

The Nineteenth Century in São Paulo: memories of the *Grito do Ipiranga*

O século XIX paulista: lembranças do “Grito do Ipiranga”

Airton José Cavenaghi*

RESUMO

O artigo analisa aspectos da interpretação documental, literária e iconográfica do momento cronológico do “Grito do Ipiranga”, ocorrido em São Paulo no ano de 1822. Procura, a partir disso, demonstrar como a leitura e interpretação de um manancial documental produzido sobre determinado assunto poderia caracterizar a busca de uma verdade absoluta. A análise aqui desenvolvida apoia-se na crítica de modelos historiográficos desenvolvidos durante o século XIX, legitimados pela memória coletiva do período – ou seja, amparados pela razão tecnicista dos modelos socioculturais então predominantes. Busca, também, compreender o panorama formativo dessas ideias e assim propor, como norte para pesquisa, uma interpretação não positivista, que suplante a permanência dos valores culturais disseminados pela referida historiografia. Palavras-chave: Ipiranga; iconografia; São Paulo; século XIX.

ABSTRACT

The article examines aspects of documentary, literary and iconographic interpretation of the *Grito do Ipiranga*, which occurred in São Paulo in 1822. It seeks to demonstrate that the act of reading and interpreting a stream of documentation about a certain subject could very well characterize the search for an absolute truth. Criticized in the paper are historiographical models established during the nineteenth century and legitimized by the collective memory – in other words a method supported by the ‘technicist’ reasoning of the sociocultural models then predominant. It is also sought to understand the background of these formative ideas and to propose a non-positivist interpretation which could drive research beyond the permanence of cultural values disseminated by the aforementioned historiography.

Keywords: Ipiranga; iconography; São Paulo; nineteenth century.

* Universidade Anhembi Morumbi (UAM-SP), Mestrado em Hospitalidade. São Paulo, SP, Brasil. cavenagh@usp.br¹

“With what criteria does the historian speak of struggles and agents in an epoch that was not his?” (Vesentini, 1997, p. 15). Vesentini’s quote points to the question of the constitution of memory, raising a question which encourages the revision of what was, for a long time, thought of as absolute historical truth. Time, represented by documents, is materialized in the words of historians who use them as evidence of the constitutive space of memory. This memory is constantly revised in recreated historical texts, but at what moment is it materialized? How to constitute it in the so-called truth?

In this article it is intended to analyze a historic moment which relates social, political, and economic events with the iconographic visuality of the stage of their manifestations. The stage of representation is the city of São Paulo, center of the expression of multiple circumstances which stimulated new constitutive realities for society at the time. The historic 1822 *Grito* in Ipiranga joined with these expressions to propagate itself beyond the borders of the *urbe*. Its principal actors were Baron Francisco Inácio Marcondes Homem de Mello, the photographer Militão Augusto de Azevedo, and the geographer Cândido Mendes de Almeida, amongst others.

In relation to Baron Homem de Mello, it is known that he started his public life shortly after he graduated from Academia do Largo São Francisco in 1858. The following year Homem de Mello managed to become a substitute police chief in Pindamonhangaba, where he had been born in 1837. In 1860 he was elected a councilor in the Municipal Council. In 1861, he became a teacher in Pedro II College, writing the following year his best known book: *A Constituinte perante a História* (Mello, 1863). In 1864, he became president of the Province of São Paulo, being sworn in before an assembly presided over by Américo Brasiliense. He remained a year in this position, becoming president of the Province of Ceará in 1865.

In the period between 1859 and 1865 the Brazilian political panorama changed radically and this scenario is reflected in the urban constitution of São Paulo. Between 1860 and 1862, the photographer Militão Augusto de Azevedo prepared his first photographic representation of the city of São Paulo. His work, almost a photographic report of the *urbe*, eternalizes anonymous persons and constructs a unique visual of a Brazilian city at the time.

The visual expression of this period also can be perceived in 1868 when the representation of the Province gained official contours: this was the moment when Cândido Mendes prepared his *Atlas do Império do Brasil* (Almeida, 1868), in which, according to Demétrio Magnoli, an ideological visuality of

cartography was created which in its construction reorganized the “re-foundation of Brazil...” (Magnoli, 1997, p. 111).

To understand the city it is necessary to understand the men who built it. The destination of places is intimately related to the connotations which they assume in the collective imagination of a people, in order to discuss how this imagination became one of the central pieces in the political, social, and economic game.

Which are the voices which speak about and construct memory? According to Ecléa Bosi “memory allows those present to have relations with the past and, at the same time, interferes in the ‘current’ process of representations. Through memory the past not only appears in the present, mixing with immediate perceptions, but it also pushes, ‘moves’ the latter, occupying the entire space of consciousness” (Bosi, 1979, p. 9). According to Bosi, this ‘moving’ actually signifies substituting, since the truth is covered by the present which in turn projects its memories in the constituted past. So what was past is filtered by the immediate present, and in this act the mentioned ‘past’ is filled with circumstances appropriated from the memories of that moment.

Michel Pêcheux, for example, argues that there exists an internal *other* in each memory which, on the other hand, is a simple reservoir for capturing memories. In this sense memory results from a constant mutation/transformation in which “historical reality [functions] as the cause of the fact that no memory can be a flask without an exterior” (Achard, 1999, p. 56). It can therefore be perceived that each memory, each constructed fact, is the direct result of the moment in which that record is inserted.

Francisco Inácio Marcondes Homem de Mello, Militão Augusto de Azevedo, and Cândido Mendes are people from the same period and although they possess distinct voices, each one produces in their own way discourse that is interspersed in a unique and significant historical source. Bearing this in mind, in this article it is sought to demonstrate how people who were part of different events alternated in producing apparently differentiated documentary realities, but which were interconnected by the sociocultural reality of their productions. The chosen axis of interpretation begins with the knowledge of the ‘exact’ time of the Proclamation of Independence, moving on to its ideological use and possible developments in other characteristics (apparently not related to the historical process in question), the city of São Paulo, the appearance of a supposed ‘civilizing’ process, and its unfolding in the interior of the province due to the action of various protagonists.

THE PAST AND ITS (RE)CONSTRUCTION

To a certain extent, the past is tied to the historical present and, thus, part of its constitution involves endorsing significant moments which support the history it is intended to narrate.

In relation to the history of the city and the province of São Paulo, Caio Prado notes that:

The beginning of the nineteenth century, thus, marks the opening of a period of reorganization. The colonization of the territory of the province, its occupation and exploitation, stationary and even regressing during the previous period, intensified, not just in the already penetrated zones, but in the ones that still had to be opened. This process was perpetuated, continuing until the present day in this uninterrupted expansion to W. which characterized the contemporary history of São Paulo. (Prado Jr., 1989, p. 33)

This succession of events would in the future being used as signs of the boldness and toughness of the *Paulista*. It involved the well-known idea that in this process, the *Paulista* constructed his history through work and overcome the difficulties arising out of a past which, in the vision of many, did not serve to justify the history being constructed.

In 1902, Theodoro Sampaio wrote about São Paulo in the nineteenth century and noted at the end of his work that:

The echoes of the discord and the fratricidal fights travels far, rolling after a past that will not return. The afterglow of the new century, breaking between clouds which have not totally vanished, announces that it is the day of peace and prosperity in work. (Sampaio, 1902, p. 204)

Theodoro Sampaio also commented that the nineteenth century was “the century of independence and the national political constitution ... a long and uncertain period of reaction during which the nature of a people was remodeled” (Sampaio, 1902, p. 157). What was the nature of this people which Theodoro Sampaio talks to us about? Which events support the history formed at this moment? Whom does this history personify?

During almost the entire nineteenth century, the presence of the Prince Regent on the banks of the Ipiranga River in 1822 was used as the moment of the formation of an identity for São Paulo, identifiable with the history of the

country and forming its own memory whose propagation sustained the ideas of the ruling elites at the time.

In 1877 José Maria Lisboa's *Almanach Litterario* included a poem which according to the author was "recited in a session of the *Atheneo Paulistano* in 1854" (Almanach..., 1982, p. 161). Entitled *Ao 7 de Setembro*, it was written by J. M. Almeida Moraes, who praised the moment, establishing it as the center of events:

Hosannas rising to Jehovah / With hymns of victory –Liberty, / The children of the Tupã gratefully salute you/ On *Sete de Setembro*, hail! hail! / ... In the valley the vastness, in the mountain the climbs / And the air, and sky, and land, and sea, and the world / Repeat in echoes – Independence or death! (ibid., p. 162)

According to the brief reading of Almeida Moraes the echoes of Ipiranga had a repercussion around 'the world,' in such a way that the insertion of the word made Jehovah and Tupã, an indigenous supernatural entity, resound in unison. More generally speaking, 1854 coincided with a new urban posture in São Paulo, which intended to reflect on its spatial restructuring, and aimed at being progressive and adapted to European standards. Here the memory of *Sete de Setembro* can be seen in formation and being propagated.

In 1864, Alexandre José de Mello Moraes wrote a letter to the first Barão de Pindamonhangaba, Coronel Manuel Marcondes de Oliveira Melo, who was in the entourage of the Prince Regent at the time of the Proclamation on the banks of the Ipiranga River. In the document, Mello Moraes asked the Baron to describe details about the situation. The latter responded: "*Ilmo. Sr. Dr. A. J. de Melo Moraes. I have before me the letter your wrote in which you ask for some clarifications about the act of our Independence in Ipiranga, in order to record them in the History of Brazil of which you are the worthy author*" (Costa, 1972, p. 150).

Mello Moraes' book was published in 1877 and marked the propagation of numerous ideas about the event, sustained here by the memories of the Baron. Until this point, it should be noted that the best known version of this important moment of Independence was almost exclusively based on the memory of circumstantial participants, without there being witnesses who could offer any other perspectives.

Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, in his *História da Independência do Brasil*, published for the first time in 1916 in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Tomo LXXIX, v. 133, 1917), also propagated the

ideology of the events of *Sete de Setembro* according to the narrative produced by the first Baron of Pindamonhangaba. The Baron of Rio Branco, in the explanatory notes to the 2nd edition of Varnhagen's work, and Hélio Vianna, in the 3rd edition, focus on the Baron of Pindamonhangaba's narrative when they report the time that the prince regent gave the *grito* of Independence: "It was 'more or less at half past four in the afternoon,' according to the Baron of Pindamonhangaba, when Pedro proclaimed Independence" (Varnhagen, 1981, v. 3, p. 138, note 24). What can be noted here is the ratification of the ideas initially established by Mello Morais. The 'fact' was made concrete through the ratification of an exact moment of time.

In 1975 José Honório Rodrigues criticized the manner in which Mello Morais conducted his interpellation of the established version and said that the latter "did not, as a rule, know how to prepare forms properly adequate to his theme" (Rodrigues, 1978, p. 237).

In his *História do Brasil*, Hélio Vianna also shares the reports of the Baron of Pindamonhangaba, although he is less emphatic about the maintenance of the idea of the "exact moment of the Proclamation." According to Vianna, it occurred when Dom Pedro "was returning to São Paulo [when] he received, close to the Ipiranga stream, *in the afternoon*, of 7 September 1822..." (Vianna, 1994, p. 407, emphasis added). It should be noted that this fact, the "exact time of the occurrence," proposes to insert the history into a context of absolute rationality, as if this was something indispensable for the establishment of historical truth.

It can be perceived, even in a partial manner, that the ideas of Mello Morais remain present and are reproduced without a strong questioning. When Mello Morais wrote his history, the exaltation of *Sete de Setembro* in São Paulo was ideologically absorbed, which demonstrates that the presence of Prince Pedro on the banks of the Ipiranga had become a type of foundation stone for the formation of *Paulista* identity, thereby ratifying the supposed necessities of the city from 1850 onwards.

This process needs to be briefly explained. At this moment an agrarian elite had assumed a participatory posture in the political panorama of the country. Since it did not possess a past linked to the 'heroic' moments of colonization, it established directives based on which foundations stones of its history were conceived, for example the exaltation of the '*Grito*' in São Paulo. Fused with this memory is the urbanization of São Paulo, where a scenario of substitution was established in accordance with the search for a panorama of 'modernity.' The knowledge supported by the science made the facts concrete

and acceptable. This supposed scientificism was not born by chance and even with as representation needed the proximity of the already referenced and accepted models and standards.

Another thing that helped to ratify this scientific reason was the presence of the Academy of Law in Largo São Francisco. Established in the city in 1827, since its very foundation the Academy had pointed to the direction of the transformation of the city. Richard Morse, for example, notes that the Academy of Law, located beside the Franciscan Convent, began to contest standards of behavior accepted until then:

The patio of the Church indiscriminately allowed students and the faithful enter, and there were disagreements between the Franciscan superiors and the directory of the Academy about the time and the aims of ringing the bells. Profane and religious interests were kept in an unstable equilibrium – symptomatic of the times. (Morse, 1954, p. 62)

Richard Morse shows that something new was being inserted into the context of the city of São Paulo. The ringing of church bells was seen as a problem for the new rationality with which the nascent bourgeoisie identified. Dividing time in a scientific manner and imposing it on the destiny of men translates in a simple manner the new powers which emerge from this society. Thereby symptomatic is the need to establish the exact time of the *Sete de Setembro*.

But it is not just about this exact temporal mark of the foundational event of the independent nation that a question is proposed. These new powers are shown in a broader and more significant manner, obtaining numerous documentary supports which are connected with the historical moment in question.

HISTORY, SCIENCE, AND THE BARON

Coronel Manuel Marcondes de Oliveira Melo, first Baron of Pindamonhangaba, was “graced with the title of Baron in 1856. He took part in the 1842 Revolution and died on 6 August 1866...” (Costa, 1972, p. 13). A member of the old Guard of Honor of Dom Pedro, representative of the political elite of Pindamonhangaba and narrator of the history which unfolded at the time of the *Grito*, his death symbolically opened space for the introduction of other characters linked to the new political, social, and economic epoch.

Symbolically, elements which had been secondary in the context of established history were elevated to principal factors. In this context, in 1867 the brother of the coronel, Major Francisco M. Homem de Mello received the title of the second Baron of Pindamonhangaba, according to Anibal Mattos “in attention to the services he carried out for peace, in peace and in war...” (Mattos, 1937, p. 25). The second Baron and later Viscount of Pindamonhangaba was the father of Francisco Ignácio Marcondes Homem de Mello, one of the important characters in this article.

The time of the events shows the importance of the 1860s for the institution of the memory to be used as a justification of the history of the city of São Paulo and the Province itself. At this precise point of history, there arose the elements which indicated the directives which would shape the sociocultural panorama of São Paulo city, and by extension, all of the territory of São Paulo.

In this sense, it is interesting to remember that in 1862, Paulo Eiró wrote his theater play *Sangue Limpo*, whose acts unfolded against the backdrop of the moment of Independence. According to the playwright the idea emerged to him:

At the beginning of 1859, [when] the *Conservatório Paulista*, trying to put into practice an idea full of patriotism, held a literary contest, awarding prizes for the best original drama, dressed in morality, the subject of which were some of the glorious episodes of the history of our country... Looking at our past, I discovered without great trouble the subject desired... Yes, it is from Ipiranga that our real life dates; the space which precedes the dawn can never be called day. (Eiró, 1998, p. 315)

Another important production involving the question of patriotism at that moment was the periodical *Guayaná: jornal científico, político e litterario*, published in 1856. Based on scientific knowledge, this periodical sought to sustain the scientificism practiced with an epigraph referring to the biblical text of Ecclesiastes: “wisdom is sprinkled like the abundant rain of science, and the light of prudence glorifies those who are dedicated to it” (Amaral, 1977, p. 21).

In relation to the word *Guaianá* the following reference of Afonso A. de Freitas can be found:

Guaianá. S.m. Corruption of Guaraná, a species of *marrecão* [a species of duck] ... very abundant on the banks of the Tietê ... The denomination was applied to the Piratininguaras – Guaianás – due to the circumstances of their having set up their *tabas* [villages] on the banks of that river... Guanánás – in Nheengatu: it is

thus we find the village of Inhapuambuçu, of whom Tibiriçá was the chief... (Freitas, 1976, p. 53)

It can thus be seen that the title of the periodical in question is related to the indigenous chief Tibiriçá, a legendary person from the history of the formation of the city of São Paulo (the *Paulista* nationality) and an epigraph which praises science taken from a religious text (Ecclesiastes)!

The periodical, in which the then student Francisco Inácio M. Homem de Mello participated, privileged the so-called “principles of science...”, according to the text of its presentation written by Couto de Magalhães (Amaral, 1977, p. 21). In its first number there is an article by Francisco Inácio M. H. de Mello entitled “Sete de Setembro de 1822” which praises the historic moment in question.

Francisco Inácio maintained his historiographic posture by later preparing a study of the history of Brazil at the end of his course in law. The future Baron Homem de Mello wrote in 1858, in the work *Estudos Históricos Brasileiros*:

Writing history is judging; it is to call to the tribunal of reason the crimes and the virtues of those men who have gone; reprehending them or praising them according to the eternal principles of justice. Faced with science, the facts symbolize the translation of the great principles which constantly act in the exterior lives of peoples; dressed in this nature is when they deserve the attention of the historian. (Mello, 1858, p. 2)

The research indicates that in the *Prologue* of this study, the author gave great importance to law, reason, science, and the facts. His historiographical construction sought the place of truth in scientific rationality. Law was seen here as the fulcrum of historic veracity, like the way facts are treated in an important court, in which the reader establishes the punishment or the absolution of those being tried.

Francisco Inácio worked as a lawyer in the defense of historic clients, including Emperor Pedro I. As his study involves the interpretation of the History of Brazil from Discovery until the *Segundo Reinado* (Second Empire) in 1858, the figure of Pedro I is dealt with in two distinct moments. In the first, Chapter II, Homem de Mello praises *Sete de Setembro*, dedicating ample space to this landmark: “The Seventh of September symbolizes in our pomp a glorious period, which by itself produced the glory of an entire generation...” (Mello, 1858, p. 26). In the latter moment, Chapter IV, the person of Pedro I is exempted from his acts after Seventh of April 1831, about which the author

questions: “Why did he come down from the pedestal, which debased him in our eyes, and come to pay the painful tribute of human imperfection? Why did he commit the error of staining the brilliance of his hero’s crown?” (Mello, 1858, p. 65).

In Homem de Mello’s work there can be noted a necessary construction of the chronology of the period – *Sete de Setembro, Sete de Abril*, etc. – in relation to the intentionality of symbology, which sought to construct a grandiose fulcrum of *Paulista* history.

Following the same interpretation, in the year before Homem de Mello’s work was completed, it can be seen that the city of São Paulo and the correlated province gained its first almanac. Organized by Marques & Irmão, it was published for two consecutive years, reflecting a tendency to promote the recognition of all *Paulista* territory, to the extent that its listed the known municipalities of the province.

The central power organized its directives at the same time that its definitions found echoes of propagation. In the same work there is a *Resumo Histórico da Província de São Paulo*, in which the history of the region is told from 1500-1822. It ends with the following statement:

After the declaration of INDEPENDENCE OF BRAZIL, on 7 September 1822, and which this province has the glory of being on its soil, on the memorable site of Ypiranga where there was raised the shout Independence or Death, and it came to be a province of the Brazilian Empire, and after this epoch governed by its presidents, according to a constitutional monarchical system which was adopted. (Almanak..., 1856, p. 161)

The work recounted Brazilian history highlighting the events which involved local history. The brief summary ended in a moment of *Paulista* glory: having been the stage for the events of *Sete de Setembro*.

An almanac is intended to be a book that is constantly consulted, a type of guide, and is thus an instrument suitable for the propagation of a ‘constructed memory.’ The date 7 September 1822 became representative and was not only seen as an ideological support: it became an indicative memory, the common place which could be turned to in moments of crisis.

This ‘memory’ entangled even the most radical, who ended up using *Sete de Setembro* and its symbology as nostalgia necessary for the survival of criticism. In the periodical *Cabrião*, jointed edited with Américo de Campos and Antônio Manuel dos Reis in São Paulo between 1866 and 1867, Angelo

Agostini defended the moment as a “memorable date... a mark which indicated to national generations the point in which we closed the door to colonial living, beginning the life guaranteed us by international emancipation” (Cabrião, 1982, p. 378). Despite being a fierce critic of everything and everyone, in its 8 September 1867 edition, the periodical surrendered to the auspices of the event, confirming: “It is a venerated mark” (ibid., p. 378).

Actually the construction of the memory of this moment produces significant changes in the way of thinking about the construction of history. The proximity of these two works – that of Homem de Mello in 1858 and of Agostini in 1867 – indicates the need for the construction of a satisfactory scenario, apt for reflecting on the events which transformed the city of São Paulo and its territory at this moment. The construction of this memory is not something Machiavellian, but rather the fruit of collective thought which gathered around a landmark, in this case *Sete de Setembro*. An agglutination which became a type of support for new social, political, and economic directives.

The moment of Independence is in effect the foundational memory for the construction of the historical present. Even nowadays the fact is reconstructed and reproduced, becoming one of the elements for supporting the new reality which was instituted in the city.

THE CITY AND ITS VISUALITY: A MODEL

What was the city like which served as the stage for this representation of which Prince Pedro was the greatest actor? Who were the spectators in this historical landmark?

Francisco de Assis Vieira Bueno, writing about the city of São Paulo, reports that his registers are the fruit of observations ‘evoked in memory.’ Published in 1903, his writings are apparently constructed based on representations which the author absorbed from the collective imagination of events. He thereby remembers that:

My most remote reminiscences of the city of São Paulo, where I was born in 1816, go back to 1822, beginning with the parties held on the occasion of the coming of the Prince Regent. The solemn entrance of this person, who days later proclaimed Independence in the fields of Ipiranga, I saw accompanied by someone from one of the windows of the Church of the Third Order of Carmo. (Bueno, 1976, pp. 13-14)

Vieira Bueno introduces his memories with a striking fact about the history of the city, locating in time and space the elements of the narrative. His narrative, written at the beginning of the twentieth century, corroborates the ideas of Theodoro Sampaio, for whom the nineteenth century was principally that of Independence.

For whom is this city ‘written,’ which accommodates a series of ideas in which the place is the outstanding element in the narrative? From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, São Paulo was shown under the prism of a triumphant and chauvinistic history in which the heroic acts of a prince established the directives of historic interpretation, duly prepared to serve as an example for posterity.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the use of photographic imagery spread throughout Brazil. In the city of São Paulo one photographer made urban photographic representation an important document for the analysis of the directives of the constitution of a society. Militão Augusto de Azevedo (1832-1905) was a migrant recently arrived from the capital. A Carioca by birth, he moved to São Paulo in 1860 and closely accompanied the transformations of the city. At the beginning he was a theater actor, but he began to work with the art of photographic portraits, popular among *Paulistas* since 1848, according to a letter written by Álvares de Azevedo, then a student at the Academy of Law: “Here there is a craze for taking daguerreotypes of oneself... There are no students who have not had portraits taken or who intend to have them taken...” (Azevedo, 1976, p. 76).

Militão’s merit can be seen in the scope of his work: in the studio, he photographed everyone from large plantation owners to their slaves; rich and poor paraded before his lenses, indicating that he made no distinction among his clientele.

Between 1860 and 1862 Militão produced a series of images of the city of São Paulo. This record of the city and its urban area shows that it still preserved many of its colonial characteristics. Militão captures some streets still unpaved, people spread along the streets, pavements disrespecting their limits, horses and cows abandoned in the city, images which together make viewers think of a striking ruralism. Also in the instants of the photograph there can be perceived a gradual modification, which is discerned along the images which focus on commercial houses (‘Dry Goods Stores’) and paved roads.

According to Solange Ferraz de Lima and Vânia C. de Carvalho the images of this moment reflect a process of learning for the future professional

photographer: “Militão’s perspective was that of a visiting apprentice and not of a professional contracted by an institution or company” (Carvalho; Lima, 1998, p. 111).

In this period, when he was still an apprentice in the studio of Carneiro & Gaspar, Militão produced a series of images which reflected the moment in which he lived, in other words the identification of the photographer with the new place chosen as a residence and the contribution of the citizen to the development of the ideas which were being initiated. It is possible to note that his images are not those immediately aimed at a consumer public, they are clippings from the daily life of a photographer who by seeking to identify the place, ending up by identifying with it.

The photographer production of Militão between 1860 and 1862 is surprisingly broad, even taking into account the technical difficulties involved in making a photographic image. The weight of the equipment and the need for the quick revelation of unstable plates contributed to making work outside the photographic studio a significant adventure, awakening the curiosity of observers/characters that can be noted in the photographic records made.

Approximately 65 of Militão’s images from this epoch are available, which capture the city of São Paulo and its environs. Many of these plates have reached us thanks to the action of the photographer himself, who kept the original negatives, as he stated in 1887 in a letter to his friend Anatole Luis Garraux: “I am doing a task which I deem to be very important and perhaps little lucrative. It is a comparative album of old and modern São Paulo. I have the plates from 1862 and I am making the comparatives...” (Azevedo, 1981, p. 47). The work which Militão which he refers to is his famous *Álbum Comparativo da Cidade de São Paulo: 1862-1887*.

The conservation of these originals gives examples of the sensibility of a photographer concerned with the memory of the city in which he came to live. Perhaps this fact is a direct consequence of his search for identification with the chosen place. The images produced are an important part of his insertion as a resident of that place. As a migrant, thus someone stripped of the natural memory of a native, he built a memory registering the significant places for their identification. Especially in this album the images can be seen as records of his insertion in the context of the new society. A fact which is also verified in the later production of his *Álbum Comparativo* (Cavenaghi, 2000).

Ernani da Silva Bruno notes that after 1839, there was an increase in the presence of ranchers within the urban limits of the capital, controlling at the

beginning the trade of the sugar produced in the interior, whose route passed through the city on the road to Santos. This contributed in a definitive manner to the transformations through which the urban landscape of São Paulo passed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Bruno, 1954, p. 466). Urban spaces became supports of a new capitalist mentality which saw the city and its spaces as a direct reflection of the flow of capital.

The paving of the city and the conservation of its roads were commented on by residents and visitors. Between 1860 and 1862, the traveler Augusto-Emílio Zaluar, for example, highlights that, “in addition to the notable buildings and some of the beautiful buildings which adorn the city of São Paulo, its principal streets are wide and well paved...” (Zaluar, 1975, p. 125).

What can be perceived in this type of description is the attempt to introduce a concept of urbanity necessary to make the idea of progress concrete, which demonstrates that the city, already gifted with a ‘glorious history,’ was apt to serve as an example for the entire Province. Administrative centralization sought to create models and patterns which agglutinated these newborn ideas of ‘civilization and progress,’ a process which effectively took place at the end of the nineteenth century.

As an example of this process of modification and identification the photographic production of Militão A. de Azevedo of the part of the city known as ‘Piques’ or ‘Largo da Memória’ can be analyzed. The city, its roads, and its monuments function in the act of photographic registration, as catalyzers of a process of knowledge and of support for a new historical reality based on photographic representation.

In relation to Piques, Militão made around four images, recording it from all possible angles, but the photograph presented in Figure 1 is significant to the extent that it shows how social forces acted at that moment in the *urbe*.



Figure 1 – Largo do Piques, São Paulo, 1862. Photo by Militão A. de Azevedo. Source: Lago, 2001, p. 13.

Taken in 1862, this aluminous photograph (14 x 22.1 cm) is one of Militão's most striking photographs from the Piques region. It shows the city seen from the *baixada* of Bexiga (now Rua Quirino de Andrada) in the direction of someone coming down Ladeira São Francisco, almost at the intersection of Ladeira do Falcão (the former Ladeira de Santo Antônio), shortly after Ladeira do Meio (the beginning of Rua do Ouvidor). On the right of the image can be found the former Ladeira da Palha (the current Sete de Abril); at the center of the then Ladeira da Consolação, the natural road to Pinheiros and to the south of the country; in the background is Paredão do Piques (now Rua Xavier de Toledo).

Piques or Largo da Memória was a place of commerce. In the register presented, the center of the image is taken by the fountain and the pyramid. Blacks carrying out their daily duties can be seen. Designed by Daniel Pedro Müller in 1814 in memory of the triumvirate governing São Paulo, a fact which gave origin to its name, Largo da Memória, the pyramid and the initial mark of the road to Sorocaba, whose demarcation was the responsibility of the Engineer Müller, who after observing the lack of water in the city, constructed, with the help of Vicente Gomes Pereira, Mestre Vicentinho, the Fountain of Piques, since then a full part of the structure of the monument (Toledo, 1981, p. 131).

The concentration of the commercial flow of the *urbe* in the place demonstrates its functionality. The foundation disappeared in 1876, and Militão did not insert in his *Álbum Comparativo* a comparative photograph of the place in 1887. This fact demonstrates that it had lost its initial representation and did not serve any more to suggest the modernity and civilization that was sought for the city at this new moment. Nevertheless, Militão inserted in his album two images from the place in 1862, indicating that the memory could be used to show the features of the past to be substituted (Cavenaghi, 2000, p. 266).

Based on these observations it can be understood that the production of the 1862 image can be attributed to the importance of 'Piques' as a center guiding the roads of the city at that moment. Its later oblivion demonstrates how much these forces which orientated society imposed a reorganization of city spaces and mentalities, a fact demonstrated in Militão's idea of creating a comparative album focusing on the city in 1862 and 1887.

It can thus be perceived that from 1850 onwards the city expanded and the Province came to feel the ongoing changes. It became necessary to establish directives which allowed the central administrative power to reach places which had only been reached through the presence of the so-called *desbravadores* (pioneers). The maintenance and sustenance of territorial limits was part of this political, social, and economic reorganization of the government at the time.

AN IDEOLOGIZED CARTOGRAPHY?

In 1868, Cândido Mendes organized a fundamental cartographic endeavor for the understanding of the country and its territory. His work "dedicated to His Majesty the Emperor Senhor D. Pedro II for use in Public Instruction in the Empire and especially the Students of the Imperial College of Pedro II..." (Almeida, 1868, Cover) directly reflected a search, which can be called didactic, for knowledge of the territory, since according to Mendes "This work, which we now present to the public of our country... has the main aim of aiding the instruction of the youth..." (Almeida, 1868, p. 7).

Cândido Mendes de Almeida saw the possession of land as the fruit of a providential march which was transmuted into a mission. The possession of land is the fruit of divine action, a message of civilization against the advance of barbarity, since "a constant fortune would not have accompanied our greatest in the struggle with the indigenous, and other peoples, who disputed with us the possession and dominion of the lands who now occupy" (Almeida, 1868, p. 7). Indigenous people are seen as intruders and treated as usurpers: an enemy within the territory. According to Demétrio Magnoli, Cândido Mendes

ideologically reproduced the “production of a specific geographic imagination aimed at prolonging in the future, as reality, the myth of a preexisting territory” (Magnoli, 1997, p. 131).

To prepare his work, Cândido Mendes consulted 15 texts. Six of them are manuscripts which did not circulate among the public, and another three are maps of the city of São Paulo, Santos and the coast. Of the maps consulted perhaps the one with the greatest circulation was that of Daniel Pedro Müller, from 1837 (Müller, 1837).

In Cândido Mendes’ work all the general maps of the Provinces also presented their respective capitals. In the map of the Province of São Paulo (Figure 2) can be noted an auxiliary map of its capital. The probably represents the city in 1846, according to the references presented by the author: “Map of the Imperial city of São Paulo, annexed to the map of Brazil by C. J. Niemayer, from the 1846 edition” (Almeida, 1868, p. 19).

The presence of the map of São Paulo city in the visualization of the Map of the Province is an element of reference, coherent with what seems to have been an attempt at standardization by its organizer. In this image can be perceived the functioning of the reasoning proposed by Cândido Mendes (Almeida, 1868, p. XVII). The urbanistic model of the capital, from what it appears is presented as a prior model for the rest of the cities of the Province.



Figure 2 – Map of the Province of São Paulo. Source: Almeida, 1868.

In 1878 the same organizational practice was used by Abílio A. S. Marques in the publication of *Indicador de São Paulo*, which proposed to also provide “information related to the entire Province, as well as the superior authorities

of the States...” (Marques, 1878, p. V). This work, in addition to informing administrative, commercial data, etc., published various maps of the city of São Paulo and the surrounding region, as well as the Map of the Railways of the Province. It also marked the site of *Ypiranga*, although no comment about this is made. In this sense it is possible to conjecture that the place was either already consecrated by the population, and no comments were required, or it was being exposed to the public for the first time.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Francisco Inácio Marcondes Homem de Mello, in his wandering around the interior of the Province, indirectly participated in these representations, producing geographic information and sketching manuscript maps. This could be perceived when the Baron prepared the *Relatório Final* about his time as president of the Province in 1864. In these writings Homem de Mello paid special attention to the question of roads and the demarcation of frontiers between the various cities of the interior of the Province and the capital itself (Mello, 1866, p. 18ff).

Also during the same period, Baron Homem de Mello organized a photographic album composed of 16 photographs and four manuscript maps of some cities from the interior of São Paulo Province. In this work, *Província de São Paulo*, de Mello registered Pindamonhangaba, Cruzeiro, Silveiras, Tatuí, Salto, Taubaté, Itatiba, São Roque, and Sorocaba, cities located on the old road between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The work was organized by the Baron as a “travel memoir,” following the tendency of how photography was used in this period: as something proving a truth. The images are ordered in a way to show geographic aspects and significant constructions in the locations registered. What can be noted here is the registering of a “Virgin forest at the roots of Serra da Mantiqueira...” (third image of the album), a “bridge on the DP II Railway...” in the city of Salto (fifth image of the album), etc.

This album is only a sample of the intense dedication which the Baron directed to the geographic study of Brazilian territory. The biographer Araújo Jorge, in 1945, writing about the Baron of Rio Branco, noted that his subject exchanged many letters with Baron Homem de Mello and Capistrano de Abreu while preparing his studies about the geography and history of the country (Jorge, 1999, p. 27). It should be noted that the history of the Baron of Rio Branco is unconditionally linked to the question of the territorial formation of the country.

Baron Homem de Mello’s geographic expeditions also had an impact on the republican era. For example, Euclides da Cunha, in 1909 in *Jornal do Commercio* praised the publication of the *Atlas do Brasil* prepared by the Baron, commenting that the work corrected errors related to the geography of the country, evaluated the publication as “well suited to the new approach of the

morphology of relief which recognizes the predominant soft and levelled forms of the country, correcting the previous versions” (Magnoli, 1997, p. 10).

Baron Homem de Mello was a member of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute. According to Regina Araújo, “the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute... had an important role both in the ‘real’ and the ‘virtual’ production of the territory of the empire. The numerous travel and expedition memoirs reproduced on the pages of the institute’s journal demonstrated a concentrated effort of investigation about the characteristics and potentials of the different regions on the country, in an epoch marked by the precariousness of all means of communication” (Araujo, 2001, p. 6). Homem de Mello travels acted as elements for the formation of a memory materialized in visual representations.

During the production of the *Província de São Paulo* album, the Baron sketched on the back of some photographs four sets of maps of the regions visited.

Photograph number 14 from the *Província de São Paulo* album showed the city of Sorocaba in 1876, while on its back were sketches of maps. The way Homem de Mello constructed the geographic references is interesting: Jaraguá hill, on the left of the image, shows the beginning of the journey; in the center is Voturantim waterfall, in an effort to make a distinction, after all, according to the geographer João Mendes de Almeida “with the name of Voturantim, there is also the great leap in the Sorocaba River” (Almeida, 1902, p. 266). On the right Salto de Piracicaba closes the localization of the city.

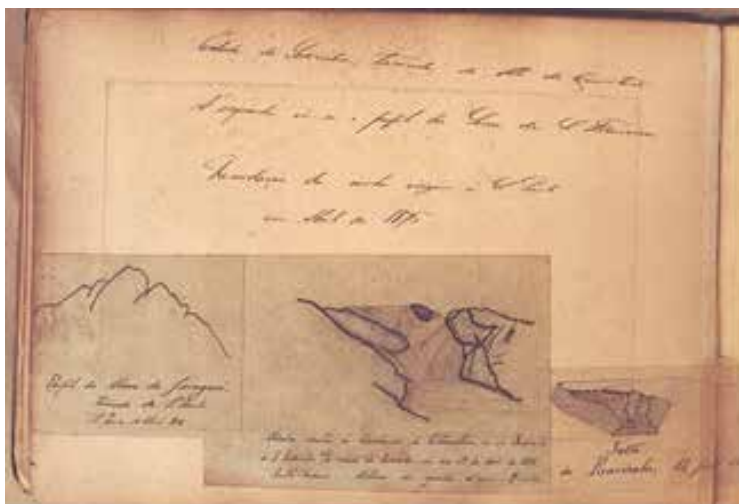


Figure 3 – Untitled. Source: Mello. *Província de S. Paulo* [s.l.: s.n.].



Figure 4 – Sorocaba City: taken from above the cemetery. On the left can be seen the profile of Serra de São Francisco; 1876, albumen, 22 x 30 cm.

Source: Mello. *Província de S. Paulo* [s.l.: s.n.].

The use of photography establishes a truth, as well as geographic reference that comes to be an evidential factor ratifying this unquestionable truth. In this way the souvenir of the journey became a location map, showing the territory as a dominated and recognized location. This form of recognition authenticates symbolic possession and justifies future administrative interventions, since much more than a traveler, the Baron was part of a political elite which would influence future postures related to the regions mapped. The territory and its roads demonstrated the perspectives which conditioned its own occupation.

De Mello's sketches on the back of some photographs are drawings which try to reproduce the shapes of waterfalls, rivers, and hills as the author saw them. The places drawn mold the view of the observer, allowing an almost immediate reading, not requiring prior knowledge of standardized symbols, as in the case of writing. This tendency towards the automatization and establishment of a perspective can be observed in relation to the photographic image, which from first sight functions in a similar manner.

Following the reasoning constructed here, Homem de Mello's work thereby serves as a support for making a memory concrete, which Regina Araújo calls 'virtual.' His photographic registers of the cities located on the old São

Paulo - Rio de Janeiro road constructed a collective memory. If there is an initial mark in this process, it dates from when the photographs of Baron Homem de Mello's travels through the Province were presented in the *Exhibition of the History of Brazil* held in 1881 in Rio de Janeiro. Here 12 photographs were presented from the Baron's exhibitions, which showed the locations of Bananal, Silveiras, Pindamonhangaba, Taubaté, Itatiba, the Portuguese colony of Nova Louzã, São Roque, Sorocaba, Tatuí, and Cruzeiro (Catálogo..., 1998, v. II, p. 1446).

As was customary, they served as information about the region and proved human presence in the area, thereby performing the function of establishing nuclei of truth for future political actions by the state, which sought to guarantee the advance of the so-called 'civilized frontiers.' Civilizing meant urbanizing, since as noted by Gilmar Arruda, "urban life would become the greatest symbol for the terms of comparison between the *civilized* and *uncivilized*" (Arruda, 2000, p. 20). The portrait of this urbanization became fundamental for those who wanted to introduce the concept of civilization and this could be felt in the form that the Baron presented his maps, on the back of the photographs of well-known cities. The nature that was registered had become dominated and suitable for the transformations necessary for the idea of civilization.

Photography at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth become an important element to prove and guide the advance of the 'civilizing and progressive' characterization of the state, which in effect became one of its principal encouragers.

Another important example is the photographic album of Gustavo Koenigswald published in 1895. It is a work which sought to represent the state of São Paulo, since, according to the author, "among the twenty Brazilian states, São Paulo is one of the most important and most rich..." (Koenigswald, 1895, p. 5).

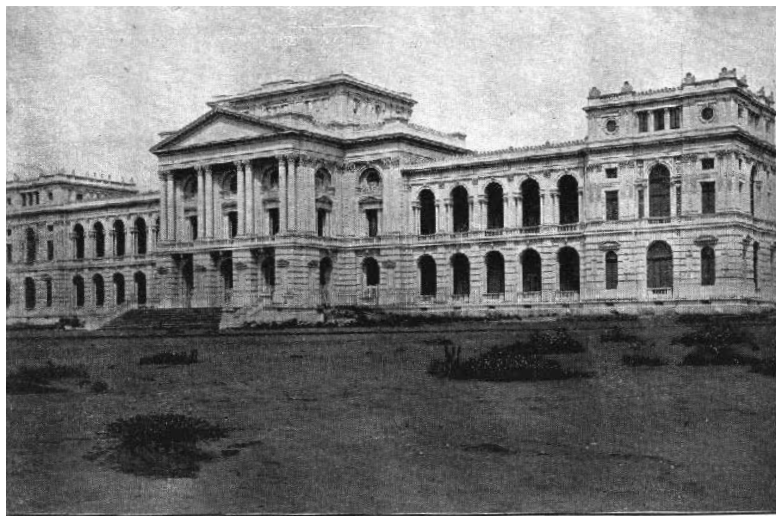
Gustavo's work is full of geographical, ethnographical, and historical information about the principal cities of the period: São Paulo, Jundiahy, Campinas, Santos, Piracicaba, and Ytú, amongst others. The album included, among its one hundred photographs, images by Guilherme Gaensly, a photographer of Swiss origin working in the city at that time. Boris Kossoy states that in function of his photographic activity: "the photographs which Gaensly took in this period [1902-1903] became institutionalized to the point of continuing to be used by different publications – both official and not – years later. They came to illustrate the books of various foreign authors who wrote about

São Paulo and Brazil, as well as general reference books, almanacs, etc.” (Kossoy, 1988, p. 18).

In the preparation of these works a certain set pattern of behavior can be noted: seeking in the cities parties suitable to receive the new economic investments proposed by a rising bourgeoisie. This dissemination was the result of a determined ideology which is represented and represents, in the institutionalized mechanisms themselves, a specific group for this, capable of organizing the symbolic foundations of the society it wanted to construct.

In G. Koenigswald’s album there is space for the *Monumento do Ypiranga* (Koenigswald, 1895, p. 43) and, by extension, for the work of Pedro Américo through the picture *Proclamação da Independência do Brasil (7 de setembro de 1822)* (ibid., p. 45). The album is a type of photographic report which illustrates the moment of transformation which the city was passing through. The author thus comments:

Also demolished in the center of the city were a large number of old buildings, to be replaced by imposing constructions, amongst which there stood out some already finished public buildings and others to be finished. Notable among these was the Ypiranga Monument... (ibid., p. 10)



35. Monumento do Ypiranga.

Figure 5 – Ipiranga, São Paulo. Source: Koenigswald, 1895.
(Printed on paper; 12 x 19 cm, 1895, p. 43.)

The urban transformation is referenced by a 'new' memory, based on the replacement of the old demolished buildings. The urban modification of the city of São Paulo was molded to a certain extent by the historic/heroic context of Independence.



Figure 6 – *Proclamação da Independência do Brasil*, by Pedro Américo.
Source: Koenigswald, 1895 (Printed on paper, 9,8 x 18 cm, 1895, p. 45.)

In 1988 Pedro Américo also showed himself to be influenced by and committed to the official history of the *Grito*. The exact time of the event became a direct reference in the composition of the veracity of the event:

Ordinarily, the atmosphere in São Paulo is more hazy than in Rio de Janeiro. From August, however, until the end of October, whether due to the continuous burnings, or because of other causes, it become opaque, with the afternoons becoming dressed in the burning colors of an enormous brazier which was reflected in the vapors in space. The fulgent phenomena of the sunset are still little apparent *at four in the afternoon...* (Oliveira; Mattos, 1999, p. 26)

The words of the first Baron of Pindamonhangaba, Coronel Manuel Marcondes de Oliveira Melo, found repercussions in the painter who also showed proximity with the ideas of Baron Homem de Mello:

To His Excellency Baron Homem de Mello I would like to thank him for doing me the favor of having presented me to various important people from the interior, from whom I have gathered a large mass of enlightening information, and

some objects of great archeological value, which I have faithfully reproduced in the panel. (ibid., p. 22)

Furthermore, the idea of the Independence of Brazil, its relationship with the city of São Paulo, and with the propagation of an ideology can be clearly perceived in 1895, when in public schools the primer of Tancredo do Amaral, a teacher from the *Escola Normal* of São Paulo, was used. His work *Educação Cívica* was aimed at “popular teaching establishments,” a work which summarized the “History of São Paulo through the biography of its most notable figures” and which was shown to be efficient in the perpetuation of a history whose facts are connected to heroes inaccessible to common men.

In the work of Tancredo do Amaral, a biography of José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva is included, based on the logic which it was sought to establish for the act of Independence. José Bonifácio, the most central character whose biography is given, is an ‘enlightened’ *Paulista* and the local representative of the moment of the Proclamation of Independence. In this sense Tancredo do Amaral writes:

On 25 August the prince solemnly entered the capital of the province, and was very warmly received by the people who cheered him... On 5 September he went to Santos accompanied by Brigadier Manoel Rodrigues Jordão, *capitão-mór* (Captain-General) Manoel Marcondes de Oliveira e Mello (afterwards Baron of Pindamonhangaba) and Fr. Belchior Pinheiro; he examined the fortifications there and visited the family of his friend José Bonifácio and on the morning of 7 September, left Santos for the capital and, reaching the hill of Ipiranga, received a letter which José Bonifácio had sent him ... Reading the letter from the venerable *Paulista* and translating before his companions the indignation he thought it possessed, D. Pedro gave a brief speech ending it with the shout: *Independence or death!*... (Amaral, 1895, p. 135)

José Bonifácio is thus the central character of the scene, since according to the reading of the letter from this ‘venerable *Paulista*’ Dom Pedro was led to the act of the *Grito*. The history of the *Grito* has repercussions in different characters, moments, and supports. It is written taking into account a memory necessary to the perpetuation of determined social, political, and economic behavior.

This memory used institutionalized element in a way to create future references which will be treated as absolute truths. Truths which are justified in the context of new historic supports, such as photography and cartography,

which developed principally based on the scientific rationality proposed in the nineteenth century.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The city and province of São Paulo absorbed in around 50 years, between 1850 and 1900, administrative directives composed of a set of ideas explained by various supports, including photography and cartography.

Both supports are inventions which had repercussions in the nineteenth century. Photography, originally called heliography, in direct reference to the Sun which is the central element of the phenomenon of the formation of image, became concrete as a daily object. Albums of portraits, post cards, remembrances of loved ones, news from distant places, the visualization of an unknown or exotic country, came to be part of the needs of representation of a specific social group, in the case of an ascending bourgeoisie.

Cartography is, initially, the fruit of the actual growth of cities and the need to order them in accordance with the new practices of accumulation of capital. The integration of cartography in daily life also developed in the nineteenth century, when it began to be taught in schools.

The territory and its recognition are results of this flow of knowledge from a new daily universe which was constituted based on the form of organizing and administering society. It can be noted that this period involved the replacement of old references of behavior and the search for other references based on new models of representation. These new models passed, for example, through photographic representation, which much more than a fashion, became an element of social massification when the flow of capitals invested in the new product. Photographic representation became the mirror of the real and is used by a society leader by a bourgeoisie which sought new mechanisms to imprint its permanence as a social and cultural group.

In this initial context of photographic representation there is nothing Machiavellian planned or instituted. In Brazil and the world the photographic image followed the constructed tendency of an absolute truth necessary to justify something which was previously based exclusively on a collective testimony. The image eliminated the need of the group and became in itself a document of evidence produced by a person and seen by many. Society at this moment was the result of the actions of new social, political, and economic forces which sought new elements of representation to certify the new social distinctions. Photography serves this purpose to the extent that it is associated

with new codes and symbols of behavior. Everything was previously selected and photographed. The memory constituted suffered directly the action of these new social forces. The urban spaces which resulted from this moment also reflected special circumstances, spreading the historic facts conducted as justifications of events.

Sete de Setembro marked the city of São Paulo and was used, from the 1850s onwards, as one of the supports for social and urban transformation. The history constructed was based on the present, in other words, the past was reconstituted from the prism of the present.

The scientificism of the nineteenth century was the foundation for the ideas to be followed, since at this moment technique ratified attitudes and ideas. Thus, the statements of Francisco Inácio Homem de Mello, Militão Augusto de Azevedo, Cândido Mendes de Almeida, and Tancredo do Amaral, amongst others, were parts of the same moment and complemented each other. The resulting history is the multiplying element of the established 'facts,' made available in a large network in which the smallest movement was multiplied and had an impact on the rest of the structure, as focused on in *A teia do fato*, prepared by Carlos Alberto Vesentini.

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NOTE

- ¹ Doctorate from the Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo (FFLCH-USP).