina railway in amalgamating all the existing railway links in the southeast of Brazil.
the Assembly towards accepting the new proposal. Equally important was the fact that in no circumstance the buyer's name was revealed in the course of the 1886 debates. Emphasis in the argument was centred on the urgent need to provide a solution to the growing provincial financial crisis. When it was finally revealed that the Leopoldina railway Company was the new owner of the Cantagalo railway, the deputados provinciais appear to have been resigned to the idea that nothing else could be done. They knew that they could not stop the fulfillment of deputado Portela's earlier predictions of the dark fate that was to overwhelm the fluminense provincial railway system.

However, the key issue that was to come out of this matter was the need acknowledged by most fluminense politicians to review fluminense provincial relations with the central government. The deepening of the provincial economic crisis clearly showed that the relationship could no longer be maintained on the same grounds as previously,

78 Key deputados provinciais, such as Francisco Portela, who attended the 25th fluminense legislature (1884-1885) and was deeply opposed the Leopoldina Railway's interference in the affairs of the Cantagalo Railway were not elected to the following provincial legislature. Also see Chapter V.

79 Later in 1887, during his closing speech for the annual session, the fluminense Assembly president stressed this aspect, rather than the fact that the Leopoldina Railway was itself in control of the most important fluminense railway. See: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1887. pp. 502-503. Also see article 2 in the piece of legislation quoted in footnote n. 353, in which provisions were expressly made to guarantee that the Provincial Presidency would use the profits of the railway sale only to pay off the provincial budget debt.
since the province could no longer rely on central government support as it had once done. Fluminense deputados provinciais were keen to point out on every possible occasion that the central government had abandoned the Rio de Janeiro province. It could even be argued that when the abolition of slavery became a fact, a situation had already been reached in which the fluminense province no longer identified with the fate of the Brazilian monarchy. It was not the abolition of slavery which led fluminense politicians to rescind their original support for the central government, but rather the fact that the central government itself had already abandoned the province, in the wake of its economic crisis, well on course since the 1870s. Debates in the Provincial Assembly indicated that on almost every issue, the Assembly could no longer rely on the national government as had done previously, to solve its most vital problems. Once deputados provinciais realized this fact, they tended to concentrate their activities on the proposal of measures which the Assembly could implement and support itself.

At the same time, fluminense Assembly debates also revealed various facet of the deepening provincial economic crisis.80 Two kinds of debates illustrated this process. The first dealt with the issue of how to implement a policy of provincial expenditure cuts, whilst at the same time,

80 This was probably another reason for the Provincial Assembly’s response to the recent railway incident.
increasing provincial revenue by steadily raising provincial taxes at the provincial and municipal levels. In opposition to this, the Provincial Assembly received a number of 'popular' protests against such increases. In a similar move, the Provincial Assembly itself expressed its opposition to the National Assembly decision to impose a 10% increase in import taxes. Deputado Rodrigues Torres, who was a member of the Assembly special committee elected to prepare a representation to be sent to the National Assembly, expressed the opposition to such a move. He argued that:

'The raising of the heavy import taxes will lead to a rise in the prices, already onerous, of the basic necessities which we use and aggravate the dark effects of the constant fluctuations in the value of our currency.'

The representation was considered to be political, as it was proposed by the conservative majority in the fluminense Assembly to protest against the liberal National Assembly's decision. Liberal deputado provincial Antonio Augusto Pereira de Lima took the lead in opposing the proposal, but

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81 Most municipal and provincial budget bills in the 1880s introduced sharp increases in many provincial taxes as well as measures to improve the tax collection system in the province. In 1886, a 2% tax was imposed on all provincial civil servants' monthly wage.

It is also important to remember that the national government was reacting in the same way to taxes due to be paid to the national treasury.

82 See clashes between one of the 'comissões populares' and the Assembly Mesa over the presentation of one of those protests in 1886. In: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembleia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1886. p. 417.

83 Ibid. 1882. p. 138.
it was shortly approved. Another vital step also undertaken by the Provincial Assembly dealt with the promotion of real cuts in the provincial administrative personnel. Various debates involved cuts in numbers and salaries for personnel at all municipal and provincial levels, as well as the revision of the provincial legislation which regulated the provincial civil servant retirement pension scheme.

The second kind of Provincial Assembly debates the deepening provincial economic crisis revealed a more positive response to farming needs in the fluminense province. They dealt with proposals put forward by the 1875 fluminense Assembly special committee which, as previously indicated, called for provincial support for measures to improve export agricultural operating conditions. On the one hand, they involved proposals for the construction of a

84 Ibid. 1882. p. 141. Liberal deputados who voted against the representation were: Joaquim Alves Silva, Antonio Augusto Pereira de Lima, Luis Carlos Fróes Cruz, José Joaquim Heredia de Sá, Carlos Antonio Halfeld, Luis Agapito da Veiga, Francisco de Paula Baltazar de Abreu Sodré, Antonio José Fernandes, José Rodrigues Coelho, Manuel Vieira da Fonseca and Francisco José de Sousa Gomes. Also see pp. 107-109, when another representation - calling for the central government to cut fluminense export agriculture taxes - failed to be approved by the Provincial Assembly.

85 For debates regarding reforms on: 1) retirement scheme see: Ibid. 1878 (pp. 16, 139, 164, 251, 260, 286, 332 & 392); 1882 (pp. 272 & 279) and 1886 (pp. 287, 381, 412, 418, 424, 429, 438 & 444); 2) personnel at municipal level see: Ibid. 1881 (pp. 206, 394 & 402) and 1882 (pp. 91, 100, 109, 113, 117 & 397); 3) provincial administrative personnel at all levels see: Ibid. 1880. (pp. 113, 511, 601, 622 & 624). Equally important was the approval of another bill reducing subsidies for fluminense deputados. In: Ibid. 1882. p. 228.
number of railway branch-lines around the province86, whilst the other, they established new financial support for the setting up of new central sugar mills to assist small sugar-cane producers in processing their canes.87

In a different vein, Provincial Assembly debates also revealed an upsurge in the activities of the Republican Party throughout the province. In 1884, deputado Bento Carneiro de Almeida Pereira expressed his concern over recent events in Macaé, where republican activists were inducing slaves to rebel. He found this particularly worrying as Macaé had always been a municipio in which good working relations prevailed.88 In the following year, deputado Pedro Luis Soares de Sousa, leader of the Assembly’s conservative faction, presented a petition demanding an inquiry into recent disturbances in Campos. According to him, farmers of that locality had sent a petition calling on the government to establish a timetable for the abolition of slavery. Pedro Soares de Sousa did not agree with them, but he did justify their attitude by saying that:

86 These projects were considered separately from the debates involving the Cantagalo railway and its Rio Bonito branch-line. See: Ibid. 1882. pp. 17, 215, 235, 254, 288, 357, 428, 441, 447, 484 & 507. The proposals approved involved the following routes: Queimados-Paraty, Resende-Arês, Rio Bonito-Macaé, Vassouras-Mendes.


88 Ibid. 1884. pp. 92-93.
'The farmers there are all the time seeing the interest of their slaves encouraged by the abolitionists and fearing for their lives and their property, believe that they would regain the peace and tranquility which they lack by addressing the legislative body with a representation suggesting a timetable for a resolution of the slave question'... 'However, the planters of Campos are mistaken whatever solution is offered to the issue of slavery'... 'the abolitionist industry will continue to be exploited as it is at present in Campos'... 'Abolitionism in the municipio of Campos is entirely outside the law, such are the means and methods employed by its advocates.'89

It is interesting to note how keen Pedro Soares de Sousa was to prompt action in order to block the argument in favour of defining a fixed timetable for abolishing slavery. Campos unique position within the province on this issue reveals the region's economic vitality at a time when most coffee municipios in the Paraiba river valley were desperately clinging to the institution of slavery.90

With regard to the Republican Party presence in the Provincial Assembly, it is worth noting the relationship between its growing support among members of the other political parties and the deterioration of the fluminense economy. This also indicates that fluminense politicians had begun to view the monarchy as failing to offer a workable political system for them. It was in 1885 that this issue became clearer. First deputado Manuel Simoes de Sousa Pinto, a member of the conservative Provincial

89 Ibid. 1885. (Sessao Extraordinária), p. 165.

90 TABLE VI - I confirms this state of affairs. While leading coffee municipios were all embroiled in large mortgage schemes, farmers in Campos remained quite autonomous with regard to the financing of their economic activities.
Assembly faction, referred to deputado Francisco Portela as his ‘co-believer’. Portela reacted to this by saying that he was a republican, to which Sousa Pinto replied that so was he, as there was no contradiction in being a 'republican conservative'.

Later in the same year, deputado Henrique Antão de Vasconcelos attacked the Republican Party for establishing alliances with members of the Liberal and the Conservative Parties. He argued that:

‘In our Assembly, we have seen republicans who today are liberals and tomorrow are conservatives, who are true opportunists, who are true utilitarians, true apostles of Benthamite theorizing’.

During the course of this research, this issue posed great difficulty in measuring the Republican Party’s performance in Provincial Assembly debates during the final part of the period under consideration. There was, however, one particular debate that revealed the fact that the fluminense Republican Party was divided internally as early as 1885. Deputados provinciais Francisco Portela and José Tomas da Porciúncula appear to have headed different factions of the party during the 1880s. On the two, Portela had been an active member of the Assembly for a long time, whilst Porciúncula was attending the Provincial Assembly for the

91 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1885. p. 73.

It was another republican deputado, Antonio Luis dos Santos Werneck, who described the issues which divided his party, from those who were only joining the party for tactical political reasons:

'I will demonstrate the difference between opportunity and reality. Opportunism is a word of two meanings or a two-edged sword: we are all opportunists, you [Francisco Portela] who believe that monarchy is still opportune, and us [he and Porciúncula] who judge that a republic is opportune. But to believe in the opportunity of a republic and, therefore, be a republican, and hope for its reality; that is the coming of the republic, then to delay declaring oneself until it is accomplished, is abysmal.'

This seems to very clearly indicate the willingness of various sectors of the Republican Party to establish alliances with members of pro-monarchist political parties. At the same time, large sectors of those parties were also moving towards this new alignment as a result of their growing disillusionment with the imperial political system.

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93 Francisco Portela argued that he was the first politician in the whole country to advocate the republican cause. Nonetheless, he himself hinted that he was not a popular figure inside his party. In: Ibid. 1885. p. 218-219.

94 Ibid. 1885. p. 230. Italics as in the original. In previous debates, clashes between Francisco Portela and José Tomas da Porciúncula, revealed that the first was supported by deputado João Batista Láper and the other by Antonio Luis dos Santos Werneck. In: Ibid. 1885. p. 216.

95 This was especially true after the final step in abolishing slavery, in May 1888. In August 1888, deputado Romualdo de Andrade Baena spoke of the recent 'republican fever' affecting most liberal politicians in the province. In reply, a former liberal deputado, Luis Carlos Frôes da Cruz, indicated that many conservatives had also become members of the Republican Party after May 13th. Deputado Baena also pointed out that this state of affairs illustrated the current 'decadence' of the monarchical
The year of 1885 returned the Conservative Party to power in the central government. The 26th and the 27th fluminense legislatures (1886-1889) presented the fluminense Provincial Assembly with a balanced and predominantly monarchist chamber, among which were a few representatives of the Republican Party. The Conservative Party most commonly held the majority in the Assembly only losing it as result of fluctuating attendance.

The return of the Conservative Party to the head of the provincial government once again encouraged a return to the colonization debate in the fluminense Assembly. It might be argued that this also related to the policies drawn up by the 1875 fluminense Assembly special committee. Once the Assembly and the Provincial Presidency had provided the province with a number of improvements in the organization of farm labour, deputados provinciais appear to have realized that the only remaining issue was that of European colonization. The issue was reopened in 1886, when a special Assembly committee was elected to once again look into the working conditions in export agriculture in the province.96 Deputado Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme expressed the fluminense Assembly dissatisfaction with the political system. He argued that continuous central government interference in the electoral procedures further only emphasised this deterioration process. In: Ibid. 1888. p. 07-14.

96 Ibid. 1886. p. 235. Deputados elected were Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme, Antonio Dias Paes Leme, Antonio Leite Ribeiro de Almeida, Pedro Luís Soares de Sousa and Rodolfo Leite Ribeiro. Another special committee was also elected during that year to look into municipal divisions in the province. See: Ibid. 1886. p. 424.
way in which the National Assembly was promoting the colonization programme in the country. He argued that:

‘In the expenses of the Ministry of Agriculture the enormous sum of 50,000,000$000 [réis] was spent on immigrants in the [twenty-year] period from 1861 to 1881, of which only 14,000$000 [réis] actually came to the province of Rio de Janeiro. We have been very badly treated by the public authorities. The province of Rio de Janeiro which contributes half of the Empire’s income, has only received a return of 14,000$000’... ‘This shows the imbalance in the distribution of public monies, and the levying of taxes.’ 97

He also implied that the time had come for fluminense deputados to find an effective way to deal with the labour problem in province. The very document presented to propose the election of that special committee, touched on the argument regarding the importance of native born workers in supplying the necessary labour force in the province. It was feared that high wages would prevent most fluminense farmers being able to afford to have European immigrants working on their estates. 98 It was only in 1887, however, that a proposal for colonization was presented to the fluminense Assembly as a result of the committee’s work. 99

Soon after this, the conservative Assembly leader, deputado Belisário Augusto Soares de Sousa, came forward to propose a

97 He completed his argument by saying that Santa Catarina province alone had received ‘the enormous amount of 10,000,000$000 réis’. In: Ibid. 1886. pp. 234-235.

98 Ibid. 1886. p. 235.

99 Still in 1886, the Assembly liberal leader, deputado Augusto de Oliveira Pinto, proposed sending a representation to the National Assembly, demanding a reduction in interest on loans to fluminense farmers. Nonetheless, the proposal failed to gain approval by the Provincial assembly. See: Ibid. 1885. pp. 211-213.
replacement bill, which he said had been drawn up based on the ideas of Conselheiro Paulino Soares de Sousa and the Liberal Party chief, Conselheiro Octaviano, although he later admitted that Conselheiro Paulino alone had actually organized the proposal. 100 There was a nine page introduction to the bill, which was published in the Provincial Assembly Anais. 101 In this exposition, which was read by Belisário Soares de Sousa, it is almost possible feel Conselheiro Paulino presence inside the Assembly, as if he himself was there exercising his authority over the provincial politicians. In this introduction, a brief summary was made of previous central government attempts to support the fluminense export agriculture, with particular reference to the D. Pedro II railway. The point was also made that the implementation of colonization scheme in the province had to start from the organization of farmers’ associations at the local level. These associations would play a vital propaganda role to support and encourage fluminense farmers to introduce free-workers on to their farms. 102 They would also help to make sure that a

100 Deputado Belisário Augusto Soares de Sousa was a member of the special Assembly committee in charge of the colonization bill. According to him, a meeting took place at the Provincial Presidency’s headquarters, between Provincial Assembly leaders, Conselheiro Paulino and the provincial president, which resulted in the proposal under discussion. In: Ibid. 1887. p. 411-412.

101 It was unusual to see such long introduction to a bill presented at the Provincial Assembly. In: Ibid. 1887. pp. 412-420.

102 As if the provincial government had to convince farmers of the positive aspects of having free-workers working their lands.
reasonable standard of living would be available to all workers who might decide come to the province. After that, the text went on to affirm that the native born free-worker was the one most suitable for the fluminense province. They were those

'workers in the most remote parts of the interior, who are unable to export due to the distance from the markets, who limit themselves to the growing of the barest daily necessities'... 'the farmers of Rio de Janeiro, the tributaries of the [river] Paraiba in Minas and São Paulo, know that these sober, hardworking, energetic methodical and thrifty men who come in small bands from the centre of Minas, from the heart of the Empire are the best blades for cutting back the virgin forests'... 'they are needed in the fields three, four or five times a year but they do not stay as they have to return to their wives, their children, their family, their kin who remain in the place that they come from, far from the great travelling routes, having little idea of what constitutes wealth and civilization.'

The perception that European workers were more skilled and more willing to take advantage of a situation, appears to have scared the fluminense farmers, since one day they would be in a position to take over the estates. Instead, they could rely on native free-workers, simple people, with whom the fluminense farmers and politicians had already established a power relationship, in which the workers were thoroughly subjugated. In relation to slaves, the committee argued that:

'Only a small part will remain on the land, and that will be those who are appropriately trained'... 'the major part will disperse, eschewing all the regular and secure work of agriculture, whatever advantages this might offer them, earning their living by other

means or by what occurs from day to day'. 104

In this way, the Assembly committee disregarded any possibility of using freed slaves as viable workers after the abolition of slavery.

A vital issue raised in the introduction to the Assembly committee’s bill was the indication that small properties might after all come to contribute an important source of income to the provincial economy. Although making the point that this would only happen if it was done in conjunction with the defence of the large fluminense estates, the text indicated a few areas in which the small landowner should be supported. References were made to dairy produce and vinery; activities which could provide an important contribution to the provincial economy.

Nonetheless, the main reason for making a positive reference to small properties, reflected the trend in many fluminense areas to shift from coffee to sugar-cane production. This tendency, argued the Assembly committee, should be supported by the provincial government. Public financial support should be granted to help set up central sugar mills to service these new small farms. The committee believed that:

'With the development of small properties, always without the sacrifice and with the aid of the great establishments has an intimate connection with the highly important question of founding new and central sugar mills for the processing of sugar and a greater development of sugar-cane cultivation'...‘In the município of São Fidélis the lands once occupied by coffee plantations destroyed by blight have already

104 Ibid. 1887. p. 419.
been covered by magnificent cane-fields.'105

The Assembly committee finally proposed a bill which offered equal conditions to both European and Brazilian free-workers. Shortly after it was approved, the Inspetoria Provincial de Imigração was created by further provincial legislation.106

Although it had committed itself to supporting a free-worker immigration scheme to fluminense province, the Provincial Assembly clearly indicated the type of immigration that it wanted to establish in the province. Not only that, but the approved bill also indicated the need to review the economic guidelines which had been followed in the province until then. Despite the clear emphasis on the fact that export agriculture system still remained the central point of the provincial economic life, the bill carefully considered the need for diversification in areas that could no longer sustain high export crop-levels. For the first time, this strategy was supported by key fluminense politicians in the Provincial Assembly. At the same time, it meant that the deputados provinciais could no longer hide the fact that the province had no choice other than to adapt if it was to survive economically.

As a result of this revision, the fluminense Assembly

105 Ibid. 1885. p. 416. In page 418, reference was made to the fact that this re-structuring process was mainly due to the farmers’ bankruptcy, most common in the lower mountain areas.

soon decided to suspend the tax on sugar exports. The
decision was made during a provincial taxes review, in which
many of the taxes were increased by up to 50%.107 Again,
this was another measure to encourage fluminense farmers’
move towards the production of sugar-cane. However, it is
important to stress the fact that coffee still remained, as
it would do for many years yet to come, the key product to
generate provincial revenue.108 The move to support of
sugar-cane production was only made to offer an alternative
to those people who could no longer afford to maintain their
large coffee estates and had to find a solution for their
economic problems.

Moves to reduce public expenditure also remained at
the top of Assembly’s agenda. As seen before, cutting the
costs of administrative personnel remained a key strategy,
followed by the continuation of a policy to steadily
increase taxation levels in the province.

It was amidst these attempts to restore the
fluminense economy, this ‘regenerative action’ as one
fluminense deputado provincial put it, that the fluminense
Assembly was faced with the declaration of the final
abolition of slavery in the country, in May 1888. When the

107 See article 30, of the provincial budget bill n.
2.922 (31/12/1887); in: Ibid. 1887. p. 93. The law also
provided instructions on the way coffee tax was to be
collected, after renewed allegations of mismanagement in the
provincial tax collection system. Also see the recent Mesa
Provincial reform, the central body in charge of coffee tax

108 See TABLE II - I.
Provincial Assembly first met, later that year, most members appeared to share a strong commitment to fight the central government over the issue of compensation for the farmers. The Assembly conservative group managed to elect a special committee to organize and send a representation to the National Assembly, calling upon the central government to fulfill its obligation to compensate farmers for abolishing slavery without their prior consent.109 However, as deputado Francisco Portela pointed out, most political parties were divided on this issue.110 Those in favour for fighting for indemnity, believed that slavery was the farmers' legal property right which had been taken away by the central government. Slaves had always been an important capital resource, so much so that they had been used as collateral for mortgages and subject to taxation.111 Many arguments were used by those who opposed compensation. Deputado Joaquim Oliveira Machado believed that it was only the service provided by the slaves that could be seen as a property right, and not the slaves themselves. He also indicated the terrible consequences that the claim for compensation was having on the fluminense farmers' attitude


'an embarrassment more imagined than real is disturbing the plantations. The question of indemnity will produce the same effects as the resistance to abolition. The farmers rested [on slavery] and always trusted to their leaders to oppose abolition, they used credit to buy their slaves; up until March of this year they bought them despite my warnings, warnings which were taken to be visions, despite a prohibitive tax of 1:5000$ [réis] decreed by this Assembly. We are seeing the same phenomenon with the indemnity. There are farmers who think of nothing else; some who have already sought legal redress to obtain the value of their slaves from the Treasury.'112

To insist on this issue was the same as to reverse early attempts to restore the provincial economy. It was essential that the fluminense farmers and politicians should realize that the province had to move into a more positive and dynamic phase. In other words, that this type of attitude had to be corrected as soon as possible. With reference to this last argument, deputado Homero Morethzon also pointed out that supporters of indemnity were incapable of envisaging Brazilian society at the time. The country had no political leeway for their claim. He argued that:

'if the indemnity passes we will have revolution, because the provinces which had no slaves will not want to pay for those which still had them'...'[those who did not] will have to pay a tax to satisfy those who did, as for instance Campos did not.'113

This was the key reason why the indemnity proposal was bound to fail, from both a provincial and a national point of view. The 'more healthy' economic areas were, the more

112 Ibid. 1888. pp. 200-201. In page 270, deputado Oscar Várandy argued that it was a more positive attitude to invest money in immigration schemes rather than to pay farmers compensation.

113 Ibid. 1888. p. 233.
likely it was that they had already freed their slaves, as a means of maintaining production levels on their farms. It was only those 'decadent' areas, described above, which kept slavery as their basic productive structure. Many deputados had no doubts that the claim was bound to fail in the National Assembly.

The republican deputado Francisco Portela strongly attacked Conservative Party members for their contradictory behaviour, on both the provincial and the national levels. Firstly, how could conservatives politicians abolish slavery in the way they did, and then later support the proposal for indemnity. Secondly, how could they defend this claim, and at the same time, support a 50% increase in most provincial taxes.114 He believed that this was due to the inability of Conservative Party leaders, especially Conselheiro Paulino, to propose more satisfactory solutions to the labour problem.

Despite the strong opposition, the indemnity representation was quickly approved by the Provincial Assembly.115 As already expected by many deputados provinciais, it did not produce any changes in the National Assembly attitude. Nonetheless, the fluminense position was made very clear, and this was particularly important with regard to its relationship with the central government. In

114 Ibid. 1888. p. 217.

115 Ibid. 1888. p. 269. Later, references were made to a strange series of events that took place to prevent the prompt arrival of the fluminense representation at the National Assembly. Also see page 522.
many respects, the national government's refusal to accept
the fluminense demands was taken by fluminense deputados as
the 'fins dos tempos', as the end of an era. Deputado
Cirilo de Lemos Nunes Fagundes believed that:

'It would appear, Mr. President, that our government,
through the things it has done and the things it is
doing, that is, denying the dispossessed farmer the
indemnity to which he has a right in order to loan
him State money'...'[and at the same time] organising
celebrations for any reason; for example the stalls
of the Campo da Aclamação, or the receptions for His
Majesty, or the Rosa de Ouro ceremony; I would
assume, Mr. President, that we are returning to the
decadence of Rome...'116

The Provincial Assembly decision not to attend a ceremony in
honour of Princess Isabel, clearly indicated a confirmation
of the view held by most deputados that the Crown was a
mockery, and no longer a political partner. It might be
argued that the process of fluminense provincial political
revision, which began with the conservative dissidência and
continued with the issue of the Cantagalo railway sale, was
achieved by the end of 1888. Deputados provinciais had come
to realize the fact that the Provincial Assembly itself had
to promote a program to reinstate the province on a new and
positive economic course.117 With regard to the Crown, they


117 This was probably the reason behind the petition
addressed to the central government approved by the
fluminense Assembly in early November 1889. It demanded the
prompt payment of sums owed by that government to the
provincial treasury in consequence of cash advance by the
province to speed up the construction of the D. Pedro II
Railway. The surprise in this petition lies in its form,
where emphatic language indicated the Assembly's total
dissatisfaction with the central government. See: Ibid.
1889. pp. 76-78.
no longer cared about its fate.118

A few other measures were also considered in the remaining Assembly sessions. Deputado Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme presented a bill proposing a 5% interest guarantee concession to companies wishing to set up colônias agrícolas (agricultural colonies) in the province.119 During the last two fluminense legislatures, a number of bills were also issued to support the growth of manufacturing industries in the province.120 A 50% reduction in provincial tax was also granted.121 To a large extent, this last measure appears to have been a conciliatory move, after the central government had finally decided not to compensate fluminense farmers for abolishing slavery.

When the Empire was overthrown, fluminense deputados provinciais do not appear to have been surprised. One of them, Francisco Portela, was appointed to be the new state

118 Ibid. 1888. p. 207.

119 Ibid. 1888. pp. 547-548. The lack of support for his proposal is partially explained by the fact that his bill implied the division of estates facing financial difficulties. Once again Brazilian free-workers were suggested as the beneficiaries of the bill.

120 Among the proposals presented, the most relevant one appeared to have been that presented by deputado Manuel Coelho de Almeida. It called for a 5% interest guarantee concession on loans up to 3.000:000$000 réis, for companies willing to set up new industries in the province. The bill was submitted to the Assembly province finance committee for further discussions in the short-term. See: Ibid. 1889. p. 86.

governor to replace former provincial president Carlos Afonso de Assis Figueiredo. At the fluminense Assembly, Braz Carneiro de Almeida Pereira promptly proposed, in the name of the leading conservative faction, a motion to welcome the new government.122 The Assembly’s republican group protested the motion’s lack of emphasis on expressing the Provincial Assembly’s full commitment to supporting the new regime.123 This was the result of divisions in the Conservative Assembly Party, which prevented them from adopting a unified position. Deputado Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme led those who welcomed the republic and placed no restrictions to the new regime, whilst deputado Joaquim Oliveira Machado believed that he had no reasons to be confident about the future. He argued that:

'We shall have to vacate this Assembly as soon as possible'... 'No-one may remain at peace. I at least can see nothing but obscurity and uncertainty in the future. We must return home and no longer concern ourselves with our duties, we will occupy ourselves solely with our private affairs.'124

Shortly after this, the fluminense State Government declared


124 Ibid. 1889. p. 133. He also indicated that there were fears that the country might undergo a wave of local conflicts, that could ultimately divide the country. The north of Brazil was far too jealous of the south, he argued. The republican system was too inexperienced to deal with all the conflicts that might probably arise. See: Ibid. 1889. pp. 138-139.
the end of the 1889 Provincial Assembly session.125

125 The fluminense Republican Party remained, nonetheless, internally divided in the years to come. Strong conflicts over which party sectors should control fluminense public affairs emerged as a key issue. See: LEMOS, Renato Luís do C. Neto e. Op Cit. 1985; and RUSSEL, Robert E. 'Nilo Peçanha and fluminense politics, 1889-1917'. Ph. D. The University of New Mexico, 1974.
PART III
CHAPTER VII

POLITICS AND CHANGES IN THE FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY MEMBERSHIP

7.1 - Introduction.

After analyzing the way in which political debate in the fluminense Provincial Assembly unfolded in the last Part, it is important to consider the various types of links that existed between deputados provinciais, fluminense municipios and some of the provincial and national administrative posts. This will provide an important new dimension in the study of fluminense politics during the last century. By looking at the way in which the Provincial Assembly membership evolved into different patterns, in each of the three periods already discussed, new perspectives will be obtained for reviewing some of the arguments previously established.

This section also serves as an attempt to evaluate the inter-relationship of politics and administration in nineteenth century Brazil. Although focusing on only one province, this research provides results which will allow this study to consider some of the more general aspects characterizing provincial politics at the time. It does so
by tracing the performance of the fluminense group who 'populated' the political and administrative scene in Rio de Janeiro province, including those who managed to reach posts at the national political and administrative level. This was done so that the study could measure fluminense participation in the higher ranks of the country's government. In this way, it is possible to describe the dominant fluminense political group in terms of size, distribution and its inter-relation with various public posts and offices at the national and provincial levels. This provides this research with a fundamental means of picturing the dynamics and movement of provincial politics in Brazil, in the course of the nineteenth century. Rio de Janeiro province was, as previously argued, a key location in the development of local politics in Brazil, as it had the geographic and economic conditions to favour this movement. This probably explains the precocious existence of an annual national publication which gave a great deal of space to recording yearly information on fluminense provincial politicians and administrative personnel based in the municipal and provincial institutions.  

1 Later on, the Almanack editor explained why the province was the most important one to have information on its personnel recorded in the publication. He argued that: 'To remain silent, in what touches the province of Rio de Janeiro impossible! It is as though it is an extension of the Córte. The province and the city are linked by such close topographical, administrative and commercial ties that any dismantling would immeasurably diminish the value of our work'. In: ALMANACK ADMINISTRATIVO, MERCANTIL E INDUSTRIAL DO IMPério DO BRASIL. 1869. Introduction, p. IV.
importance in the national political scene, being the first— and only one for some years— to be included in such innovative publication in Brazil, at the time. Of course this argument does not imply that other provinces in mid-nineteenth century Brazil were in no position to act as Rio de Janeiro was doing from 1844 onwards. However, it seems quite relevant that the fluminense province was the first one to do so.2

The data gathered from consultation of the Almanack Laemmert was the vital element for analysis in this part of the research, which also incorporated other primary and secondary sources. APPENDIX I describes the way in which the data was treated in the database which was organized, using facilities provided by computing techniques. Before going into the analysis of the more specific aspects that marked each of the periods earlier studied, it is first important to establish a general picture of the elements that characterized the period as a whole.

2 It is important not to forget that provinces such as Bahia and Minas Gerais had had provincial public administrative machineries in full operation since well before the end of the eighteenth century, much earlier than the fluminense one. Nonetheless, the fact that the fluminense province was the one to disclose that type of information in such a publication is particularly relevant, given the fact that it was the very publication meant to provide the general public with information on the personnel of the country's national political and administrative system. This seems to reveal a willingness on the part of the fluminense statesmen to present themselves as a group in a position to exercise power in the country. Also see Chapter I, pp. 19-20. For the case of the Bahia province also see Chapter IV in: 'L'état: organization et exercise des pouvoirs', in: MATTOSO, Katia M. de Queirós. Au nouveau monde: une province d'un nouvel Empire. Bahia du XIX siècle. These d'état, Paris, 1986.
As seen in Chapter I and III, the years following 1822 saw the establishment of the Empire in Brazil, which set up a highly centralised political and administrative system. In the case of Rio de Janeiro province, it was only in 1834 that the province was permitted its own government and then a fully operating public administrative system. Using information supplied by the Almanack Laemmert, the database took into consideration the names of vereadores in all the Camaras Municipais in the fluminense province, together with the names of the Camaras Municipais administrative personnel — secretários (secretaries) and, procuradores (procurators). The names of those who took part in the Camara Municipal of Rio de Janeiro city (Côrte) were also included, as one of the main areas to be covered by the present analysis is a perception of links existing between the fluminense province and the intense hubbub of politics taking place in the country's capital city.3 The Almanack Laemmert also supplied the database with the names of those who worked in the provincial public administration. Together with other sources the Almanack also provided the names of those who took office as fluminense provincial presidents and vice-presidents, Rio de Janeiro province's representatives in the country's National Assembly.

3 A similar analysis is found on the study of 1856 - 1857 Mexican constitutional congressmen. Although using very different techniques, and aiming to discuss other issues then the ones being dealt with in this research, that study provides an interesting insight into the validity of analyzing politicians' background in nineteenth century Latin America. See: SINKIN, Richard N. 'The Mexican constitutional congress, 1856-1857: a statistical analysis'. In: The Hispanic American Historical Review, 53(2): 01-26.
Many of these men held more than one post in their lifetime – either concurrently or at different periods of time. Nonetheless, a total number of men to be considered and analysed by the database amounted to 3,850 people. TABLE VII - I indicates the number of times each person appeared within the categories analysed. The findings cannot be matched to the above figure as many people had more than one post.

The findings shown in TABLE VII - I confirm the traditional view of Brazil as a highly centralized society, where power was held by only few people. Nevertheless, the number of people who actually took part in politics at a municipal level in Rio de Janeiro province seems strikingly high. It is probably the case that the numbers were even higher than those indicated, since the data available for fluminense vereadores in the 1830s and early 1840s displayed various gaps, as discussed in APPENDIX I. If taking demographic tables previously presented in Chapter II into account, it is possible to argue that the total number of people who actually held local mandates as vereadores in Rio de Janeiro province accounted for around 1.1% of the total of the free population recorded in the province in

4 For a detailed survey of all posts within all the categories included and analysed in the database, see APPENDIX I. However, it is important to indicate here that the names of Ministers, State Councilors and Senators were only taken into consideration if the person was also related to another post which affected fluminense province. In other words, the central focus of analysis was the universe circumscribed by those who had clear links to Rio de Janeiro province.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Councilors</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senators</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluminense Representatives in the National Legislative Assembly</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posts held in the National Administration</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro Provincial Presidents</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro Provincial Vice-Presidents</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Representatives in the Fluminense Provincial Assembly</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posts held in the Provincial Administration*</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camaras Municipais Secretaries</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camaras Municipais Procurators</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vereadores</td>
<td>2,376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See Appendix.

* Also including the Magistrature and local police officers.
It is difficult to describe the precise relevance of this figure given the lack of any parameters to compare it with. However, its importance becomes more obvious when moving onto comparisons of the figures found for the analysis of the various inter-relations observed among the other categories considered in the database.

TABLE VII - II indicates the extent to which fluminense vereadores were inter-related to the various posts considered in the period analyzed. The high level of fluminense vereadores who also acted as police officers is especially high. According to the Almanack Laemmert, of a total number of 332 police officers nominated in the province, a total of 176 (53.01%) were found to have also been vereadores. However, the situation appears to be different in regard to the relationship between fluminense vereadores and municipal procurators and secretaries. In both cases, total averages remain just below the 15% rate. One reason to explain such a sharp contrast must be based on the fact that the electoral system relied a great deal on a complex system of police officers, which worked through a system of intense and fast personnel substitution, to enforce the various changes in the ruling political will every time elections were held. The closer police officers were to the municipios where they were appointed, probably the better. This would guarantee smooth elections, during which the current dominant municipal group could obtain the

5 See TABLE II - III. Also see RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Presidência da... Relatórios da... 1851. Quadro A.
### TABLE VII - II

**NUMBER OF FLUMINENSE VEREADORES TO HOLD POLITICAL ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS (1822 - 1889)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORIES</th>
<th>No. of vereadores</th>
<th>% in post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUNICIPAL SECRETARIES and/or PROCURATORS</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>14.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL POLICE OFFICERS</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>53.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE JUIZES MUNICIPAIS</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>25.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS (Provincial Assembly)</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>35.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS GERAIS (National Assembly)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL VICE-PRESIDENTS</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATE COUNCILORS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENATORS</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINISTERS</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.04%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: See APPENDIX I.
be nominated as local police officers with the various municipalities in the province.

The high number of vereadores who also acted as juizes municipais was also related to the effectiveness of local structures to safeguard the electoral system. As indicated in TABLE VII - II, vereadores accounted for around 43% of the total of juizes municipais in Rio de Janeiro province recorded in the database. This is easily explained by the fact that people nominated to this category follow the same path as the vereadores. Both were elected together, remaining in office for the same period of time. The matter is even more relevant when considering the expertise accumulated by this same group, particularly if the crucial role of juizes municipais in conducting electoral procedures at the municipal level is taken into account.

The vereadores' rate of participation in the provincial administration and in the fluminense Provincial Assembly is also important. This feature shall be discussed in more detailed later on, when analysing the more specific features that characterized fluminense deputados provinciais. Nonetheless, there are a few remarks which are worth making here. The first is related to the number of vereadores who took part in the provincial administration and played a key role in the debate on educational policy in fluminense politics. As already discussed in previous sections of this study, fluminense politicians spent a great deal of time discussing ways to implement a program to
improve the provincial schooling system. As argued before, this was probably related to the way in which nineteenth century Brazilian society envisaged and expressed its complex concept of citizenship. In this section, however, this issue must be seen and discussed within a different approach. School inspectors in Rio de Janeiro province provided an important element connecting local politics with the more centralized provincial administrative system. It was the Diretoria de Instrução Pública, the provincial administrative branch in charge of public education, which was most closely related to local communities in the province. One might consider this to be surprising, given the fact that deputados provinciais placed more emphasis on the need to improve the transport system in the province. In this way, it might initially have been expected, that local communities were much more organized in terms of providing basic support for the establishment of a more efficient inspection system for local roads. At least in terms of placing extra pressure on the provincial government to respond more quickly to the local concerns that appear to have dominated the fluminense Provincial Assembly. Instead, the findings of this research clearly indicate that a large proportion of vereadores who participated in the provincial administration at the local level, did so in the schools inspection service. Of a total of 169 vereadores who participated in the provincial administration, forty of them (23.67%) were employed under the aegis of the Diretoria de Instrução Pública. In contrast, only seven vereadores
(4.14%) had direct links to the Diretoria de Obras Públicas in the province. This particular involvement of vereadores in the fluminense provincial administration, would seem to reveal the role of the public administration in the process of nation building in the province. To establish clear limitations on the citizen seems to have been more important than the setting up of efficient basic structures for the running of a successful economy. The fragility with which the fluminense dominant sector was formed and circumscribed led to a situation in which power could only be justified through the differentiation between those able or 'prepared' to perform the activities demanded by the government machinery, and those who came after and were subject to the dominance of those at the top of the society. To clearly mark the distinctions between these two main groups in fluminense society was of the utmost importance for political development in the region.6

Another interesting finding indicated in TABLE VII-II is the level of participation by vereadores as fluminense deputados gerais in the National Assembly. If the intense process of political power bargaining which was necessary for a person to be elected to a seat in the National Assembly is taken into account, it seems extremely relevant that more than one third of all the fluminense deputados who sat at the National Assembly originally had ties with Camaras Municipais in the province. The phenomenon is even

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6 This argument is also dealt with in Chapter I, when discussing the work by Ilmar R. de Mattos. See pp. 21-22.
more marked when considering the similar trend regarding the fluminense Provincial Assembly. Nonetheless, it is most easily explained by the low level of competition which probably existed in when organizing the candidates’ list for elections to the Provincial Assembly.

It could be argued that the major conclusion resulting from TABLE VII - II relates to the number of vereadores who also managed to reach the fluminense Provincial Presidency. As acting provincial vice-presidents, vereadores appeared to have done extremely well in reaching this very prestigious post in the provincial government. The fact that in Rio de Janeiro province almost 35% of all provincial vice-presidents had close links with local communities in the province indicates that the system implemented by the national government of rotating provincial presidents around the country could only be enforced in the presence of local expertise that could move into action at any time and so guarantee a minimum level of support for the continuation of more general policies. Later in this chapter, the analysis of the database regarding the provincial administration will also indicate other key areas in which the continuation of a few people in a few key offices can explain how so rapid a rotation of provincial presidents could be possible. Not only that, but this feature may also explain how provincial politics in Rio de Janeiro province could remain stable and under a defined programme during the period, despite the many changes it had to undergo.
A final point with regard vereadores performance in the material analysed to be discussed here is based on findings related to the differences to be seen in the performance of the fluminense Camaras Municipais themselves. Taking into account vereadores 'origins', the names of the Camaras Municipais to which they were elected, it was possible to examine the way in which the fluminense municipalities shared the space occupied by vereadores in the fluminense political and administrative hierarchy, as is shown in TABLE VII - III. As previously argued, the Camara Municipal of Rio de Janeiro city was taken into account in this analysis so that some measurements could be made of the city's involvement in fluminense affairs. It is no surprise to see this Camara Municipal occupying the top position in the list. It is important, however, not to overestimate the figure of 9.4%, since a few vereadores of that Camara Municipal did very well in reaching places at the Córte, and so were inevitably included in the database. Nonetheless, the data shows that vereadores from Rio de Janeiro city who managed to reach higher posts, did so mainly through being elected to the fluminense Provincial Assembly or as representatives of Rio de Janeiro province at the National Assembly. Of all those vereadores from Rio de Janeiro city

7 Also worth mentioning is the fact that the Camara Municipal of Rio de Janeiro city was very careful to organize the lists of vereadores names to be published in the Almanack Laemmert. The Camara had the highest number of vereadores published by the Almanack, a total of 165 men. The figure was followed by Valença with 104; São João da Barra ninety-eight; Niterói ninety-four; Campos and Vassouras with eighty-nine names published. Also see APPENDIX I.
who managed to climb the ladder to the higher posts in the range under examination here, around 71% of them were elected to the fluminense Provincial Assembly and almost 43% were elected as fluminense deputados gerais. Rates for those who reached higher posts, such as State Councillors and Senators, remained well below the 20% figure for each case. Thus, the database seems to provide the research with...
clear evidence the deep involvement between the city and the province of Rio de Janeiro.

With regard to vereadores from the other fluminense Camaras Municipais, the findings appear to confirm the already seen pattern of power distribution in the province. Later on, further information will be added to this, in discussing the regional/local representation observed inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly. This will indicate a balanced distribution of regional representatives in the Assembly, despite the fact that the southeastern fluminense area, around Paraíba do Sul, had a larger number of people who openly spoke on behalf of the prevailing interests there.

TABLE VII - IV considers the background of those elected to the fluminense Provincial Assembly. The first relevant factor appears to have been that the participation of more than a third of the deputados provinciais at other levels of the provincial political and administrative hierarchy took the form of service as a vereador. The figure for those who sat in the Provincial Assembly without having held any other type of political or administrative post in their life-times was also very high. Almost 34% of the total number of fluminense deputados provinciais fell into this category. However, this contrasts with the 25% of deputados who were found to have worked in the fluminense provincial administration. TABLE VII - V indicates deputados provinciais' presence in specific provincial
### TABLE VII - IV

**FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS HOLDING POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS (1836 - 1889)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSTS IN THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% deputados</th>
<th>% in post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VELEADORES</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTS IN THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL VICE-PRESIDENTS</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTS IN THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS GERAIS (National Assembly)</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINISTERS *</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>-x-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATE COUNCILORS *</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>-x-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENATORS *</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>-x-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentage of deputados provinciais inter-related to these posts are not applicable for comparison, since the three posts were only partially analyzed by the database. See APPENDIX I.*

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**SOURCE:** See APPENDIX I.

During the period under analysis, there were a few provincial administrative offices which
frequently remained in the hands of people sitting in the Provincial Assembly. This was particularly the case of personnel working at the Secretariat serving the Rio de Janeiro Provincial Presidency. Data available in the Almanack Laemmert indicates that from 1845 up to 1885, there was always at least one officer working at the Secretariat who also held a seat in the fluminense Provincial Assembly, and quite often there were more. This can provide a partial explanation for the way in which fluminense affairs were managed under such a stable regime, favouring a continuation of policy in both the medium - and the long - term.

The high level of common expertise and experience shared between key administrative offices and the provincial legislative body - made possible by the common personnel serving both levels - is clearly indicated confirming some conclusions already drawn in Part II. This is fundamental in explaining how the provincial government managed to develop and sustain many of its policies throughout the period.8

Another important element was the fact that the personnel held in common by the Provincial Presidential Secretariat and the Provincial Assembly had great influence inside the Assembly. People like Manuel Ribeiro de Almeida, Angelo Tomas do Amaral, Francisco Domingo Caminada, Antonio Andrè Lino da Costa, Francisco Leocâdio de Figueiredo and

8 Provincial transport policies and the way in which colonization was considered in the province can only be understood within a stable environment, dominated by a well-defined political program, as previously discussed.
## TABLE VII

**FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS HOLDING PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS (1836 - 1889)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSTS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% in posts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POLICE FORCE COMMANDER</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCES</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUIZ DE COMARCA</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUIZ MUNICIPAL</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLICE CHIEF</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY SECRETARY</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCIAL PRESIDENCY SECRETARY</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUBLIC WORKS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** See APPENDIX I.

João Batista Pereira among others, exercised a great deal of influence inside the Provincial Assembly at the same time as that they were working as civil servants in the presidential Secretariat. The relevance of this phenomenon is extremely important in once again stressing the deep inter-action between politics and administration at the time.
The fluminense provincial presidential Secretariat was not the only one to have had common personnel with the Provincial Assembly. The provincial public finance administrative office also had a few personnel who were also members of the Assembly, but the number was not as high as in the Secretariat. The striking feature in this case was the length of time that the deputados provinciais were able to retain their posts in the provincial financial department. Considering only four individuals - out of the seven who worked for this body and were also fluminense deputados provinciais - it can be seen that they worked for this office for most of the entire period being analysed.9 This ability to combine different types of experience - through service in more than one governmental institution - and to stay longer in some of the provincial administrative departments is part of the reason for the successful enforcement of some of the longer term policies in the province.

These findings confirm the earlier suggestions that there were what some might call 'professional politicians'.

---

9 Antonio Henriques de Miranda Rego was the department’s inspector from 1844 until 1853, while holding a seat in the fluminense Provincial Assembly in 1848 and 1849. Luis da Mota Leite de Araujo was a revenue officer from 1846 up to 1861, while being a deputado provincial from 1852 to 1855. Jose Joaquim Vieira Souto was the branch’s accountant from 1861 to 1863, he was later promoted Director in 1868 and remained as such until 1876. He had a fluminense Provincial Assembly seat from 1860 to 1864. Another deputado provincial to fall in the same category was Pedro Antonio Gomes, who sat in the Provincial Assembly from 1860 to 1862, he was also a revenue officer in 1867, the department’s accountant from 1868 until 1876, when he was finally promoted Director and only left the post in 1879.
at the fluminense Provincial Assembly. A number of deputados provinciais, who exercised extensive power to influence vital fluminense Assembly debates, tended to hold leading positions in the political and administrative hierarchy under discussion here. As seen in Part II, deputados provinciais such as Manuel Ribeiro de Almeida, Angelo Tomás do Amaral, Joaquim Inácio Alves de Azevedo, Romualdo Andrade Baena, José Paiva Magalhaes Calvet, João Nepomuceno Castrioto, Augusto Cesar de Andrade Duque Estrada, Francisco Leocádio de Figueiredo, Fernando Sebastiao Dias da Mota, José Batista Pereira, Paulo José Rocha, Tomas Gomes dos Santos, Antonio Joaquim Macedo Soares, and Luis Hónorio Vieira Souto, exercised a great deal of influence in shaping debates on many of the crucial policies implemented in the province. Although they did not have influential family backgrounds — such as those deputados provinciais who belonged to leading fluminense families such as the Soares de Sousa, the Torres Rodrigues, or the Nogueira da Gama — they did exercise a great deal of authority inside the Provincial Assembly. It might be said that this was primarily due to the fact that they had taken an extensive part in the political and administrative system, particularly at the provincial level, accumulating expertise and contacts in various administrative areas. Vieira Souto can be cited, as previously argued, as the key example of this phenomenon. He was believed to be the fluminense deputado provincial who best knew the Provincial Assembly internal code of procedures, he worked in the
Assembly secretariat's administrative office for more than forty years during the period under consideration, he had contacts in various administrative offices (particularly the secretariat to the fluminense Provincial Presidency), he was very competent in dealing with the preparation of the paperwork for Assembly debates and other matters. All these factors led to him being in the position of being responsible for the most important tasks in the development of political debate in the fluminense Assembly for a very long period of time. This role was primarily based on his expertise and knowledge of the provincial hierarchy. One can argue that this particular phenomenon, that of a 'professional politician', is quite distinct from the characteristics of a fluminense deputado provincial like Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa, for instance. He also exercised a great deal of influence and authority in the Provincial Assembly, and had a good knowledge of all provincial administrative bodies, the Assembly procedures for debates, and all the rest, but his power was based on the fact that he spoke in the name of Conselheiro Paulino, the son of the Visconde do Uruguay and the strongest Conservative Party leader in the province. Other deputados respected him as much as they did Vieira Souto, although in some particular circumstances they had more respect for Vieira Souto's opinion, as it was he who actually sat down and prepared the entire documentation to be approved by the Assembly. On many occasions it was Vieira Souto who set out the negotiations with the provincial government, to achieve
a common point of view between the Assembly and the Provincial Presidency. 10

A different point also made clear in the study of the fluminense administrative personnel refers to the provincial finance office. The early difficulty in establishing the boundaries between the provincial finance department and the national office which was located in the province, also supposed to watch over matters of provincial public finance, finally finds a more reasonable explanation in the light of the analysis developed by the database. The findings obtained from the study of personnel working in both offices indicated that they were one and the same. When administrative reforms were carried out in these offices, it was a simple matter of transferring staff from the old department to the newly created posts. National government interference in this key area appears to have been accepted as a guiding influence. The confusion, as it was initially viewed by this study, gains a new dimension marked by common objectives existing between the national and the provincial government in the early stages of setting up the provincial government.

Another common element among deputados provinciais,

10 It is important, however, not to overestimate the power of these provincial 'professional politicians', as once the top party leadership had made up their mind about a particular subject - such as the approval of the 1876 administrative reform discussed in Chapter IV - no one could change that decision. The only occasions when this was observed in the fluminense Provincial Assembly was when both political parties were nationally divided (during the Liga Progressista and Conservative Dissidência as discussed previously).
as vereadores, is the high number of deputados provinciais who also had been - or were to become - juizes municipais in the province. Once again, the issue of the organization of the electoral system in the country shaped the way in which politicians developed their careers. With respect to police officers and provincial police chiefs, the database indicated a tendency among police officers of Niterói to fill the post of juizes de comarca in the município as well as being later appointed provincial police chiefs. In a similar move to that of the vereadores, deputados provinciais were also deeply involved in the provincial school inspectorate. As argued above, this phenomenon is extremely important to the citizenship debate in nineteenth century Brazil. The fact that the majority of politicians and administrative officers were closely associated with this inspection service is very illustrative of the types of stratagems that dominant groups employed to reinforce their power over society. A challenging proposal for a future research project would be based on a more detailed analysis of the administrative personnel based on the department for Education in the fluminense province. This could be done so that the results could be combined with the analysis carried out by Ilmar R. de Mattos, in the last chapter of his previously quoted study.11

The database also used data related to links between the deputados provinciais and various fluminense municípios. Data was also partially gathered on those who did not have


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any formal or institutional links with any area in the province, such as a local post as police officer or juiz municipal. There were many occasions on which deputados provinciais did indicate their links with various areas in the province during debates in the Provincial Assembly. These examples were collected and used in the analysis. Nonetheless, the results obtained must be considered with great care, as it was only a fraction of the total number of deputados who volunteered this type of information. The research managed to uncover the local links of 88% of the total number of deputados provinciais. TABLE VII - VI charts this information and attempts to establish a distribution pattern for these local links by regions of the province. In doing so, it seeks to interpret the results obtained from a regional point of view as well as from a municipal one. The regions shown in the table attempt to reflect the types of alignment that seem to have prevailed among deputados provinciais during the period analysed.12

The most important result obtained from this interpretation is the fact although it had the single highest number of deputados with local links, the município of Campos lost its overwhelming political strength when

12 The way in which a regional division of Rio de Janeiro province should be carried out is open to much discussion. Many authors have attempted to do so, and Alberto Lamego devoted all his life to the study of the fluminense regions. In many respects, the way the division was organized here does follow the most commonly used patterns, which imply common economic and geographical aspects. See: LAMEGO, Alberto. O homem e a serra. Rio de Janeiro, 1963. 2nd. ed. Also see: FAPERJ. Atlas do estado do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, 1982; and CARDOSO, Ciro Flamarion S. Op Cit. 1984.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Regions and Municipios</th>
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<th>Region</th>
<th>%</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMPO</td>
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<td>SANTO ANTONIO DE PADUA</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SÃO FIDELIS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARMO</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PETRÓPOLIS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANTA MARIA MAISALETA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANTO ANTONIO DE MACAÇA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPUCAIA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>CABO FRIO</td>
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<td>MACAÇA</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARICA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAGUAREMA</td>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>Central-South:</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAGÉ</td>
<td>15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIO BONITO</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>NITERói</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td><strong>National Capital City:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>RIO DE JANEIRO CITY</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CONT. /
SOUTH-WEST:
- BARRA MANSA 23
- BARRA DO PIRAÍ 2
- PARAÍBA DO SUL 16
- PIRAÍ 19 123 27.1%
- RESENDE 22
- VALENÇA 26
- VASSOURAS 15

SOUTH-EAST:
- ANGRA DOS REIS 21
- ITAGUAÍ 15
- MANGARATIBA 12 70 15.5%
- PARATY 4
- RIO CLARO 3
- SÃO JOÃO DO PRINCIPE 15

TOTAL 453 453 100.0%

SOURCE: See APPENDIX I.

placed within the context of its region and evaluated against other regions in the province. Although individual municípios in the Paraíba river valley area show a low incidence of local connections, the area taken as a whole represents the bulk of the local links indicated by deputados provinciais. Yet although caution should be exercised in considering the above figures, they do seem to confirm the balance of political power inside the fluminense Provincial Assembly, as portrayed by the deputados provinciais. Both the north and the southwest appear to have held a leading political position in the province. The centre of the province, which is dominated by figures produced for Cantagalo, seems to have fallen behind some of the longer-settled regions despite their less than
'successful' economies. This is probably linked to the fact that their positions in fluminense politics had already been established. From the 1840s onwards, municipios such as Itaborai and Maricá did not possess the necessary elements to sustain continuous economic growth. However, they had already established a group of people with large interests invested in their lands who already occupied key positions in provincial politics. This also reflects the importance of such areas with regard to their economies. As it has been recently indicated in new studies, municipios of which had been settled early in the occupation of the province became involved in the cultivation of foodstuffs as a response to their difficulties in attempting to sustain a local economy based on export agriculture. This led to the establishment of an 'alternative' way of life, which differed very deeply from that which prevailed in the export agriculture sector which dominated key areas of the province. In this way, these less 'successful' economic sectors were not so 'unsuccessful' as it was first thought. After all, they had managed to find a solution for their economic problems, and were able to support politicians who still identified with their local interests. In general terms, it is also possible to argue that local communities, which became involved in the growth of foodstuffs, regarded

13 Families like the Soares de Sousa (headed by Visconde de Uruguay) and the Rodrigues Torres (headed by Visconde de Itaborai) were originally based in these areas, from where they expanded their political and economic leadership over the province. Eusébio de Queirós also came from this region.
this transformation process as a valid solution to the fact that they were no longer able to sustain a successful export economy. Politicians still paid respect to these 'decaying' areas up to the very end of the period analysed. This issue will be returned to in a later section which will discuss more specific findings obtained from the analysis of given periods of time.

It could also be said that it was probably the case that recently occupied areas - in parts of the north and central-north of the fluminense province - found themselves struggling to establish their own political representatives in an already oversubscribed space. It is also true that it is very difficult to establish any clear distinctions among these regional groups within the province, as they were, in fact, closely related to each other. Many people migrated around the province in search of new lands to be used for the cultivation of export crops. There are indications that many people, particularly from the south-west of the province: Barra Mansa and Paraiba do Sul, were to a large extent involved in the occupation of the fluminense far north. Some of them sold their farms in the south in order to purchase new lands around Itaperuna, a

14 Although many of the people living in these areas often complained about economic 'decadence', the fact that they could effectively participate in the provincial economy, through activities other than the export agriculture, did in fact reinstate all those linked to these areas in a new and positive position within the broader provincial political spectrum. Conselheiro Paulino himself indicated that dairy products and vineyards were valid alternative options for areas which could no longer satisfy the demands of export agriculture.
move which finally led, by the end of the nineteenth century, to the formation of the last few municipios in the province.15 This is probably the reason why Campos and the north, whilst not holding the highest number of associations as a region in the province, could in fact rely on a great deal of support from people who did not clearly identify themselves with the region. They knew they could not afford to abandon the area, mainly because of its importance to the provincial economy and because they knew the only hopes for the future of the province lay in the northern forest, still waiting to be fully settled.

Another area also covered by the database analysis is that which relates to the political alignments of fluminense deputados provinciais during the period under discussion. Although the research could only cover 46.6% of all fluminense deputados' political party alignments, the results suggest an interesting pattern which is worth mentioning at this point.16

Another feature which became clear in the analysis was the correlation between deputados' political alignment and the frequency of the election to a seat in the

15 Also see Chapter II.

16 From a total of 514 fluminense deputados provinciais found in the period, data on deputados' political party affiliation was only found for 219 of them (42.6%). 132 deputados belonged to the Conservative Party, 85 of them to the Liberal one and only two clearly identified as members of the Republican party. The pattern regarding the Republican party changed after May 1888, when many fluminense deputados started to show a more positive attitude towards the new political party.
fluminense Provincial Assembly. TABLE VII - VII shows the findings obtained in an analysis of changes in the Provincial Assembly's membership as a result of consecutive alterations of political parties in control of the national government. Dramatic changes which took place in national politics, in the early 1860s and during most of the 1870s, produced the most clearly-defined patterns found by this research. This seems to reflect some of the aspects that marked the relationship between fluminense provincial politics and events taking place on the national political scene during those periods. These results also are extremely relevant to the nature of political party labelling in the province during the last century. The high numbers of deputados who were reelected to the Provincial Assembly appear to have been the prevailing feature in explaining the dominance and permanence of most of the policies implemented by the provincial government. Crucial moments in the provincial decision making process, such as occurred in 1842, 1852, 1874-6 and 1884-6, appear to have coincided with a high proportion of deputados provinciais in the Provincial Assembly who had previously been elected to the Assembly. This was probably the underlying factor in explaining how the most important decisions were taken by the Assembly. This is probably why political party labels cannot be said to have been the deciding factor in the implementation of these policies. Despite the overwhelming presence of Conservative Party members in most of the fluminense legislatures examined here, the continuation of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislatures</th>
<th>Total no. of deputados</th>
<th>CONS Liga &amp; Dissidência</th>
<th>LIB. Rep. reelected</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1st(1836-7)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>6</td>
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417
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<td>33 (27)*</td>
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<td>9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>48</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** APPENDIX I.

* These were former Conservative Party members that after the promulgation of the 1871 national legislation formed the Dissident group.

policies in the province appears to have been more conclusively explained by the high numbers of deputados in the Assembly at key periods. To consider this argument in some more depth, it is necessary to discuss the nature of the figures presented in the last column of TABLE VII - VII. When analysing the relation between any legislature and
those to which deputados had previously been elected, it is
clear that most deputados tended to be reelected within a
single period of time. TABLE VII - VIII traces the tendency
of fluminense deputados to be reelected within a specific
period of time in more detail. Highly complex decision
making - such as was necessary to complete the setting-up
of the provincial administrative machinery, to respond to
the end of the Atlantic slave traffic, to instigate the
consolidation of a road development programme as opposed to
the encouraging of European migration to the province and to
arrange the sale of the Cantagalo railway - required unified
action from the Provincial Assembly. This could only be
achieved by a group of representatives who had already
accumulated expertise and common experience in dealing with
the formal political institutions of the province. It goes
without saying that this does not imply that this was the
explanation for the 'success' of the way in which these
measures were decided upon. The underlying reason that
those decisions were taken at all, must lay in the fact that
the dominant sectors of fluminense society faced a situation
in which road development had to pre-empt the possibility of
stimulating European migration to the province as a response
to the labour shortage in the region. In other words, the
discussion of variations observed in the fluminense
Provincial Assembly membership can only offer a partial
explanation of the decision making process that took place
in the province at the time. To indicate the fact that a
larger number of fluminense deputados provinciais
### TABLE VII - VIII

THE REELECTION OF DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS (1842, 1852, 1858, 1866, 1872-6 AND 1884)

<table>
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<th>Total reelected in given legislatures</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>32</td>
<td>1836-41: 32 deputados</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th (1852-3)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>a) 1836-47: 10 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) 1848-51: 35 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th (1858-9)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1848-57: 24 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th (1866-7)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>a) 1860-63: 16 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) 1864-65: 27 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th (1872-3)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1868-71: 28 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th (1874-5)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1868-73: 28 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21st (1876-7)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1868-75: 26 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25th (1884-5)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1878-83: 29 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: See APPENDIX I.

tended to be reelected at crucial periods of the political decision-making process serves only as an illustration of the type of influence that the Assembly’s membership may have had in shaping fluminense provincial politics.

With regard to political party labels, only a partial analysis could be undertaken, given the fact that only some of the fluminense deputados provinciais clearly indicated
the political party to which they belonged. This was commonly justified by the argument that a Provincial Assembly was no place for politics and so there was no need for deputados to define themselves politically in the course of debates within the Assembly. TABLE VII - VII shows the data obtained in this regard. As already indicated, the results seem to confirm the traditional argument that fluminense provincial politics was characterized by the dominance of the Conservative Party. Nevertheless, the Liberal Party was represented in the fluminense Provincial Assembly at all times. The results shown in this table also highlight the fact that the period marked by the Liga Progressista’s dominance on the national political level, was marked by resounding opposition from the Conservative Party members in the Provincial Assembly. As argued in previous sections of this research, the consolidation of Liga in the fluminense province required a profound ‘cleaning-up’ of provincial politics. This was necessary to create an opening for the rise of the new political alliance’s supporters. That is probably why the 15th fluminense legislature (1864-5) showed one of the lowest proportion of deputados reelected to the Assembly in the entire period considered here.17 This legislature only had three Conservative Party members who remained deeply opposed

17 This could not have happened with regard the 14th legislature (1862-3), since Zacarias was only nominated head of the central government in May 1862, when provincial elections had already been held under Conservative Party control.
to the new political coalition. Of a total of thirty-one deputados who expressed their support for the Liberal Party in that legislature, fourteen of them went on to openly support the Liga. Only four deputados declared themselves exclusively as supporters of the Liga. During the 16th legislature the pattern remained almost the same: two deputados were solely associated with the Liga, together with twelve Liberal Party members who also supported the Liga. Only three Conservative Party deputados expressed their support for the Liga. It seems to have been the case that from the mid-1860s, fluminense politicians appear to have distanced themselves from major political events taking place at the national political level. Although the data here indicated does not offer conclusive evidence for such inferences, it is possible to argue that a pattern of attitudes was forming within the Provincial Assembly, which sought to stress fluminense provincial discontent with major national political events.

Data gathered indicates that this pattern gains even more coherence with time, in expressing the opposition of provincial politicians to the central government after 1871. If the figures for the 19th, 20th and 21st fluminense legislatures, shown in TABLE VII - VII are also included, thirty-five of the conservative deputados provinciais identified themselves with the Dissident group led by Conselheiro Paulino Soares de Sousa at the National Assembly, following the passing of the Free Birth Law. In 1871, twenty-six Conservative deputados supported the
dissident group. In 1872-3 of the total number of thirty-three Conservative deputados in the Assembly, fourteen clearly supported the dissidents, eleven withdrew their initial support for the dissident group and reiterated their support for the Conservative faction controlling of the national government, who were also supported by eight Conservative Party members who had always remained faithful to the central government.18

Later on, the formation of the Republican Party led to the introduction of another political denomination to be used within the Provincial Assembly. As early as 1864-5, one a deputado provincial stated his support for the republican ideal, although it was only in 1880-1 that for the first time a fluminense deputado clearly supported the Republican Party. The numbers of avowed party supporters increased steadily, culminating with the figure of six deputados in 1888. Of this total of six fluminense deputados provinciais, who clearly supported the party, only two of them were former members of the Liberal Party and none claimed to have belonged to any other political party.

The only reaction of other parties to the rise of the Republican Party to be seen in the debates in the Provincial Assembly was recorded in the speeches by Rufino Furtado Mendonça. He spoke of the need to form a Partido

18 During the fluminense 21st legislature (1876-7), the figures for Conservative Party members indicated that only five deputados still supported the dissident group, nine had withdrawn their former support for the dissidents and had returned their support to the leading sector of the Conservative Party and eleven deputados had remained constant to the mainstream Conservative Party.
Monarquista, a monarchist party. This appears to have been a clear attempt to stop Liberal Party members from changing positions to become Republican Party partisans. Rufino Furtado was the liberal leader in the Assembly at that time, and he appeared to be very concerned with stressing the fact that liberals were mainly committed to supporting the monarchist political system. He seems to be suggesting that an alternative political party should be set up, in which Liberals and Conservative Party members could come together to defend the existing political system.

In the final part of this chapter, the research concentrates on the study of variations that particularly marked each of the periods analysed in Part II. Some of the main features of the Provincial Assembly political debate discussed previously, must now be reconsidered in the light of the results produced by the database analysis. The three main chronological periods previously studied must to be examined again in this chapter, so that the variation in the contents of debates that was observed could be seen against some of the main factors that characterized the Provincial Assembly's membership during those periods. This is done in an attempt to indicate which were the main aspects of the variation in membership that might help explain the evolution of fluminense politics, particularly from the 1850s onwards, when provincial politicians finally decided to adopt a programme of road development instead of colonization, in the course of the transition from slavery
### TABLE VII - VIIIa

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS HOLDING PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS AND SEATS IN THE FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY AT THE SAME PERIOD OF TIME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of time</th>
<th>Total of individuals analysed per post</th>
<th>Deputados holding provincial administrative posts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1836 to 1849</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Presidency: 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Vice-Presidency: 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Secretary: 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Provincial Finances: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Education: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Works: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police Chief: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police Force Commander: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>District Magistrature: 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Municipal Magistrature: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Colonization Committee: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL: 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* 5 had more than one post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850 to 1869</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Presidency 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Vice-Presidency: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Secretary: 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Provincial Finances: 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Education: 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Works: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police Force Commander: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>District Magistrature: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Municipal Magistrature: 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Assembly Secretary: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL: 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* 9 had more than one post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870 to 1889</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Presidency: 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Vice-Presidency: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Secretary: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Education: 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public Works: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police Force Commander: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>District Magistrature: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Municipal Magistrature: 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Assembly Secretary: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL: 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* 5 had more than one post</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: APPENDIX I.
to a free workforce.

At the same time, this section also attempts to measure the more specific variations observed in the links between politicians and the administrative bureaucracy in Rio de Janeiro province.

7.2 - The institutional formation of the provincial political system in Rio de Janeiro.

As previously argued, the early period of formal political development in Rio de Janeiro province was strongly marked by the profound interaction between national and provincial politics. At the beginning, some of the fluminense deputados provinciais defended the need to establish a clear distinction between what were genuinely fluminense provincial issues and others which were more closely related to national politics. However, this process of differentiation took some time to be achieved. To some extent, this confirms the argument that Rio de Janeiro province was dramatically involved in the process of state-building in Brazil, since it was almost impossible to establish a clear distinction between provincial issues and national ones. As indicated below, never in the entire history of the nineteenth century fluminense Provincial
Assembly were so many deputados so closely associated with the institutions based on the neighbouring national capital city. As shown in TABLE VII - IX, only a small number of fluminense deputados of the period also served as vereadores in the province. The ones who did serve, did so mainly at the Camara Municipal of Rio de Janeiro city. However, the period also had the highest number of deputados who held top public positions nationally, such as cabinet ministers, senators, state councillors, provincial presidents and vice-presidents.

Also very important is the fact that the period had the lowest number of deputados provinciais who did not hold any other posts in the political-administrative hierarchy analysed here. The table also indicates that only a small number of deputados provinciais were also elected as fluminense representatives to the National Assembly. In a

19 When looking into the Camaras Municipais origins of deputados who also served as vereadores in this particular period, the following figures were obtained:
1) Rio de Janeiro city: 10 - 26.3%.
2) Campos: 5 - 13.1%.
3) Niterói, Paraiba do Sul, and São João do Principe (each one): 3 - 7.9% (each).
4) Magé: 2 - 5.3%.
5) Other ones: 12 - 31.6%.

It is important, however, not to stress the importance of these figures too strongly, since the main source of data regarding vereadores attendance only provided it from 1844 onwards. Because of this, only scattered information was available for analysis of the period prior to 1844. Despite this problem, the sharp difference between the numbers of those elected to the Camara Municipal of Rio de Janeiro city and other fluminense Camaras Municipais still remains the striking feature distinguishing this initial period from the others. In the same way, the importance of the figures for the number of deputados who in the same period reached top national positions do not lose their validity in the light of the above restriction imposed by the sources used by this research.
### TABLE VII - IX

**FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS HOLDING POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS (1836 - 1849)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSTS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vereadores</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Administration*</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Administration**</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Administration</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluminense Provincial Vice-Presidents</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluminense Provincial Presidents</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluminense Representatives At the National Assembly</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Councilors</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senators</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who did not have other: Posts</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Number of Deputados in the Period</strong></td>
<td>132</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Appendix I.

* This includes local police officers, Camaras Municipais secretaries and procurators.
** This includes the Magistrature.
similar vein, only a few deputados provinciais had posts in the provincial administration. The importance of these figures is based on the fact that they once again confirm the absence of any group which was made up of genuine provincials to preside over the various fluminense provincial political and administrative institutions. In other words, there is very little indication that there was a group of policians solely involved in fluminense provincial affairs during the first two decades of the province’s history as an autonomous regional government. This conclusion gains even more weight when it is considered together with the previous argument, which suggests a close relationship between fluminense deputados and national political and administrative institutions. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that by arguing that there was no such thing as a single, defined, group of people in the province, closely involved in the management of internal provincial issues, one does not imply that the findings of this research do not recognize the group of deputados provinciais closely associated with national politics as being a group of people deeply involved in fluminense regional issues. The case is very much the opposite. In fact, the findings of this research can only lead one to argue that the dominant fluminense group was deeply concerned with the consolidation of the state-building process in Brazil. This was a basic element in securing the very continuation of their economic success in all respects, particularly from a provincial point of view. So, deputados
provinciais could only be expected to have been deeply involved in the national politics of the period. On the one hand, this was the result of the need to secure a leading position for Rio de Janeiro province on the national political and economic scene, whilst on the other, the fact that only a small number of people took part in this process led to a rapid accumulation of national posts by deputados provinciais. The provincial administration was still in its early stages, and only required a few people to operate it. At the same time, those who could both serve in the fluminense Provincial Assembly and occupy key posts at the national level could more easily secure the successful accomplishment of policies dear to the emerging dominant fluminense sector. That is the reason why national politicians such as Aureliano de Sousa e Oliveira Coutinho (Visconde Sepetiba), Euzébio de Queirós, Honório Hermeto Carneiro Leão (Marquês do Paraná), José Clemente Pereira, José Joaquim Torres Rodrigues (Visconde de Itaborai) and, Paulino José Soares de Sousa (Visconde do Uruguai) held seats in the fluminense Provincial Assembly during the period. This close association of leading national political figures with the most important political forum in Rio de Janeiro province, is clear evidence of the degree to which fluminense provincial politics was so closely associated with events on the national political scene.
As argued in Part II, fluminense Provincial Assembly debates from 1850 onwards were marked by a qualitative change in the issues discussed, as well as the formulation of strategies to promote provincial development. The end of the Atlantic slave traffic led most fluminense deputados to concentrate their thoughts on better ways to help support export agriculture when faced with future changes in the labour patterns on their farms. TABLE VII - X shows the results produced by the database analysis regarding changes in fluminense Assembly membership during the period under analysis. The comparison of the results produced in this table and those seen in TABLE VII - IX, does provide this study with evidence that in the 1850s and 1860s, fluminense deputados provinciais had much closer links to many Camaras Municipais in the province, as well as to posts in the provincial administration. The most important change to be observed relates to the sharp differences in the numbers of deputados who served as ministers, state councillors and senators in both periods. The trend clearly indicates a slowing-down in fluminense deputados’ participation in the management of national affairs from 1850 onwards. If in the 1830s and 1840s, some 10% of deputados served in these posts, in the following period no more than 3 or 4% did so, reflecting a sharp decrease in fluminense deputados participation in institutions belonging to the national
### TABLE VII - X

**FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS HOLDING POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS (1850 - 1868)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSTS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VEREADORES</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL ADMINISTRATION*</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION**</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL VICE-PRESIDENTS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE REPRESENTATIVES AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINISTERS</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATE COUNCILORS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENATORS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOSE WHO DID NOT HAVE OTHER POSTS</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL OF DEPUTADOS IN THE PERIOD</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Appendix I.*

* This includes local police officers, Camaras Municipais secretaries and procurators.
*** This includes the Magistrature, also Juizes Municipais.
government.20 Equally, the deputados role in the management of the fluminense provincial presidency dropped very dramatically. This trend was particularly exaggerated with regard to the number of those acting as provincial vice-presidents. On the one hand, this can be explained by the drop in the number of national political figures participating in the fluminense Provincial Assembly.21 But on the other, this change also illustrates the completion of the process of forming a group dominant in the country. From the 1850s onwards, a whole generation of politicians had already established itself as the core of the country's dominant political group. They nominated personnel to all key areas within the national administration, and developed a complex network of paternalistic relationships, which explains how and why different new people were appointed from time to time. So it is possible to argue that from 1850 onwards, provincial presidencies in Brazil became more closely subordinated to the country's central government and, consequently more distant and isolated from provincial politics as a whole. The fluminense case appears to suggest that despite having managed to achieve the nomination of a few of its own people, the dominant provincial group lost part of the previously close association it had enjoyed with

20 This feature was also observed at the national level, in: CARVALHO, José Murilo de. Op Cit. 1988. pp. 147-148.

21 In the previous period, the high incidence of these politicians inside the Assembly accounted for the large number of deputados who were also nominated provincial presidents and vice-presidents.
the provincial presidency.

In a different vein, the number of deputados provinciais with clear links to Camaras Municipais in the province greatly increased in the 1850s and 1860s. This was particularly high with regard to the number of fluminense deputados provinciais who also held municipal administrative posts. The previous total of 3.8%, indicated in TABLE VII - IX, was now replaced by a figure of 13%. The number of deputados provinciais who acted as vereadores was also higher. These findings are important factors in confirming the fact that the fluminense Provincial Assembly saw a dramatic change in its membership during the 1850s and 1860s. People who acted as deputados in the fluminense Provincial Assembly in this period were without doubt much more closely related to the municipal interests in province.

It is also worth mentioning that the figures obtained for those who did not have any other posts in the political and administrative hierarchy analysed here did not change. Figures obtained for those who held positions in the national and provincial administration indicated only a minor increase when compared with the previous period. Although the real numbers had increased in relation to those of the previous period, the percentage figures for the total number of deputados who actually sat in the fluminense Provincial Assembly remained more or less the same. This could be explained by the fact that public administration in nineteenth century Brazil had probably more or less
established the bulk of its administrative branches by 1850. Another item which might help to explain this trend may also be found in the fact that the number of those willing to take part in the country's public hierarchy was increasing and competition was getting much fiercer. When discussing the period of the 1870s and 1880s later, an attempt will be made to show how this issue seems to have evolved into another stronger pattern. The economic crisis had made administrative cost cuts a necessity and the numbers of deputados provinciais who also worked in public administration dropped even further.

Another important question to be answered in this section regards the links between the characteristics of Assembly membership and the more specific content of the fluminense Assembly debates in the period under consideration. As previously described, the change in content was very much related to the suspension of the Atlantic slave traffic in 1850. From a provincial/regional point of view, the development of a road system in the province was the response put forward to please fluminense farmers. The clear decision to lay aside proposals regarding European colonization, as another possible solution, reveals an important decision-making process taking place inside Rio de Janeiro province. Some people have argued that this was a result of the fluminense belief that it was up to the central government to take the initiative on the colonization issue. However, it seems
clear that the same had happen with the setting up of railway links in the region. As already described, it was only after the national central government took the decision to grant financial support to safeguard the construction of the D. Pedro II railway that the scheme finally went ahead. In fact, there seems to be little doubt that the fluminense provincial government could in no circumstances undertake such major financial enterprises without national government support. So, to what extent could it be argued that the dominant fluminense group could have made the decision to take the initiative to push a programme for road development in the province, on the grounds that the national government would look after a programme for European immigration to the province? As seen in Part II, there seem to be grounds to argue that fluminense farmers and politicians had a clear perception that a road development programme was the top priority to be pursued in the province. Fluminense deputados provinciais made very clear this choice at every single opportunity. So, in this section it is important to discuss the personal background of those fluminense deputados provinciais who took part in key debates, during the 1850s and 1860s, which led to the consolidation of a vital road policy in the province. This will be crucial in obtaining a more conclusive view of the reasons why this trend took place at all, and why some areas in the province were more favoured than others.22

22 Although one cannot forget the pre-eminence of coffee in the province, it is also very important to keep an open mind with regard to the relationship between road
Before moving on to the study of the more specific features that marked the Assembly's membership during the period, it is important to briefly consider the results produced by the database analysis regarding the distribution of fluminense deputados's municipal links in the province during the period. Some indicated their municipal links because they were vereadores, others held provincial administrative local posts in different Camaras Municipais in the province. A few others expressed their links with the munícipios in terms of personal or economic ties. All these municipal links were analyzed and presented in TABLE VII - XI. Of the total of 238 fluminense deputados provinciais who sat in the Provincial Assembly in the 1850s and 1860s, the research found this type of information on 145 of them, around 61%. At a first glance, it seems clear that the Paraíba river valley area had the largest proportion of deputados municipal links in the period. More than 30% of deputados in the Provincial Assembly clearly identified themselves with that area. As previously seen in this chapter, Campos again emerged as the single município with which the largest number of fluminense deputados appeared to be linked. Nonetheless, the north as a region still showed a low incidence of such links. This, however, has to be interpreted in the light of the previous projects which were supported mainly by the national government and those supported by the provincial administration. It was precisely within the boundaries of this relationship that some provincial areas, other than the coffee centres, could find some opportunities to press for and obtain some shares of the provincial road development programme.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions and Municípios</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>North:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Campos</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Santo Antonio de Sã</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- São Fidélis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- São João da Barra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Centre:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cantagalo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Petrópolis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Nova Friburgo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Central-East:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Araruama</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>- Castro Frio</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Macaë</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Marica</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central-South:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Estrela</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Iguassu</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Itaboraí</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>- Magé</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Rio Bonito</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Rio de Janeiro City</td>
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<td><strong>South-West:</strong></td>
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<td>- Paraíba do Sul</td>
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</tr>
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<td>- Piraí</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Resende</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Valença</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Vassouras</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

437
discussion in which the advantages the north fluminense area
offered for further provincial development were taken into
account. So much so, that Provincial Assembly debates
analysed earlier, indicated a readiness to grant the
necessary resources for the construction of major railways
in the area, indicating that the area could rely on a great
deal of support from both the fluminense Assembly and the
provincial administration. In the same way, the
southeastern areas in the province, where the export sector
had its largest coffee plantations in the province at the
time, worked very hard to press the central administration
through the provincial government to have the D. Pedro II
railway built as planned in the early 1850s. Deputados
linked to the Paraiba river valley area also fought very
hard among themselves, at the Provincial Assembly, to obtain
changes in the final plans for the D.Pedro II railway route
in that area. Each one wanted to press the provincial
administration to have the railway near the centre of their
municipios. The conflict between Vassouras and Valença,
discussed in Part II, gives a clear indication of the complexity of this issue. This was also the case for municipios struggling to obtain connecting roads, or railway branch-lines, in conjunction with these major road projects undertaken during the period. Which municipio would be the ones chosen to have control or access to the major roads to be built in the province was a cause for much debate and speculation. This probably explains the strong commitment that many deputados provinciais evinced to identify themselves with various municipios in the Paraiba river valley area. In the north, Campos had an undisputed dominance over the neighbouring areas, and this probably made any conflicts unnecessary in deciding upon the route of the railway also being built there.

The preeminence of the debates on the road programme in the Provincial Assembly during the period under consideration can also be explained by the relatively high level of deputados with municipal links to areas in the central-southern areas of the province. If the economic picture accepted by most politicians at the time is taken into account, as well as the current historiography on the region, it is very significant that of the total number of deputados who indicated that they had municipal links in the province, 12.4% did so with regard to the so-called 'decadent' fluminense municipios. This seems to reveal an important fact. Economic and geographical conditions in the region led to the transformation of the former export agriculture into one which mainly served to supply local
markets with basic foodstuffs, often managing to send some of the surplus to larger neighbouring cities. The examples of Capivary and Itaborai have already been discussed. It thus seems possible to argue that since the region was by this time mainly dependent on supplying the local economy with foodstuffs, the promoting of a programme for road development might be considered a basic strategy to be pursued by those associated with the region. As will be shown later, deputados linked to the region had a crucial role in successfully pushing the policy in the Provincial Assembly. Once again, the strategy for provincial road improvements appeared to gain further support from a well-established group of fluminense politicians. Many leading nineteenth century fluminense politicians had close links with the region, like Paulino José Soares de Sousa and Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres. Whilst it does not provide conclusive evidence on the political strength of the area, the findings shown in TABLE VII - IX imply a significantly large number of deputados that had links to the region in the period considered here. It is therefore, very important not to minimize the importance of small scale agriculture, devoted to the production of foodstuffs.

In a different vein, central-eastern and central-northern fluminense regions again, received little mention of any links between deputados and municipios. Nonetheless, as previously argued, this must be seen in the light of the overwhelming influence exercised by Campos and the fact that

23 See Chapter II, p. 92-94.
the central-northern areas were still in the course of being settled, which could probably explain a low number of deputados with links to the region.

When considering the analysis of a few key cases to discuss how deputados personal backgrounds could help to explain their pattern of voting one has to start by examining the 1854 fluminense Assembly debates, which led to the consolidation of the development of a road programme in the province. As seen before, the year was marked by the discussion of a number of key road projects. Basically, there were: 1) the proposal to grant an extra 2% interest guarantee on the capital to be invested in the D.Pedro II railway, as a means of pressing the national government to find a suitable entrepreneur to undertake the project; 2) the project to build the Niterói-Campos railway, which came under much criticism for the favourable conditions offered to the company in charge of the work by the provincial government; 3) the proposal of nine provincial roads to be refurbished or built, forming the nucleus of a road network in the province, which aimed to link railways and roads as means of shortening all journeys in the province; and finally, 4) the agreeing of the conditions to be granted to future companies willing to undertake the proposed road and railway projects.

As indicated earlier on, it is very hard to talk about the political party alignment of deputados in the fluminense Assembly, despite the deputados' willingness to
demonstrate their support for the Conservative Party. Nonetheless, in 1854 there were several leaders in the Assembly. João Caldas Viana, a former fluminense provincial president and vice-president had close links with Campos. He had also been a fluminense deputado provincial on several previous occasions. João Batista de Castro de Morais Antas was an Army officer, who also had links to Campos. He was a very active participant in the debates, as he was a member of the Assembly committee for public work. Francisco Leocádio de Figueiredo was a lawyer, with links to Macaé. He was a member of the Assembly drafting committee. Joaquim Manuel de Macedo was also a lawyer, a passionate spokesman for Itaborai. He took more of a secondary role in debates, but nonetheless played a direct part in the debates on very crucial occasions. Macedo was usually joined in the background by Francisco José Cardoso, from Itaguaí; Jerônimo José Teixeira Júnior and Luis Honório Vieira Souto, already considered in this Chapter. Of the total number of forty-four deputados who sat at the Assembly in the legislature, eleven had posts in the provincial administration, twenty-three had been vereadores, eleven came from nowhere, seven held seats in the National Assembly. The surprising feature, however, was the pattern obtained for the

24 Nonetheless the figures recorded by the research are far too low to indicate a Conservative Party clear majority in the Assembly during the 15th legislature. Also see TABLE VII – VII.

25 He was provincial president in 1838 and 1843, provincial president in 1843-4. He also held a seat in the fluminense Provincial Assembly from 1836 to 1845.
deputados' municipal links during the two year period. Data was gathered on thirty deputados, which represented more than 68% of the total number who attended the Assembly in that legislature. TABLE VII - XII shows the findings obtained. The results are surprising because of the even distribution found among all areas in the province. This was a very unusual pattern, in which the Paraíba river valley area was represented on almost equal terms with other areas in the province. This is even more significant when placed together with the fact that none of the leading deputados of that period came from that area. This may help to explain why a bill could be issued, without major opposition, in which a list of nine roads - in various areas of the province - was organized as means of setting-up a provincial road network.  

26 This would probably have been unthinkable if it is taken into account that all provincial resources would have to be necessarily concentrated on key railway projects, also under consideration during that year. To reinforce this, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, acting on behalf of Itaborai and its associates, made various speeches pleading the need to support the project for road renovation and subsidies to railways around the province. He argued that Itaborai was badly in need of roads to lower the costs of agricultural production.  

27 He also played a crucial role in criticizing

26 Also see Chapter V, pp. 248-249.

27 See his speeches of September the 19th, 29th, and October the 9th, 1854. In: Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854. pp. 253, 266 & 886.
### TABLE VII - XII

**FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS KNOWN TO HAVE HAD MUNICIPAL LINKS (1854 - 1855)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGIONS AND MUNICIPIOS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td><strong>NORTH:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CAMPOS</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CANTAGALO</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PETRÓPOLIS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SANTA MARIA MADALENA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENTRAL-EAST:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CABO FRIO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MACAé</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SAQUAREMA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENTRAL-SOUTH:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ESTRELA</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ITABORAI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MAGé</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- RIO BONITO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROVINCIAL CAPITAL CITY:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- NITERÓI</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td><strong>NATIONAL CAPITAL CITY:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- RIO DE JANEIRO CITY</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTH-WEST:</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BARRA MANSÁ</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PIRAí</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VALENCIA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>SOUTH-EAST:</strong></td>
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<td>- ANGRA DOS REIS</td>
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<td>- ITAGUÁI</td>
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<td>- RIO CLARO</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** APPENDIX I.
the concession of vast facilities by provincial government for the undertaking of large public works in the province. This, he argued on September the 25th, was the result of unclear contracts, in which obligations and rights where neither defined or clearly understood by both parts. As previously argued, the undertaking of such major public enterprises meant big business for those who could afford the huge initial cash advances then entailed. Once the work was near completion, huge profits could be easily made through compensations paid by the provincial administration after the suspension of the previously-signed contract.

Macedo's criticism came at a crucial period, when all areas in the province were pressing for the setting-up of a fair programme for road development in the province. As a result, decree no. 724 (25/10/1854), was issued as a response to both concerns: a road programme was set out and legal constraints on further provincial interest guarantees were also defined. This, it might be argued, meant success, at least in this first round, for deputados representing most areas in the province against those who acted on behalf of leading coffee municipios.28

In a related move, this also helps to explain why Barão de Lages could not find support for his bill to set up

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28 Despite Joaquim Manuel de Macedo's performance as described above, he was also elected a member of the Assembly special committee to present the fluminense proposal of a 2% interest guarantee on the D.Pedro II railway project to the National Assembly. Macedo's dual position confirms the preeminence of export agriculture in fluminense provincial affairs and, at the same time, the way in which this sector related itself to other economic sectors in the province.
basic inducements to attract European immigrants to the province. In reading the 1854 Provincial Assembly debates, there are clear indications of the strong actions taken by deputados Morais Antas, Caldas Viana, Figueiredo and Leite de Araujo to stop Barão Lages’ proposals, who could only rely on Luis de Almeida Brandão and Braz Bellens to support his bill. Once again, it is possible to argue that the balanced representation of all municipal interests inside the Provincial Assembly might have favoured the view that since most fluminense farmers held large numbers of slaves, acquired during the slave buying rush just before 1850, there was no need – at least at that present moment – to rush into schemes to attract European immigrants to the province.

Having established a balanced programme for road development in the province, fluminense politicians attending the Provincial Assembly remained confident that the programme would be pursued in all due course. However, the year of 1858 would present the Assembly with a different picture, as previously seen in Chapter V. The clashes between the fluminense Assembly and provincial president Antonio Nicolau Tolentino, in the early days of the 12th fluminense legislature (1858–9), over the proposal to construct a road linking Passa-Vinte to Barra Mansa, provided the opening for the beginning of a u-turn in the aims of the 1854 road programme. As seen before, the clash

29 See Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 1854 (issue 270).
led to the suspension of the Assembly's session for three months and cost Tolentino his provincial presidential post. However, the clashes appear to have been inevitable, as Tolentino himself commented in the annual presidential report, there was no way in which the province could go on supporting such a huge and diversified programme for road and railway development in the province. Not only that, but he also argued that there were various projects proposing new types of 'industries', as he put it, which also had been given the provincial government's financial commitment.30 The provincial treasury could not satisfy all these commitments without further endangering its balance. In other words, provincial public debts were starting to get out of hand. The road to be built between Passa-Vinte and Barra Mansa was the last straw to bring the conflicts between the large number of diverse interests prevailing in fluminense society out into the open together with the fact that provincial resources could only meet part of these demands. A revision of most of the provincial policies then being pursued seemed inevitable. Not only that, but this had to be done in a very special way, so that the losers would not easily realize the great disadvantages they would suffer. As already described, a detailed plan of action was put into force to operate this u-turn in fluminense politics. Even the central government seemed to act promptly to help establish a new strategy for road

30 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Presidência da... Op Cit. 1853-4.
development in the province. As described in Chapter V, the Assembly session was postponed and Tolentino was replaced in the provincial presidency by Visconde do Rio Branco. The succession of various key people to that office revealed the importance central government placed on this transformation process. By the time the Assembly was called again, João Almeida Pereira Filho was the new provincial president. As a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1854, he was very well aware of the importance of the provincial road programme redefinition. He also knew the huge sensitivity felt by most fluminense deputados representing areas other than the Paraíba river valley regarding the scraps of provincial support given to proposals serving the needs of any region in the province, apart from the coffee areas. He was one of the very few people to be deeply aware of the complexity of the task ahead.31 Once the Assembly was reconciled to the Provincial Presidency, a last attempt was made to obtain extra central government financial support so that the entire programme would be preserved. As seen in Chapter V, various petitions were sent to the National Assembly. The 1858 session ended with the two sides agreeing on most issues after the initial confrontation. In 1859, however, the change in the provincial policy was completed. In the early days of that year, Assembly

31 He was closely linked to Campos. He had also been the person in charge of the Provincial Presidential Secretariat in 1855 and was a fluminense representative at the National Assembly in 1857-60, 1869-72, 1878, and 1881-84. After holding the fluminense provincial presidency, he went on to become the new minister of Império (Minister for the Interior).
session, the Jornal do Comércio published a carefully prepared article, in which the journal blamed the provincial interest guarantee concessions for the financial chaos in the province. It blamed the concessions on ‘industrial’ enterprises, as it was put. This was followed by the banquet, which was also carefully reported by that same newspaper. In the Assembly, these events were followed by debates over the Provincial Presidency’s decision to suspend the Niterói-Campos railway contract. After that, came the proposal to suspend all previously made interest guarantees only sparing those granted for the completion of the four major provincial transport projects: D.Pedro II and the Cantagalo railways, the Magé-Sapucaia road and the road being built by the Companhia União Industria.32 At this point the u-turn was completed and, the fluminense coffee sector could rest secure that its interests were the overriding priorities to be defended and preserved after all.

From the viewpoint of the analysis of the Assembly’s membership, there are quite intriguing features that may help to explain the success of this change in strategy, during that two-year period. At first glance, the findings obtained indicate that the election of a strong board to conduct the Assembly debates played an important role.33

32 At the time that Visconde do Rio Branco was in charge of the presidency.

33 Prestigious and respectable men, all being key members of the Conservative Party in the fluminense province, were elected.
Joao Manuel Pereira da Silva was the Assembly president during the two year period. He was nominated provincial vice-president in charge of the Provincial Presidency in 1857. He called himself a 'capitalist' and had close ties with Iguassu. He was a Conservative Party member, holding seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies many times. He belonged to a very prestigious family in the province, and was a very well qualified and equipped provincial politician, able to impose a strict regime when conducting the Provincial Assembly debates. Similar pictures could also be drawn of other members of the board. Although not so successful in the pursuit of their careers as national politicians, they all had held important positions on the provincial political scene, such as commandant-in-chief of the provincial police force and so on. On the other side of the Assembly there were key deputados who also helped in the revision of the former policy. Deputados Joaquim Saldanha Marinho and José Fernandes Moreira, both representing Valença, acted very skillfully to demonstrate the need to safeguard provincial resources to support major road proposals to connect the various areas in their region to the new railway link under

34 He was elected the Provincial Assembly from 1840 to 1847. He had been elected fluminense representative at the National Assembly in 1843-4, 1848, and 1850-6. After 1858-9 he went on to be several times reelected to the National Assembly, finally went to represent Rio de Janeiro province at the Senate, in 1888.
construction.35 Fernandes Moreira also took part in the group of deputados, who at the very end of the 1859 session presented an amendment to the budget bill, in which they proposed - and later obtained - the suspension of interest guarantees to all companies other than those in charge of the construction of the roads and railways cited above. The group consisted of Eduardo de Andrade Pinto, a liberal deputado linked to Cantagalo, who also managed to obtain other leading posts on the national political scene; Luis Honório Vieira Souto, already considered in this Chapter; Luis Plinio de Oliveira, who also represented Cantagalo; João Belisário Soares de Sousa, a member of the prestigious family led by the Visconde de Uruguai, who represented the Cabo Frio electoral district; and Antonio Mariano de Amorim Carrão, another Cabo Frio representative. The composition of this group appears to indicate the involvement of top fluminense leaders in presenting and referring this change in policy, since at least two of its members - Vieira Souto and Soares de Sousa - were traditionally viewed as the spokesmen of the higher ranks of the fluminense provincial political hierarchy.

There were also other findings produced by the database analysis with regard to this two year period. Of a total of fifty deputados provinciais who attended the Provincial Assembly in the period, twelve of them also held

35 See Saldanha Marinho speech in favour of the suspension of the Niterói-Campos railway contract, in Jornal do Comércio. 1859 (issue 267). Also see Fernandes Moreira speaking against loans to be made to the same railway company in 1858, in: Ibid. 1858 (issue 360).
seats in the National Assembly, fourteen also held posts in the provincial administration and twenty-four had been vereadores. With regard to deputados provinciais’ municipal links in the period, TABLE VII - XII shows the results obtained. Of the total number of deputados who attended the Assembly in this period, a number of forty-four deputados - 86.3% of the total - indicated links with municipios in the province. Figures also indicate that the main feature to differentiate this period from the others seems to have been the clear pattern of deputados with links to municipios in the western areas of the province. Campos as a single municipio still remained at the top of the list, but now also joined by Niterói, which from this point onwards was to maintain a high profile as the result of its position as the province’s capital city. Municipios in the provincial coffee sector, however, represent the highest figures, expressing the solid influence the region must have had on the Provincial Assembly debates. To a large extent, the pattern obtained in the analysis does confirm the view that deputados from this particular area had to take a more effective role in the Assembly to ensure the defence of their local associates’ interests during a period of change and policy redefinition.

After this reorientation in policy, the Provincial Assembly was the scene of many disputes during the period dominated by the Liga Progressista. Conflicts were particularly bitter given the fact that the proposal for
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<th>Region</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>- CANTAGALO</td>
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<td>- PETROPOLIS</td>
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<td>- IGUASSU</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MAGé</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MARICA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROVINCIAL CAPITAL CITY:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td><strong>NATIONAL CAPITAL CITY:</strong></td>
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<td>2.3%</td>
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<td><strong>SOUTH-EAST:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ANGRA DOS REIS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ITAGUAí</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MANGARATIBA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PARATY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SÃO JOÃO DO PRINCIPE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** APPENDIX I.
reconciliation between the national political parties gave room for many local disputes to rise to the provincial political level. In this context, the large number of complaints, as described in Chapter V, over inequalities in the distribution of provincial resources on the various road projects being sponsored by the provincial government were understandable. In the mid-1860s, the consolidation of the Liga Progressista in the central government led to the arrival of yet another new generation of politicians in the fluminense Provincial Assembly. They came as a result of agreements made between the two national political parties, in which the Liberal Party was to participate on equal terms with the conservatives in the management of the country's affairs. From a provincial political point of view, this meant the replacement of many former deputados provinciais in the 15th provincial legislature. Otherwise, the Liga Progressista would never be able to succeed inside Rio de Janeiro province. In this way, a sharp modification took place in the Assembly's membership from 1862 onwards. It was, however, in the 15th legislature (1864-5), that the trend appeared to have gone full course.

In general terms, the database analysis with regard to this two year period presented a similar picture to that described for the 1854-1855 fluminense legislature. Of a total of forty-six deputados who attended the Assembly in this period, twenty-three had been vereadores; twenty had posts in the provincial administration; eight also became fluminense representatives at the National Assembly; and
thirty-eight of them indicated municipal links in the province. In this way, the western parts of the province managed to maintain the same levels of municipal links with deputados, despite the lack of conflicting issues to be decided upon in the two-year period.

This new generation of politicians which arrived in the Provincial Assembly basically consisted of members of the Liberal Party, at least half of whom had never been elected to the Assembly before. The pattern of renovation inside the Assembly was even stronger if the fact that from the other twenty-four deputados who attended the Assembly before, fifteen of them had been elected in the previous fluminense legislature (1862-3) was taken into account. This new group, who called themselves localistas implied that their main commitment was to fight for the interests of the municipios which voted for them. As described in the previous chapter, the arrival of this new group of politicians at the fluminense political scene created an unusual balance of power, in which neither the Liga nor the Conservative Party controlled the Assembly. In fact, these localistas managed to hold the power to approve or veto any matter they wished. The Liga leaders inside the Provincial Assembly, failed to convince the Assembly's newcomers of their ability to exercise power, and as a result they were

36 Figures obtained with regard to deputados municipal links remained more or less the same as the former period. Total results for the 1864-5 period revealed that the north had 10.5%; the central-north, central-south, Niterói and the south-east had 13.2% each one; the centre-east and Rio de Janeiro city had 2.6% each; and, the south-west had 31.5%.
seen as authoritarian people who wished to establish their control of the provincial status apparatus at any cost. At the same time, the so-called localistas, managed only to work within a framework of defending their existing political space within the Provincial Assembly. Those former liberal deputados, who now supported the Liga, also used the 1864 and 1865 debates to express their frustration in not being able to implement policies they had put forward during the previous legislatures. Interestingly enough, they did not include any proposal to change the provincial road development programme. In other words, fluminense politicians already understood that there was no alternative to the solution already provided to the need to improve the road system in the province. Priorities had already been established and none of the less-economically important areas had the resources - or the political strength - to alter the existing situation.

By the end of the 1860s, the provincial political debate had evolved into a more complex one, which involved a different set of issues. By now, there appears to have been a strong case for arguing that the provincial politicians were united to safeguard the little resources that were still available in the province, so that some sort of development strategy could be pursued in the awake of the economic crisis which by now had been strengthened by ever-growing fears over labour shortage. When in 1868, the Conservative Party was called on to replace the Liga
Progressista in the central government, it was already divided internally over issue of the Paraguay War. As described in Chapter V, Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa, a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1868, argued that 'young and old' Conservative Party members, as he put it, found it almost impossible to work together with regard to the Paraguayan War. From a fluminense provincial viewpoint there were also other issues which divided conservative deputados internally during the last two years of that decade, but this issue probably laid the grounds for a much deeper division to arise in the party in 1871.

One might argue that the issues discussed to this point, leave little doubts of the changes occurring in the role played by Provincial Assembly. If in the 1830s and 1840s, the Assembly saw itself as a congregation of 'distinct' men, concerned with the management of politics in the country, in the period to follow, a different trend is clearly indicated. From the end of the 1840s and, most clearly from the 1850s onwards, fluminense deputados provinciais were deeply concerned with stressing the fact that the Provincial Assembly was a political institution sole devoted to the management of fluminense provincial affairs, nothing else. That is why political debate at the Assembly was said to be a waste of the taxpayers money. This shift denotes a clear trend in political attitudes in the Assembly. Deputados provinciais seemed aware of the fact that the final steps in the decision-making process
over the road development programme in the province would involve strong conflicts among most fluminense sectors. A great bargaining process took place so that some areas could benefit to the detriment of others, which were abandoned by both national and provincial government. At the same time, the Provincial Assembly appeared to gain a great deal of importance from a regional point of view. It was there that decisions would be ultimately and formally made to enforce provincial policies. In a way, it seems that the Assembly managed to reach some kind of 'political maturity' under the eyes of provincial politicians. At the same time, a more coherent group of provincial fluminense politicians were consolidating their positions, just as the fluminense Assembly itself was consolidating its position as the most important political forum in the province. The change in the Assembly's membership confirmed this trend. During the period, deputados led the Assembly to develop a much stronger relationship with the various fluminense municipios. This helped to differentiate fluminense affairs in a more diverse way, and the more this happened, the more importance provincial politicians attached to the Provincial Assembly in return. There seems to be little doubt that during this period, provincial politics reached some kind of peak; in which the actors, their roles and the interests to be served became crystallized in the eyes of those attending the fluminense Provincial Assembly.
7.3 - Changing policies and programmes for economic survival.

The period which began in 1870, presented fluminense politicians in the Provincial Assembly with new issues to be tackled. As already discussed elsewhere in this study, the hardening of the economic crisis facing the province led fluminense politicians attending the Assembly at this period to review most of the provincial policies. Once again, the labour issue was the main feature during this process in provincial politics. Only this time, the province appeared to view itself as pursuing a solitary party, where the national government made plain its inability to help secure a different type of labour transition in the province. Some people would argue, that in reality this was probably not true, given the fact that the central government had done everything it could to secure the establishment of major road and railway links in the region during the last decades. However, fluminense politicians, as clearly indicated in the Provincial Assembly debates, believed that the central government was moving towards a position which did not consider fluminense interests as the leading ones in Brazilian society. Some deputados argued that it was up to the provincial government itself to secure the implementation of policies that the various fluminense sectors viewed as the ones to best serve their interests during the final transition period. In other words, if colonization was to be chosen as the final solution to the
provincial labour crisis, the fluminense provincial leadership knew that it could only be so if based on different terms to those propounded in the higher ranks of the central government. The prevailing conditions in fluminense society could only be satisfied by the implementation of a colonization programme based on Brazilian-born immigrants to the province. This was implied by the Assembly's special committee in 1875 and put in more conclusive and plain words in 1886, when even the fluminense politician leader, Conselheiro Paulino Soares de Sousa, was called on to help in finally formulated a bill to set up a colonization programme in the province. Even if the fact that the central government had committed itself to help implement the fluminense provincial programme is taken into account, the two had moved dramatically away from a common colonization programme to be implemented in the country. The principles guiding the 1886 fluminense proposal - which were more or less those presented in 1875 - implied radical changes in comparison to the main central government colonization proposal to be implemented in other coffee sectors in the country. So by now, there was little doubt that the province was very much on its own and had to rely mainly on its internal resources to achieve the necessary conditions for continued economic survival. As Ana Maria dos Santos has already described, a complex network was set up to protect the fluminense dominant group from losing its lands.37 Land ownership had to be preserved at any cost,

and fluminense deputados attending the Provincial Assembly had to develop a political and economic strategy to do so. The analysis of the changes which occurred in the Provincial Assembly's membership, however, does not particularly explain this review in strategy which took place in provincial politics. Nonetheless, there are a few issues that are worth mentioning here, since they help in understanding some of the factors that accompanied the changes in fluminense politicians attitude. These changes also help to explain the final consolidation of the political structures in the province.

TABLE VII - XIV presents the results obtained from the database analysis on the fluminense deputados' personal backgrounds, in the period considered here. The first striking feature may be observed in the very low numbers of deputados who had also served in the higher ranks of the central government. When comparing the results presented in TABLE VII - XIV to those previously seen in TABLE VII - X, one realizes the increasing disparity between larger numbers of people willing to take public posts, and the government's difficulty to enlarge the number of posts available in the administrative machinery. By now, the figures obtained indicate a smaller number of deputados who had also been seen in other posts in the political and administrative hierarchy. This was taking place mainly at the expense of previous figures regarding deputados who worked in the national administration, or who were Ministers, State Councilors or Senators. Those who remained at the same
### TABLE VII - XIV

**FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS HOLDING POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS (1870 - 1889)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSTS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VEREADORES</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL ADMINISTRATION*</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION**</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL VICE-PRESIDENTS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLUMINENSE REPRESENTATIVES AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINISTERS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATE COUNCILORS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENATORS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOSE WHO DID NOT HAVE OTHER POSTS</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NUMBER OF DEPUTADOS WHO ATTENDED THE ASSEMBLY IN THE PERIOD REFERRED</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** APPENDIX I.

* This includes local police officers, Camaras Municipais secretaries and procurators.

*** This includes the Magistrature.
levels as previous observed were deputados who had been vereadores. In a way, this change illustrates the very way in which the political revision process was taking place in province. Although the underlying feature was the continuation in growth of the national and provincial state machineries and of the numbers of those willing to take part in it - leading to a necessarily even distribution of places to larger numbers of people - one has to point out the confirmation of a situation in which fewer fluminense provincial politicians had less to do with the workings of the central politics and the management of the national governmental administrative machinery.

It is also interesting to note that rates for deputados provinciais holding posts in the provincial administration steadily declined throughout the 1870s and 1880s. If in 1870-1, thirteen deputados (29% of the total number in that legislature) had posts in the provincial administration; in the 1884-5 and 1888-9 period only eight and nine people did so (around 17% and 19% in each case).

With regard to deputados' municipal links, another interesting picture was also obtained in the database analysis, as can be seen in TABLE VII - XV. At first sight, the surprising feature is the drop in deputados' links with areas in the western parts of Rio de Janeiro province. A clear shift to produce a more balanced distribution of municipios' representation in the Assembly appears to have taken place. This phenomenon mainly occurred as a result of the sharp drop in deputados links' to Rio de Janeiro city.
The sharp difference is even more striking if compared to the results shown in TABLE VII - XI. Once again, the database findings indicate the Provincial Assembly tendency to draw clearer distinctions between provincial affairs and central government. The conflict seen in the Provincial Assembly in 1875 between two leading deputados - Joaquim Leite Ribeiro de Almeida and Fernando Francisco da Costa Ferraz - also offers another facet to illustrate this distancing process.38

At the same time as deputados' municipal links to western areas in the province started to decline, there was a steady growth in deputados municipal links to areas in central and central-eastern parts of the province. There are two main factors to explain this trend. Firstly, by now the migration of many farmers from the south to the more fertile lands of the central and northern parts of the province was almost complete. In reality, some of them were already leaving those central areas in order to move into even more northerly areas of the province - Itaperuna and Itabapoana. By now, those who had moved into these central parts of the province had already reestablished relations with provincial politicians willing to represent their local interests at the Provincial Assembly. A second feature to explain the trend is also to be found in the Assembly debates during this period. Chapter VI has already indicated that the most crucial event taking place in fluminense politics in this period was the provincial

38 See Chapter VI.

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## Table VII - XV

**FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS KNOWN TO HAVE HAD MUNICIPAL LINKS (1870 - 1880)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGIONS AND MUNICIPIOS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>-NORTH:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CAMPOS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SANTO ANTONIO DE SA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SÃO FIDELIS</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SÃO JOÃO DA BARRA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENTRE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CANTAGALO</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CAPIVARY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PETRÓPOLIS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SANTA MARIA MADALENA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SANTO ANTONIO DE MACACã</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENTRAL-EAST:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ARARUAMA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BARRA DE SÃO JOÃO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CABO FRIO</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MACã</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MARICA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SAQUAREMA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENTRAL-SOUTH:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ESTRELA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- IGUASSU</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ITABORAí</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MAGã</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- RIO BONITO</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROVINCIAL CAPITAL CITY:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- NITERói</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NATIONAL CAPITAL CITY:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- RIO DE JANEIRO CITY</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTH-WEST:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BARRA MANSAS</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PARAÍBA DO SUL</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PIRAI</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- RESENDE</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VALENCa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VASSOURAS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cantagalo railway. The various interests that played a part in the selling of the railway - particularly considering the way in which the matter was finally decided upon - probably led deputados linked to the area affected by the railway to speak more openly, expressing their position regarding the move. The rise in deputados links to central-eastern municipios must have also been linked to the above railway debate, since attempts to extend the Rio Bonito branch-line - meant to be part of the Cantagalo railway - faced strong opposition from members claiming to be linked to the region. They argued that there were strong fears in the region that the branch-line would provoke the death of the coastal trade, which was the most important source of revenue in the region.

With regard to political parties, TABLE VII - VII has already indicated the importance of the conservative dissidence in the period here considered. It must also be added that the event was very much a provincial one. It
seems clear from the study of the fluminense Assembly debates, and from the large number of people who withdrew to the dissident group, that fluminense politicians regarded the 1871 legislation as a central government betrayal of the fluminense society. From a different perspective, the dissidence movement can be also seen as an important step in the overall process revising the relations between provincial and national affairs. As was seen above, the end of the 1860s was marked by various divisions in the Conservative Party. These were important factors leading to the passing of the Free-Birth law in 1871. When the bill was enacted, most politicians attending the Provincial Assembly became very aware of the fact that the central government had decided to ignore the interests which dominated in fluminense society. In this way, the dissidence phenomenon can be seen as the beginning of a situation in the province, in which the dominant fluminense groups had to work themselves to create the necessary conditions to withstand future changes in the labour market. The central government was no longer a very reliable ally. However, this did not prevent fluminense provincial politicians from relying on the central government — that is probably why the word dissident formally disappeared from the Provincial Assembly debates from 1875 onwards — to help postpone, for as long as possible, the final abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, fluminense dominant groups appeared to have understood they would soon lose this traditional and very loyal associate in the near future.
At this stage it is important to try to trace some of
the more specific results found in the database analysis in
the study of some of the most important years in the period
here analysed. After the conservative dissidence, it is
necessary to analyse the factors that surrounded the
formation of the 1875 special Assembly committee to study
and propose ways to act against the process of labour
transition and the 'decadence' which prevailed in fluminense
export agriculture, as they themselves put it. It is
important to point out that this decision to call for the
organization of such committee in the Assembly, coincided
with the formal end of the conservative dissidence. In a
way, it might be argued that once fluminense politicians had
overcome the shock of the 1871 central government decision,
fluminense deputados realized the urgent need to establish
an alternative strategy to face the still more dramatic
changes to come. Only one month after the opening of the
1875 Assembly session, deputado Joaquim José de Morais
Costa, representing Pirai, proposed the organization of that
committee. He spoke of the province's decadence and the
need to tackle the problem. His argument found great
support among the group of deputados linked to municipios in
the western areas of the province. TABLE VII - XVI
indicates the temporary but extremely high level of
deputados' municipal links in that two year period. Around
67% of all deputados in that period indicated links with
municipios in the province. Despite the general trend, for
deputados to have fewer links to the western areas, there
were a few occasions on which the reverse situation was observed. The 20th provincial legislature was one of them; at least half of deputados' municipal links in the period, referred to that region. It is also important to note the relation between the Conservative Party dominance in the Provincial Assembly and the various initiatives on crucial aspects of central government policies regarding fluminense province. The composition of the Assembly special committee clearly indicates this situation, having deputados Francisco Alvares de Azevedo Macedo Júnior, José Viriato de Freitas Júnior and Morais Costa himself as its members. The first two belonged to the Conservative Party. Morais Costa belonged to the Liberal Party. Macedo Júnior was closely linked to Saquarema, where he had been a vereador in the past. Freitas Júnior and Morais Costa were linked to Pirai. Both areas were located at the heart of areas in deep economic trouble in the period. As already described in Chapter VI, the committee produced its proposals in a very short period of time. The Assembly response to these proposals was extremely positive. Colonization, however, remained aside. Speeches by deputados Freitas Júnior and deputado Manuel Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck argued that there other more urgent measures that should be tackled first.

The situation remained more or less unchanged until the early 1880s. By then, new attitudes had been taken to express fluminense politicians discontent with the way in which the central government was interfering in the
TABLE VII - XVI

FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS KNOWN TO HAVE HAD LINKS

MUNICIPAL LINKS  (1874 - 1875)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGIONS AND MUNICIPIOS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CAMPOS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SÃO JOÃO DA BARRA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRE:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CANTAGALO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CARMO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL-EAST:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ARARUAMA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SAQUAREMA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL-SOUTH:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- RIO BONITO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCIAL CAPITAL CITY:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- NITERÓI</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL CAPITAL CITY:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- RIO DE JANEIRO CITY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH-WEST:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BARRA MANSÀ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PARAÍBA DO SUL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PIRAI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
</tr>
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<td>- RESENDE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VASSOURAS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH-EAST:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ANGRA DOS REIS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ITAGUAÍ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MANGARATIBA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PARATY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SÃO JOÃO DO PRINCIPE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: APPENDIX I.
proposals to sell the Cantagalo railway. This process has already been described in Chapter VI, nonetheless it is important to reconsider the event, bearing in mind some of the factors presented by the analysis of the Assembly’s membership in the period. At least six leading members of the Assembly rose, early that year, to oppose the moves by the provincial government to stop the previously agreed sale of the railway. Francisco Portela spoke of the central government’s intention to reverse the Provincial Assembly decision, so that it could favour the Leopoldina railway in buying the Cantagalo one. Portela argued that this would be the end of the fluminense provincial policy for road development, and every Assembly member should try and stop such an attack on fluminense affairs. A number of deputados spoke in his support: Antonio Augusto Leite Ribeiro de Almeida, Antonio Luis dos Santos Werneck, Henrique Antao de Vasconcelos, Joaquim Alves de Silva and, Marcelino da Gama Coelho. These deputados represented an important coalition of Assembly members in that they combined two leading republicans, three leading fluminense Conservative Party members, and one member of the Liberal Party. One deputado was linked to Campos and all the others were linked to municipios in the western part of the province. The very fact that these deputados where grouped together, opposing a same issue, demonstrates the Provincial Assembly’s solid position to express provincial discontent with the central government. Early in the following year, deputado provincial Pedro Luis Soares de Sousa, leader of the
conservative Assembly side, together with deputado Francisco Portela, leader of the liberal/republican coalition, proposed a petition to be sent to the national government stressing the fluminense Provincial Assembly's uneasiness about allowances being made to the Leopoldina railway to enter fluminense territory. The Assembly's solid position, however, was not strong enough to stop the central government - in conjunction with the provincial one - from promoting the sale of the Cantagalo railway to the Leopoldina one. This was completed early in 1886. A new fluminense legislature was about to enter the Provincial Assembly. Only a few Conservative Party members who spoke against the deal were reelected. However, despite this, one of the first measures issued by the Provincial Assembly in 1886 was a petition to be sent to the central government, repudiating the terms on which the fluminense railway had been sold.39

Despite the move the new legislature did not waste much time in discussing the matter. It appears that deputados knew that there was very little they could do about the matter. Instead, they once again concentrated their efforts on discussing policies to overcome the growing

39 It was extremely relevant to see the terms on which the petition was prepared. Instead of using the term national or central government, deputados chose to send the petition to the 'governo imperial', the government of His Majesty, the Emperor. It seems relevant that during a period in which politicians were trying to make up their minds upon the monarchist system as a valid one, fluminense deputados decided to make such an innovation when directing their petition, since they had mainly chosen to have it sent either to the central government or to the National Assembly.
labour shortage. It is also worth noticing that, once again, the western region of the province was particularly represented in the analysis of deputados municipal links in the two year period. Of a total number of forty-six deputados who attended the Assembly in 1886 and 1887, thirty-two of them (69%) indicated ties with fluminense municipios. At least sixteen of them had links to the western region. As is shown in TABLE VII – XVII, despite the fact that the general trend in the two decade period was to present a more balanced distribution of deputados’ municipal links, this particular legislature was one of the few to show an extremely high level of deputados linked to that particular region. To some extent, this had to do with debates taking place in the Assembly, in which various proposals were considered regarding the growing labour crisis in the province. The fact that the area had a more urgent need to establish a quick solution to the problem, probably led deputados to mention their ties with the area more often.

At the same time, this whole issue also illustrates the fact that a large part of the fluminense export agriculture was placed at the centre of the so-called fluminense ‘decadence’. The fact that deputados provinciais, linked to other areas in the province, did not take part in those debates seems to imply that either the areas they were linked to had already found a solution to
TABLE VII - XVII

FLUMINENSE DEPUTADOS PROVINCIAIS KNOWN TO HAVE HAD MUNICIPAL LINKS (1886 - 1887)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGIONS AND MUNICIPIOS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- CAMPOS</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SÃO JOÃO DA BARRA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRE:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- CANTAGALO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SANTA MARIA MADALENA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SANTO ANTONIO DE MACACU</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SÃO FIDÉLIS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL-EAST:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ARARUAMA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MACAé</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MARICA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL-SOUTH:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- IGUASSU</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCIAL CAPITAL CITY:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NITERÓI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH-WEST:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BARRA MANSA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- BARRA DO PIARA1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- PARAÍBA DO SUL</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- RESENDE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VALENÇA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VASSOURAS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH-EAST:</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ITAGUAí</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- MANGARATIBA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: APPENDIX I.
their economic difficulties, or they did not need one.40

After deputado Belisário Augusto Soares de Sousa presented Conselheiro Paulino's colonization bill, very little was added to this issue. The move represented the culmination of a process to set up a provincial policy on the subject. Deputados appeared to believe they had fulfilled the obligation of finding the most suitable solutions to the most crucial provincial problems. By now it was only a matter for waiting of the final blow against slavery and whatever else was yet to come.

40 As previously argued, one must not forget or minimize the strength of areas only then being occupied in the far north of the province. Areas such as Itaperuna, possessed extreme positive and dynamic assets still to be fully occupied by the extensive agriculture in the province.
One of the main arguments of this dissertation has been that despite Brazil's highly centralized political and administrative system under the Empire in the nineteenth century, which historians have rightly emphasised, provincial politics played a much greater role in the forging of Brazil's political system than has usually been recognised. Provincial politics were characterized by intense debate, in which power bargaining was a major element in the implementation of most policies.

In the case of Rio de Janeiro province, the subject of this dissertation, a large number of different issues were discussed, economic interests accommodated and policies decided upon at the provincial level. At the heart of provincial politics of Rio de Janeiro was the Provincial Assembly. The role of deputados provinciais was therefore crucial. They had in particular to support, formalize and implement a programme to defend the structures of export agriculture in the province.

This programme mainly entailed three main groups of policies which were pursued from the early 1850's onwards. The first, and most important, was based on the organization of a transportation system in Rio de Janeiro province. As previously seen, following the abolition of the Atlantic
slave traffic in 1850, fluminense deputados provinciais painstakingly pursued a policy of encouraging road and railway development in the province. This was initially envisaged as a wide ranging measure that would serve all of the various regions in the province. As financial conditions in the province were not able to support such a varied number of transportation proposals a u-turn took place in the original policy as a means of restricting further distribution of provincial funds to projects other than those linked to key economic sectors in the province. This reorientation in policy was completed in 1859, after a long process of political manoeuvering and adjustment by all the interests concerned, as the debates in the fluminense Provincial Assembly demonstrate.1 Later, by the end of the 1870’s and beginning of the 1880’s, the decision was taken to sell the Cantagalo railway as a solution to the province’s increasing financial problems. The sale was accompanied by a proposal to extend the Rio Bonito branch-line in order to link the railway to Macaé, on the east coast of the province.2 Nonetheless, a different result was


2 See Chapter VI, pp. 358-365 and Chapter VII, pp. 471-473. This proposal was not only related to local interests in eastern and northern fluminense, but also to Niterói’s aspirations to become a major trade centre in the country. This was indicated when deputados provinciais discussed the idea of later extending the Rio Bonito branch-line to the far northern Brazilian provinces. By doing so, Niterói would be transformed into a major trading competitor to Rio de Janeiro city. RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1885 (Sessao Extrordinária). pp. 117-118.
obtained when the Cantagalo railway ended by being sold to the large Leopoldina railway conglomerate. In 1885, major national interests concerned with further railway development in Brazil pushed fluminense transport aspirations into second place behind those of Minas Gerais. If, on the one hand, the dominant fluminense groups failed to retain control over the management of their most prestigious railway — and in this way of further developments in their transportation policy — by the end of the period analysed in this dissertation; on the other hand, they had by then managed to secure the establishment of vital arteries of communication in the province. This was achieved by using leading provincial economic sectors as the central focus for provincial public investment. In many ways, the various conflicts arising from this particular policy eventually led most fluminense provincial politicians to reconsider the existing relationship between Rio de Janeiro province and the national government.

The second line of policy pursued by the deputados provinciais related to the labour issue in the fluminense province. As previously described, this matter closely reflected that of transportation development in the province. In the early 1850’s, when the first debates on roads and railways began to take place in the Provincial Assembly, a clearly defined position could be observed in the attitude of fluminense deputados provinciais to the labour question. They seemed to have agreed that
transportation development, particularly that of railways, was the top priority to be considered in the management of fluminense affairs. Colonization was perceived to be a second option, and as such remained to the side, receiving no special consideration from the fluminense deputados provinciais until the very end of the 1880's. Throughout this whole period, when the deputados came to consider the issue of colonization they always did so within the boundaries of schemes to use native born free-workers rather than European labour. This line was constantly reaffirmed and finally chosen as the appropriate path to tackle the problem by the end of the period analysed here. 3 In 1887, when the complete abolition of slavery was about to take place, fluminense deputados attending the Provincial Assembly approved - for the first time - a more concrete and serious proposal for setting up a broader programme to attract Brazilian free-labourers to the province. Conselheiro Paulino, the fluminense Conservative Party chief leader, prepared the proposal himself. Measures approved involved the use of money obtained from the sale of the Cantagalo railway for subsidized cheap train fares for workers around the country who wanted to come and work in Rio de Janeiro province. Among other concessions, a bonus premium - equal to what would be spent on subsidizing each European immigrant - was to be paid to each native born worker who settled in the province at the end of an initial

3 See Chapter V, pp. 251-255; Chapter VI, pp. 356, 373-378; and Chapter VII, pp. 434-435.
two year period. 4

The third main line of policy also later adopted by deputados attending the Provincial Assembly was based on the examination of possible ways to promote economic diversification in the province away from coffee. It is important to stress that in no circumstances was this discussed - or even implied - as an alternative to or as a replacement of the dominance of the coffee sector in the province. 5 The first debates on this issue emerged from the studies organized by the 1875 Provincial Assembly special committee, elected to propose measures seeking the improvement of conditions in fluminense agriculture - primarily the export sector. The issue was presented as means of 'promoting better division and organization of labour' in the farms. The committee proposed that farmers whose lands were no longer able to continue producing coffee as before should move towards sugar production. In order to provide aid to these farmers, the provincial government

4 RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1887. pp. 411-420. Later in the following year, a Vassouras representative came forward to complain of national legislation which granted a similar concession to former slaves who wanted to seek work elsewhere. According to Américo Brasileiro, contractors coming from São Paulo were using this concession to take former slaves under false promises of a better life in that province. See Ibid. 1888. p. 13.

5 One should remember that Rio de Janeiro province was still responsible for the largest share of coffee production in the country for some years yet to come. In the same way - from a provincial point of view - coffee remained the main source of provincial revenue well into the twentieth century.
would provide financial support to the setting up for central sugar mills (engenhos centrais). Later in 1887, Conselheiro Paulino indicated, in his colonization proposal cited above, that together with sugar, dairy products and winery were activities which were also worth attempting to establish in fluminense areas which were no longer able to sustain reasonable levels of coffee production. In many ways this new trend in fluminense Provincial Assembly debates reinforces the view of Ana Maria dos Santos, discussed earlier, in which the concept of decadence was used initially as a means of securing a 'safe' passage through the major changes taking place in the way that most fluminense farmers operated their farms. Following the patterns which were earlier established by planters in municipios such as Capivary and Itaborai, this enabled many coffee farmers to find an alternative means of economic survival in a fast changing environment.

These three main lines of political debate, observed

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6 See Chapter VI, pp. 354-356. Also see the 1884 provincial budget bill which allocated funds to help set up central mills in various parts of the province. Also see specific debates which led to the setting up of subsidized sugar mills in Cabo Frio, Itaborai, Itaguai Macaé, São Fidélis, São João do Príncipe and Vassouras, in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1882. (pp. 341, 401, 410, 449, 495, 508, 525 & 541) and 1886. (p. 228). Also see laws n. 2.711 in 27/10/1884 and n. 3.086 in 31/12/1888; in: RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Laws & Statutes. Op Cit. 1884. (pp. 80-82); and 1888. (pp.532-533).

in the Provincial Assembly, led to definite action to help fluminense farmers to meet the increasingly deteriorating economic conditions in the province. The way in which this programme was pursued - as well as the timetable by which the various steps involved in it were presented in the Assembly - reveal a great deal about the dominant fluminense groups' awareness of the fact that the end of abolition was something beyond their control. It was bound to be enforced sooner or later. Nonetheless, as was earlier discussed, the striking feature marking this course of action seems to have been the perception that the dominant fluminense groups had of the actual economic conditions in which they found themselves. Their ability to develop and pursue one given set of policies rather than another - which took these material considerations into account - revealed their ability to produce a coherent understanding of their situation and position in Brazilian society during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In other words, when in the late 1880's the fluminense dominant groups finally came forward to call on Brazilian born labourers as the means to solve their labour problems, it was not so much a matter of them being 'unable' to attract European immigrants, but rather that they had already decided to act in this way when the time finally came to provide a solution to the labour question.

Taking into account the way in which nineteenth century Brazilian politics operated, as seen in Chapter I,
it is important to explore the way in which the fluminense Provincial Assembly provided the space for provincial politicians to pursue a political programme. In other words, how did the various economic sectors in the province interact within that particular space, given the limits on politics at that time. First of all, there is the fact that the Provincial Assembly was itself an institution defined by central government legislation as the main political forum at a provincial level in the nineteenth century political system. Central government stipulated the Assembly’s powers and responsibilities, leaving a certain number of important issues under the control of the provincial politicians, as earlier discussed in Chapter III. At the heart of this was the Assembly’s power to organize and approve the annual provincial budget. This element alone furnished the Provincial Assembly with a vital opportunity to play a key role when adjusting provincial economic interests to those of the central government (whose spokesman was the provincial president). Part II has described how the Assembly served as a battleground for exchanges between deputados provinciais opposed to the Provincial Presidency and those who supported it. On many occasions this expressed the conflict between local interests and those more closely related to the higher ranks of the country’s government. This, however, does not reflect the fact that all deputados provinciais were legitimate and true representatives of fluminense local groups in the Provincial Assembly. Nonetheless, one must admit that in one way or
another, many of them had ties - which varied a great deal in strength - with most local areas in the province, as Chapter VII attempted to show. The variation in the strength of this relationship partially explains why the pattern of voting on most issues inside the Provincial Assembly did not reveal a great deal of division and rivalry among provincial groups represented in the Assembly.

Another point which has bearing on this was the fact that on many occasions controversial issues were decided upon outside the Assembly, prior to their final vote in the Provincial Assembly. By the time the vote was taken, deputados had managed to reach some sort of agreement on most issues. There were occasions, however, on which this did not happen and major conflicts took place, as earlier discussed.

Within this environment, it can be observed that a group of deputados provinciais distinguished themselves from other members of the Assembly, by playing a particular role in the running of debates and the passing of provincial legislation in the Provincial Assembly. As discussed in Chapter VII, these men shared some common features such as holding posts in the provincial administration and displaying leadership inside the Provincial Assembly, which led them to be reelected several times and to hold leading positions in the Assembly's mesa and selected committees.8 They seem to have maintained a network of relations with

8 See Chapter VII, pp. 405-408.
leading economic and political interests outside the Provincial Assembly, at both local and national levels. They served as catalysts in combining a wide range of interests with playing a part in the running of debates inside the Assembly. The most crucial component of their role was based on the fact that they worked as instruments for carrying out vital policies which favoured dominant economic sectors in the province. These policies, as argued above, were primarily defined according to the existing material conditions in the province. They did not impose anything nor were they solely responsible for the approval of any such set of actions in the fluminense Provincial Assembly. Their success can be said to have been primarily based on the fact that they helped to prevent the rise of conflicts that might have jeopardized the chosen policy. In doing this, they managed to produce a political momentum favouring measures taken on behalf of leading economic groups in the province. These measures were not defined by these 'professional provincial politicians' themselves, but they were rather the result of the fluminense dominant groups' own perception of the economic changes they faced, as well as their material resources. In this way, this 'distinguished' group of provincial politicians played a key role in counteracting the fact that the Provincial Assembly was circumscribed within the limits discussed above. These men not only helped to create a momentum where the deputados' own personal interests could be linked to those of the economic sectors, but they also somehow linked these
to the ends sought by the central government. This was a basic component of a political system in which politicians, their policies and the existing political space in which they were contained - the Provincial Assembly - had very restricted action and where power was primarily delegated rather than achieved as the result of consensus. This, however, does not signify that a provincial political programme did not exist nor was ever pursued. The very fact that a coordinated set of actions existed - despite the limits which had been placed on it - reflects the great skill displayed by provincial politicians in using this political space to construct a programme for the political and economic survival of the economic groups in the province. A great deal of provincial politics most certainly took place in spaces other than the Provincial Assembly. Nonetheless, events occurring inside the Assembly reveal a very important facet of provincial political life in the period here considered.

Another element restricting the Provincial Assembly's ability to pursue a political programme related to the institutional limits within which the Assembly had to operate. As earlier described, the fact that the Assembly had to decide on a considerable number of issues in such a

9 For instance, as argued earlier on, the press also played a vital role in nineteenth century Brazilian politics. As argued in Chapter III, the fact that daily reports on the work of the Provincial Assembly were regularly printed revealed an important aspect of the way in which the Assembly operated.
short period of time seems to have been deliberately intended so that the Assembly would cause the least possible impact on the running of fluminense provincial affairs. At the same time as this reveals one of the limits on Assembly action, it also clearly illustrates the potential the Provincial Assembly must have had in the eyes of the central government. This also reinforces the point that the Assembly was in many ways a battleground for exchanges between local and central government interests at that time.

Another element restricting the Provincial Assembly’s action was that 'success' was related to the province’s current material position. The deterioration of these conditions throughout the period, placed the Assembly as well as the province in a weak position to face the growing financial and social changes affecting the dominant fluminense groups - from a provincial and national point of view. Nonetheless, this element reinforced the importance of the Provincial Assembly’s position in the sense that leading groups had to work harder to guarantee the safe passage of their aspirations through the procedures of the Assembly debate.

It remains, however, to address the question to what extent did the fluminense Provincial Assembly, as such, play a major role in the policy making at the provincial level. Was it perhaps not the Provincial Assembly itself but the 'historic strength' of the leading provincial economic
groups in the province which determined a policy-making process? It seems to be clear that it is impossible to separate the two. As argued before, the fluminense Provincial Assembly had powers and responsibilities which invested this political forum with a key position in the formal political decision-making process at the provincial level. How could this institution - and the policies it produced - be detached from fluminense society? As was seen in Chapter VII, most of those people who attended the Provincial Assembly had vital connections with economic and political interests in the province. Despite the disrepute of the electoral procedures used at the time, as seen in Chapter III, some deputados provinciais in particular used the Provincial Assembly, as a formal political institution, to study and analyse material conditions in the province and at the same time balance the various interests involved in provincial politics so that some sort of political consensus could be ultimately achieved at the provincial level. It was these deputados in particular who, inside the Provincial Assembly, were basically responsible for the policies pursued.

When arguing that a political programme was in fact pursued in the fluminense Provincial Assembly, is it possible to say that the record was one of failure or success? If it is argued that it was one of 'failure', this is done by taking the view that the fluminense
Conservative group lost national its grip on national power, and retreating to a less important position at the provincial level. In this position it could only issue 'minor' local measures, which were nothing when compared to their 'failure' to prevent the final abolition of slavery. However, drawing on a completely different set of elements marking fluminense society during the nineteenth century, it could be concluded that this was a 'success', since the dominant fluminense groups at least managed to obtain their most important goal, during a period of social and economic decline; that of survival. Most big landowners kept their farms and few lost power and status in fluminense society. They managed to do so by carefully considering the actual situation - politically and economically - in which they found themselves from the 1850's onwards. This, by itself, furnished the fluminense Provincial Assembly with an important role for institutionalizing the responses by which the dominant groups sought to confront the fast changing conditions in their society. They were creative enough to perceive the limitations of the material conditions prevailing in the province in the period. This completely displaces the question about their 'failure' in preventing the abolition of slavery. In many ways this had no longer been an issue since 1850. Instead, the dominant fluminense groups considered the question of how and when the abolition process would take place and how to contain it. The less
damage to their existing way of life, the better. That is why, in many respects, such a provincial political programme took place at all. To assume that only 'minor' measures were taken at the provincial level - as opposed to a 'major' failure in stopping the abolition of slavery - is to fail to understand the dominant fluminense group's own perception of the conditions in which they lived in as well as their ability to respond to it. To deny the importance of the provincial political programme is to miss the very fact that fluminense politicians took the initiative to issue measures which would place provincial dominant groups in a position to participate in such an important decision, rather than to be simply opposed to it and so outside the decision-making process. Nonetheless, as the abolition process came to an end, the clear conflicts between national and provincial politics became more differentiated. This was described in Chapters VI and VII, when fluminense deputados provinciais managed to present a more unified position to protest against Rio de Janeiro province's loss in status at the national level. By then, most leading national fluminense figures had basically withdrawn their action to the provincial level, Conselheiro Paulino being the key example of this trend. Given that the abolition of

10 It is also important not to forget that a leading Saquarema politician, Eusébio de Queirós, took the initiative in enforcing the end of the Atlantic slave traffic. In many ways, this contradiction demonstrated the fact that the Saquarema group chose to be placed at the heart of the process of managing the abolition of slavery, rather than opposing it, as Ilmar R. de Mattos has already indicated, as shown in Chapter I.
slavery was bound to take place and that material conditions in the province limited the ability of fluminense groups to counteract the changes occurring, fluminense politicians concentrated their actions on helping to create mechanisms that would lead to the preservation of the existing power structures in the province. In consequence, fluminense politicians, once again created a momentum whereby actions could be pursued to favour this concern. Fortunately for the dominant fluminense groups, the seeds of these actions had been laid much earlier, when they were still in the position fully to take part in the country's decision-making process as a whole.
APPENDIX I

Objectives:

The idea of organizing a database arose from the need to measure political, economic, and geographical alignments in the Rio de Janeiro Provincial Assembly. This was necessary, so that changes in the Assembly's membership could be analysed and compared to results obtained in the earlier analysis of the provincial political debates, in Part II. The initial idea was to develop studies of a few municípios as key case studies, so that a partial picture of the regional political alignment in the province could be produced. This, however, proved to be impossible after a number of trial studies were made as time and resources were not available for such huge task. Bearing in mind that the main purpose of this dissertation was the analysis of provincial politics through the study of the fluminense Provincial Assembly debates, an alternative solution was found in the use of information provided by the Almanack Laemmert, regarding provincial administrative personnel and vereadores. As indicated in the Bibliography, this publication supplied nineteenth century readers in Brazil with basic information on 'who was who' in Brazilian politics, administration, society, and commerce in Rio de Janeiro city, international and national export trade, as
well as in fluminense province. Beginning the first issue published, a special section listed the names of those working in Rio de Janeiro provincial administration and the names of vereadores in most of the Camaras Municipais in the province. Within a short time later annual issues covered all fluminense Camaras Municipais. The task to be undertaken was again very large, as one had to look through a collection of forty-five volumes and classify this lengthy list of names in various orders. Nonetheless, the research was made possible through the usage of computing techniques. Using a micro-computer and the DBASE III Plus as software, the data available in the Almanack Laemmert, plus a few other sources shown below, was organized in a way that each person recorded in the sources received a space for information related to his career as it affected the development of fluminense affairs during the nineteenth century. DBASE III Plus offers many advantages to organize data in many different ways.

It is important to establish three main issues here. Firstly, how the administrative posts (national and Provincial) were selected for the basis of the database. Secondly, the variation in quality of various sources in terms of furnishing the information analysed. Finally, how the various results were compared and how the results were produced by the database.
Selection of posts in the political & administrative hierarchy

Given the impossibility of analyzing the entire range of names supplied by the Almanaque Laemmert - with regard to the various administrative posts in the country - a selection criteria was established regarding the levels of the national and provincial administration to be included in the analysis. First of all, it is important to stress that the main issue to be tackled by the proposed analysis was the specific study of fluminense provincial politics. So more emphasis was placed on the study of provincial administration. More levels of personnel in this administration were considered in the study. The idea was to cover the more representative levels of the administration, who were most closely related to the decision-making process. So, posts from the head of department to ordinary officers were included, leaving out only posts such as doormen, messengers or office-boys. The same idea was also applied in choosing the post to be considered in the national administration. Only this time, a narrower selection was made in that only the higher posts in the various ministerial offices were taken into account. Only their secretaries, heads of department directly linked to ministers and their close subordinates were included. The lists shown in the following pages show the posts chosen for analysis. Its form basically follows the pattern that
the various bodies took themselves at the time. A few problems arose when trying to relate some of the posts together, as the legislation which defined links among the departments was not very clear, which led to some confusion at the time it was in force, as already discussed in Chapter III. The main problem concerned with the way in which the posts of juizes de comarca and juizes municipais should be treated. These were finally regarded as provincial posts, despite their the distinct links to the Ministry of Justice.

National Administration:

1) Deputados Gerais (National Assembly)

1) Ministério da Agricultura: (Ministry of Agriculture)
   - Ministros,
   - Diretores Gerais,
   - Chefes de Seção,
   - Oficiais.

2) Ministério do Estrangeiro: (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
   - Ministros,
   - Diretores de Seção,
   - Oficiais Maiores,
   - Oficiais.

3) Ministério da Fazenda: (Ministry for Financial Affairs)
   - Ministros,
   - Diretores Gerais,
   - Tesoureiros Gerais,
   - Pagadores Gerais,
   - Chefes de Secção,
   - Oficiais Maiores,
   - Oficiais.

4) Ministério da Guerra: (Ministry for Army Affairs)
   - Ministros,
   - Diretores Gerais,
   - Chefes de Seção,
   - Oficiais Maiores,
   - Oficiais.
5) Ministério do Império: (Ministry for the Interior)
   - Ministros,
   - Secretários/Diretores Gerais,
   - Chefs/Diretores de Seção,
   - Oficiais Maiores,
   - Oficiais.

6) Ministério da Justiça: (Ministry for Justice)
   - Ministros,
   - Diretores Gerais,
   - Diretores de Secção,
   - Oficiais Maiores,
   - Oficiais.

7) Ministério da Marinha: (Ministry for the Navy Affairs)
   - Ministros,
   - Diretores de Secção,
   - Oficiais Maiores,
   - Oficiais.

8) Senators

9) State Councilors

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Provincial Administration:

1) Chefes de Policia (Police Chiefs)

2) Comandates do Corpo Policial da Provincia (Police Force Commanders)

3) Comissão Central de Colonização: - Presidentes,
   - Secretários,
   - Tesoureiros.

4) Deputados Provinciais (Provincial Legislative Assembly)

5) Fazenda Provincial (Provincial Finance Department).
   Administração da Fazenda da Provincia, Tesouraria da Provincia,
   Tesouraria Provincial and Diretoria de Fazenda):
   - Diretores,
   - Contadores,
   - Tesoureiros,
   - Inspetores,
   - Fiscais,
   - Procuradores,
   - Oficiais Maiores,
   - Escriturários.
6) Instrução Pública Provincial (Public Provincial Education Department). Direção/Conselho de Instrução, and, Diretoria da Instrução: - Diretores, - Secretários, - Inspetores de Comarca, - Inspetores Gerais, - Membros do Conselho.

7) Juizes de Direito de Comarca (District Magistrates)

8) Juizes Municipais (Local Magistrates)

9) Mesa Provincial (Export Revenue Department): - Administrador.


11) Provincial Presidency: - Presidents, - Vice-Presidents in charge.

12) Secretaria da Assembléia Legislativa Provincial (Secretary to the Provincial Assembly): - Oficiais Maiores, - Oficiais.

13) Secretaria do Governo (Secretary to the Provincial Presidency): - Secretários, - Oficiais Maiores, - Chefes de Secção, - Oficiais.

Municipal Administration

1) Camaras Municipais: - Delegados de Polícia, - Oficiais Maiores, - Procuradores, - Secretários, - Vereadores.
Sources and fidelity of the data gathered.

The major problem facing the organization of the database was related to the fact that the Almanack Laemmert was the main source responsible for supplying information on most of the posts listed above. The problem in question was that it was almost impossible to double-check the information it supplied, apart from the Almanack’s many mistakes (spelling, interchanging names and surnames, missing cases and so on). There were also some gaps, which could not be filled from any other source, particularly with regard to Camaras Municipais. These gaps were mainly a result of fluminense Camaras’ inefficiency in supplying the Almanack’s organizers with the required data in due time. On some occasions the Almanack just reprinted the names it had received in the previous year. Later this policy changed and the Camara’s inability to supply the information was indicated. There was also the fact that the Almanack was only first published in 1844. It only began publishing data on all fluminense Camaras Municipais a few years after this. In 1885, the Almanack’s editors decided that information on Camaras Municipais was only to be published every ten years. The same was decided with regard to information published on the provincial administrative personnel. Both decisions, in the 1840s and 1880s, posed problems for the organization of the database. Despite this, data was gathered for analysis for most of the period. The information appears to provide the basic framework for
studying provincial administration from the mid 1840s to the middle of the 1880s; in other words, most of the period considered by this research was covered.

The data provided by the Almanack Laemmert was mainly responsible for the information on: all fluminense Camaras Municipais personnel (including vereadores), national and provincial administrative personnel.

Information on deputados provinciais came mainly from the Provincial Assembly records.

Data gathered for information on Ministers, State Councillors and Senators came from:


With regard to the information supplied on all these posts by these two nineteenth century books, only those who related to the Rio de Janeiro provincial political and administration system - and so were already included in the database - were taken into account for final consideration. This was done because the main item being examined in this research was the study of provincial politics, and there were no reasons that would justify the inclusion of lists of names which were already known to have nothing to do with the province.
The two sources quoted above were also used to provide information on the fluminense provincial presidency. However, the most useful source for this post was the book by Lourenço Luis Lacombe, *Os chefes do Executivo fluminense.* (Petrópolis, 1973). This provided the research with relevant information on the personal background of all the presidents and vice-presidents, as well as on the timing and events which marked each term of office.

Meanwhile, the most important asset in organizing the database was the data supplied by the analysis of the Provincial Assembly debates. It supplied vital information on fluminense deputados provinciais' personal background. This was a crucial element in determining political alignment within the Provincial Assembly, as well as offering a partial indication of the geographical and economic representation of fluminense areas during the period analysed. The main factor to compromise the quality of the results obtained in the database analysis, was due to the relation between the types of debates being analysed and the consequent type of information obtained. In other words, when analyzing a debate on the D. Pedro II railway, the database was bound to gain more information on deputados representing or linked to municípios in the area where the railway was based. If on the one hand this is a limitation of the study, on the other it is its strongest positive aspect. The fact that some areas managed to make their representations felt more often than others, is already an
important fact that this research intends to analyse. If at times some of the results indicated that some areas appeared to be more strongly represented than others, this did not correspond to the fact that the other areas were not represented in the Assembly as well. It was only a matter of those people attending the Assembly clearly identifying themselves with the interests of their associates during discussions in the Assembly. So, the conclusion reached was that, despite not obtaining data regarding every fluminense deputado provincial, the effort to analyse the partial information obtained was still worthwhile, and provided the grounds for what was discussed in Chapter VII. It is also important to remember that other sources were used in conjunction with the Assembly’s debates. From the very beginning, the bibliography used for the organization of this research, provided information on the personal background of various fluminense deputados who attended the Provincial Assembly in the period. This data, from the start, was organized on a system of index cards which produced easy accessibility to relate deputados to the data in question at the time. This information was also incorporated in the organization of the database. This helped to broaden the lines along which deputados were being considered by the analysis, as well as opening possibilities for a more coherent perception of the forces which marked fluminense society. Sources supplying this type of information were mainly nineteenth biographies, although most material consulted had some kind of information
The way in which the analysis was developed.

The database was organized in three files, using the software DBASE III Plus. One file contained general information on fluminense deputados provinciais personal background - links to municípios in the province; civil, army or noble titles held; and political party alignments. It included information on those also represented the province at the National Assembly, or provincial politicians who also became Ministers, Senators, State Councillors, or fluminense Provincial Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

A second file was set up to contain information regarding those who held national and provincial administrative posts. This also included the Magistrature, which the database analysis treated as a provincial administrative post. There were a number of issues considered in this decision. Firstly, the nature of the Magistrature in provincial politics during the nineteenth century, in Brazil. The issue remains open to discussion, but one must take a decision when trying to combine categories which at the time presented the politicians themselves with very complex notions. As already discussed, it seems clear that fluminense deputados understood the
Magistrature to be an important section of the provincial administrative machinery.1 This phenomenon probably constitutes the best means of illustrating the way in which the process of state-building took place in the country. It took some time to be completed and whilst it was doing so fluminense deputados provinciais appear to have combined their activities within the Provincial Assembly with those of the provincial Magistrature in a very special way.

A third file was organized to hold information on people based at Camaras Municipais in the province. The data used here came from the Almanack Laemmert. All vereadores and administrative personnel working in the fluminense Camaras were included. This file also included information regarding the Camara Municipal of Rio de Janeiro city. From the very early stages of this research, one of the issues proposed for consideration was the relationship between the national capital city and the fluminense province.2

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1 As previously indicated, there were often suggestions at the Provincial Assembly that juizes de comarca should also be in charge of carrying out administrative tasks on behalf of the provincial government, such as to inspect the schooling system and the way public works were being carried out in the province. There was also the fact that deputados provinciais and fluminense municipios quite often appeared to have been deeply linked as a result of the fact that deputados held posts in the local/municipal Magistrates.

2 If on the one hand this emphasised the number of vereadores from Rio de Janeiro city, as they were the largest single group of vereadores analyzed, on the other, it established the necessary elements to verify the extent to which province and capital city were inter-related in the management of each others' affairs. It is important not to forget that this problem was eased, at least to some extent, by the parallel analysis of deputados provinciais municipal
After the inclusion of all the information available in these files, the organization of various indexes to each of them began. This exercise was necessary to elicit the major patterns that characterized the data recorded in the files and, the best ways of combining all of them. It became clear soon after that each of the three periods discussed in Part II also presented distinct patterns from the viewpoint of changes in the Assembly's membership. After establishing these major differentiations, the analysis moved on to the study of more specific changes in the Assembly's membership during key fluminense legislatures. This was again done through the organization of new indexes, where the defining element varied according to the issue under consideration. For instance, when trying to establish membership characteristics in the early 1850s period, special concern was felt over the comparison of the numbers of deputados who had previously been at the Provincial Assembly and those who held - or were about to hold - posts in the national administration. These were important elements in discussing the argument over the arrival of a new generation of 'genuine' fluminense politicians in the Assembly, where the underlying factor would be their more open links with local groups in the province. Once these indexes were organized, a simple counting system, also provided by DBASE III Plus, was used links by regions within the province. After all, this was the main strategy used to determine the way in which the research interpreted deputados municipal links, rather than the other way around.
to observe the characteristics which marked these specific periods in more depth. After that, it was only a matter of comparing the various indexes and once again counting levels of coincidence in the various periods among the three files, according to the various issues given. This was done for all fluminense legislatures, so that the levels of deputados' associations with political parties, economic and geographical interests could be verified, as well as their participation in the political and administrative spectrum proposed for analysis in this database.

A last point must be made with regard to error probability in this analysis. It is very difficult to be precise on the probable percentages of error that can arise in the analysis developed here, as there are problems that can lead the analysis to tend away from a 100% error free result. A few of them have already been discussed in this appendix, but others can also occur due to spelling mistakes, although every possible effort has been made to prevent such a thing. Checking procedures are available in the software used, and they were implemented a number of times to make sure all was done to counter such a problem. Nonetheless, one must point out that should errors arise, they must relate to the question of the data primarily supplied by the Almanack Laemmert. However, as it has been argued earlier in this section, the organization of this database was meant to be a simple analytical exercise on the study of provincial politics in Rio de Janeiro. The central
part of the study was based on the analysis of the Provincial Assembly debates. After that, the best way to complete the research was found to lie in a discussion of the relationship between fluminense municipios, deputados provinciais and the political debates within the Provincial Assembly itself. If only partial information was available, this already revealed much of what had happened in provincial politics at the time. The organization of the database, despite all its problems, revealed a large number of characteristics that marked provincial politics and helped to explain much of the relationship between local and provincial politicians, as well as their relationship with the central government. The issue of error is, under these circumstances, superseded by that of the way in which debates took place and the way in which data was collected, so losing its potential to invalidate the effort here made.
## APPENDIX II

### FLUMINENSE LEGISLATURES

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**Sources:** Jornal do Commercial (selected issues); Diário do Rio de Janeiro (selected issues); and RIO DE JANEIRO (Province). Assembléia Legislativa da... Op Cit. 1861-1889.

* Extraordinary sessions.
## APPENDIX III

### FLUMINENSE PROVINCIAL PRESIDENTS

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<th>Dates</th>
<th>Presidents(P) &amp; Vice-Presidents(VP)</th>
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<td>(01/01-12/03/1845) - <strong>VP</strong> Caetano Pinto de Miranda Montenegro</td>
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<td>(13/03-14/09/1845) - <strong>VP</strong> Candido Batista de Oliveira</td>
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<td>(02/05-21/06/1846) - <strong>VP</strong> Luís Antonio Muniz dos Santos Lobo</td>
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<td>(22/06-04/09/1846) - <strong>VP</strong> Luís Pedreira do Couto Ferraz (Visconde do Bom Retiro)</td>
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<td>(02/05-19/09/1847) - <strong>VP</strong> José Maria da Silva Paranhos (Barão do Rio Branco)</td>
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<tr>
<td>04/04 - 06/06/1848:</td>
<td><strong>P</strong> Manuel de Jesus Valderato (Visconde de Valderato)</td>
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<tr>
<td>07/06 - 09/10/1848:</td>
<td><strong>P</strong> Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes (Visconde de Barbacena)</td>
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</table>
-10/10/1848 - 02/05/1853:  P Visconde do Bom Retiro
(15/12/49-15/09/1850) - VP João Pereira Darrigue de Faro
(05/05-24/09/1851)  (Barão do Rio Bonito)
(03/05-10/09/1852)
(03/05-22/09/1853)

-22/09/1853 - 02/05/1857:  P Luís Antonio Barbosa
(23/10-11/11/1853) - VP Visconde de Baependy
(02/05-13/09/1854) - VP Barão do Bom Retiro
(18/09-15/10/1854) - VP Visconde de Baependy
(05/05-24/09/1855) - VP José Ricardo de Sá Rego
(19/09-25/11/1855) - VP Visconde de Baependy
(02/05-07/10/1856) - VP Antônio Nicolau Tolentino
(03/05-04/08/1857) - VP João Manuel Pereira da Silva

-04/08/1857 - 24/10/1858:  P Antônio Nicolau Tolentino
(19/08-29/07/1858) - VP Tomás Gomes dos Santos
(25/10-30/10/1858)

-30/10 - 13/12/1858:  P Visconde do Rio Branco
(13/12/58-10/01/1859) - VP Visconde de Baependy

-10/01 - 24/04/1859:  P João de Almeida Pereira Filho

-25/04/1859 - 15/04/1861:  P Inácio Francisco Silveira da Mota (Barão de Vila Franca)
(16/04-20/09/1861) - VP José Ricardo de Sá Rego

-21/09/1861 - 13/09/1863:  P Luís Alves Leite de Oliveira Belo
(04/05-09/09/1862) - VP José Norberto dos Santos

-14/02/1863 - 15/02/1864:  P Policarpo Lopes de Leão
(15/02-03/05/1864) - VP José Tavares Bastos

-03/05 - 21/10/1864:  P João Crispimiano Soares
(21/10-02/11/1864) - VP José Tavares Bastos

-03/11/1864 - 21/09/1865:  VP Bernardo de Sousa Franco (Visconde de Sousa Franco)
(06/05-11/07/1865) - VP José Tavares Bastos
(23/09-06/12/1865)

-07/12/1865 - 03/05/1866:  P Domiciano Leite Ribeiro (Visconde de Araxá)
(03/05-04/10/1866) - VP José Tavares Bastos
-04/10/1866 - 20/02/1868: P Esperidiao Elói de Barros Pimentel (20/02/1867- ?) - VP Tomas Gomes dos Santos (13/05-30/09/1867) - VP Eduardo Pindaiba de Matos (21/02-10/03/1868)

-10/03 - 08/05/1868: P Américo Brasiliense de Almeida Melo (09/05-30/07/1868) - VP Eduardo Pindaiba de Matos

-30/07/1868 - 01/05/1869: P Benevenuto Augusto de Magalhães Taques (01/05/69-05/05/1870) - VP Diogo Teixeira de Macedo (Barão de São Diogo) (05/05-20/10/1870) - VP José de Freitas Travassos

-01/06 - 26/10/1870: P José Maria Correia de Sá e Benevides

-27/10/1870 - 06/03/1871: P Teodoro Machado Freire Pereira da Silva (07/03-15/04/1871) - VP Manuel José de Freitas Travassos

-15/04/1871 - 19/10/1872: P Josino do Nascimento Silva

-10/10/1872 - 26/03/1873: P Bento Luís de Oliveira Lisboa

-26/03/1873 - 18/09/1874: P Manuel José de Freitas Travassos

-26/09/1874 - 16/01/1878: P Francisco Xavier Pinto Lima (Barão de Pinto Lima) (15/03-11/10/1875) - VP Bernardo Augusto Nascentes Azambuja (03/01-10/10/1877) - VP Francisco Antonio de Sousa (17-18/01/1878) - VP José Francisco Cardoso

-18/01 - 25/12/1878: P Camilo Maria Ferreira Armond (Visconde de Prados) (25/12/1878-05/03/1879) - VP Luís Pinto de Miranda Montenegro

-05/03/1879 - 20/04/1880: P Américo de Moura Marcondes de Andrade (20-23/04/1880) - VP Paulo José Pereira de Torres

-24/04/1880 - 14/03/1881: P João Marcelino de Sousa Gonzaga
-15/03 - 12/12/1881: P. Martinho Alvares da Silva Campos
(12/12/1881-16/03/1882) - VP José Pereira de Almeida Torres

-16/03/1882 - 27/10/1882: P. Bernardo Avelino Gaviao Peixoto
(13-23/11/1882) - VP Paulo José Pereira de Almeida
(28-30/10/1883) - VP Domingos Teodoro de Azevedo Júnior

-31/10/1883 - 17/08/1884: P. José Leandro de Godoi e Vasconcelos

-18/08/1884 - 20/08/1885: P. José Cesário de Faria Alvim

-26/08/1885 - 19/04/1886: P. Antonio da Costa Pinto e Silva
(20/04-17/05/1886) - VP Manuel Jacinto Nogueira da Gama
(18/05-29/07/1886) - VP Antonio da Rocha Fernandes Leão

-30/07/1886 - 29/04/1888: P. Antonio da Rocha Fernandes Leão
(10/02-01/03/1888) - VP Joaquim Leite Riberio de Almeida
(Barão de Ribeiro de Almeida)
(30/04-03/05/1888) - VP Manuel Jacinto Nogueira da Gama

-04/05/1888 - 18/06/1889: P. José Bento de Araujo

-19/06 - 15/11/1889: P. Carlos Afonso de Assis Figueiredo

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I) Primary Sources:

This dissertation has mainly taken four collections as its central source of information to implement research: the fluminense Provincial Assembly published proceedings, The Almanack Laemmert, the fluminense provincial legislation under the Empire and the fluminense provincial presidential annual reports. Other primary sources were also extensively used.

1.1 - Fluminense Provincial Assembly Annals:

A summary of the fluminense Provincial Assembly debates began to be published by major Brazilian newspapers as early as 1835, when the Assembly first met. Large gaps were found in the material being printed in the 1830s. The material being published presented a more coherent shape from the 1840s onwards, when a first contract was drawn between the Provincial Assembly and the Diário do Rio de
Janeiro, a leading newspaper dedicated to the printing of fluminense official matters. Nevertheless, the question about setting up a contract for a major regular publication of the Assembly's debates remained an important issue on the Assembly's agenda up to the end of the 1850s. It was only in 1861 that an annual publication was started up, which finally began to present the debates in an organized manner from then onwards. The whole of the Assembly debates are found in the available sources as follows:

- Jornal do Comércio. Rio de Janeiro. 1835 (issues 24 to 30); 1836 (issues 48 to 60 and 96); 1837 (issues 226 to 232); 1838 (issues 55 to 62); 1839 (issues 51 to 60); 1844 (issues 59, 72, 103 & 104); 1845 (issues 60, 63 & 95); 1856 (issues 216 to 293); 1858 (issues 220 to 234 and 323 to 360); 1859 (issues 1 to 20 and 210 to 291) and 1860 (issues 146 to 228).

- Diário do Rio Janeiro. 1840 (issues 49 to 119); 1841 (issues 48 to 72); 1842 (issues 48 to 101); 1843 (issues 50 to 124); 1846 (issues 7148 to 7154); 1847 (issues 7443 to 7512); 1848 (issues 7762 to 7870); 1849 (issues 8028 to 8120); 1850 (issues 8337 to 8242); 1851 (issues 8755 to 8810); 1852 (issues 9050 to 9113); 1853 (issues 207 to 289); 1854 (issues 206 to 289); 1855 (issues 214 to 274 and 2a. serie n.1 to n.11); 1856 (issues 210 to 229); 1857 (issues 207 to 297) and 1858 (issues 220 to 234 and 323 to 360).


The first three volumes (1861) were published by the Typographia Echo da Naçao, in Niterói. After that, it was the major national publisher, the Typographia Imperial & Const. J. Villeneuve, in Rio de Janeiro city, which took up the job.
1.2 - Almanack Laemmert:

As already indicated, this source - which just very recently started receiving the attention its deserves by historians working on nineteenth century Brazilian history - provided the research with a large part of the information used in the database analysis of Chapter VII. The Almanack is an invaluable source of information on most aspects of the Brazilian way of life in the last century. It has information on Brazilian international and national trade, international and national communications, bureaucracy, craftsmen and shops in Rio de Janeiro city and in the fluminense province, noble people, and so on. There is also a special section for advertisements, in which one finds extremely useful information on what was available for consumption in Brazil at the time. See:


1.3 - Fluminense provincial legislation:


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1.4 - Fluminense provincial presidential annual reports:

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1.5 - Other official publications:

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1.6 - Manuscripts:

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1.7 - Newspapers:


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