

# Ensign Gamboa and the Society for the Commemoration of the Empire's Independence, 1869-1889<sup>1</sup>

Hendrik Kraay\*

## RESUMO

As festas da Independência brasileira promovidas pela Sociedade Comemorativa da Independência do Império no Rio de Janeiro revelam um significativo engajamento popular com o estado imperial. O controle dessas celebrações pelo “povo” da capital do Brasil aos poucos chegou a preocupar tanto membros da elite, perturbados pelo controle dos símbolos nacionais como a estátua equestre de d. Pedro I por patriotas populares, como republicanos que rejeitaram a monarquia, pois os patriotas populares demonstraram um monarquismo preocupante. Depois da morte do fundador e principal líder da sociedade em 1886, um grupo de homens estreitamente associado ao governo conservador tomou controle da sociedade e tentou impor sua visão de celebrações convenientes e disciplinadas.

Palavras-chave: Festas Cívicas; Independência do Brasil; Império Brasileiro.

## ABSTRACT

The celebrations of Brazilian independence promoted by the Society for the Commemoration of the Empire's Independence in Rio de Janeiro reveal a significant popular engagement with the imperial state. The control of these celebrations by members of the Brazilian capital's *povo* (common people) gradually came to preoccupy both members of the elite, disconcerted at the control of national symbols like the equestrian statue of Emperor Pedro I by popular patriots, and republicans who rejected the monarchy, since the popular patriots demonstrated a disturbing monarchism. After the death of the society's founder and driving force in 1886, a group of men closely associated with the conservative government took over the society and sought to impose their vision of appropriate, disciplined celebrations.

Keywords: Civic Rituals; Brazilian Independence; Brazilian Empire.

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\* Department of History, University of Calgary. 2500 University Dr. NW – Calgary, AB T2N 1N4 Canada. kraay@ucalgary.ca

In October 1869, in a room in Rio de Janeiro's Arts and Trades Lyceum, the Society for the Commemoration of the Empire's Independence (*Sociedade Comemorativa da Independência do Império*, or Commemorative Society) was founded. The founding members elected as their president the architect Francisco Joaquim Betencourt da Silva, but the central figure in the society's organization was a retired ensign (*alferes*), Américo Rodrigues Gamboa, who was elected treasurer.<sup>2</sup> The society's founding was no great novelty. Since the mid-1850s, dozens of societies dedicated to the commemoration of the Seventh of September had flourished for shorter or longer periods in the Brazilian capital. In the second half of the decade these societies were responsible for a wave of patriotic street festivities; music and poetry, fireworks, illuminations and ephemeral architecture, all were part of the popular independence festivities, popular in the sense that they were not official, not organized by the government. These celebrations attracted people "of all classes," as journalists frequently reported. The wave of popular festivities on the Seventh of September began to decline at the beginning of the 1860s and diminished further during the Paraguayan War.<sup>3</sup> With the war's end in sight Betencourt, Gamboa and their patriotic companions undoubtedly envisaged restoring the old patriotic customs.

The society chose the *Praça da Constituição* (Constitution Square, now *Praça Tiradentes* or Tiradentes Square) to hold its first celebration. The equestrian statute of D. Pedro I, inaugurated in 1862, dominated the square and this homage to the man who had proclaimed independence in 1822 meant that it was the logical place to commemorate him. For 7 September 1870, the Society announced that from midnight on "every hour girandoles will be fired into the air"; "when dawn breaks, with the help of some artists and accompanied by martial bands ... the independence anthem will be sung. Two bands will play in the square from six in the evening until midnight." The statue of the first emperor, "fondly remembered," was to be lit by gas throughout the night. In fact the society paid for the installation of pipes around the statute and rented eight large candelabras, with which it lit the statue; it later bought them. Perhaps taking advantage of Gamboa's connections in the military, the society arranged for an artillery battery to fire salutes from Santo Antônio Hill at the same time as the customary salutes from fortresses and warships. Flags and banners decorated the statue, and the society invited residents to decorate the façades of their houses with "national flags and tapestries" and to illuminate windows during the night. The *Jornal do Comércio* deemed the festivities a great success.<sup>4</sup>

This was a typical popular independence commemoration, little different from those of the 1850s. Until 1885 the society's annual celebrations followed the same pattern and became a major street festival, attracting thousands of men and women, many of whom spent the night of 6-7 September in the square. Initially welcomed by the press as manifestations of popular patriotic feeling, the celebrations soon drew more and more criticism for their apparently antiquated and outdated forms and for the predominance of popular participants. The society survived an attempt to marginalize it in 1876-77, but after Gamboa's death in early 1886 a group of men with close connections to the government took control and imposed new forms of commemoration on the popular patriots.

The history of the Society for the Commemoration of the Empire's Independence touches on various important themes in the historiography of Rio de Janeiro. It highlights a significant vein of patriotism among the *povo* (common people), who sufficiently identified with the imperial state, independence, and the symbol of its founder to spend a night commemorating him around the equestrian statue. Such patriotism had already been seen during the mobilization to repel the Paraguayan invasions of 1864-65 and during the Christie Question at the beginning of the decade.<sup>5</sup> The reaction to the society's successes reveals the contempt for the people nurtured by the Fluminense elite, a contempt also visible in the ease with which the liberal government disenfranchised some 90% of voters in the 1881 electoral reform.<sup>6</sup> The attention given to D. Pedro I as the empire's founder did not please the many who rejected the monarchy, but it is an indication of a certain popular monarchism among the poorer population of the city.<sup>7</sup> Very little has been written on civic rituals in the imperial regime and the majority of the literature deals with the first decades after independence.<sup>8</sup> The society's history reveals the continuity of these commemorative practices, their spread among the urban population and the misgivings on the part of many journalists and members of the elite when faced with this popular patriotism.

## FIRST COMMEMORATIONS, 1870-75

After its 1870 success, the Commemorative Society established itself as an integral part of the independence commemorations in the empire's capital. Their celebrations followed the model of the previous year and gradually became more elaborate and well-attended. Elements of the patriotic festivities drew on traditional popular and religious festivities, and journalists commented

favorably, albeit with a tone of condescension, on what Carlos de Laet called “much poetry in this custom of the povo which gathers around its bronze heroes to hail the star of liberty.”<sup>9</sup>

The society’s advertisements in the principal Fluminense newspapers, frequently headed by a small picture of the equestrian statue, reveal the additions to its program. In 1871 the management of the São Pedro d’Alcântara Theater ceded the use of its veranda for members and their families to view the festivities on the night of 6 September. Artillery salutes greeted Princess Regent Isabel when her procession passed through the square on the way to the *Largo do Paço* (Palace Square, now *Praça Quinze* or Fifteenth [of November] Square) for the Te Deum and the levee (from this year on it appears that the imperial procession always took the small detour to the *Praça da Constituição* when it entered the city on 7 September).<sup>10</sup> In 1872 the society obtained an honor guard of apprentices from the Army Arsenal for the statue during the evening of 7 September; their skill at drill impressed one observer in 1873. The Baron of Lorena (Estevão Ribeiro de Resende, the younger), who resided on the *Praça da Constituição* in a house which had belonged to José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (an advisor to Pedro I, considered the patriarch of independence) and who was part of the society’s board of directors, opened his house to its directors and their families in 1874. He offered them a “glass of water [*copo d’água*]” – a snack in the language of the time – and they exchanged several toasts. That year the society raised sufficient funds to erect two “elegant band shells” for the bands.<sup>11</sup> In these reports on the first commemorations, there is no reference to Gamboa (or to others) leading the crowd in cheers after the anthem; such cheers are frequently mentioned in reports from the 1880s, and they likely took place previously.<sup>12</sup>

The press generally had favorable comment on the “modest and cheerful popular festivities” held by the Commemorative Society; in 1872 one newspaper declared that the society “conducted itself brilliantly.”<sup>13</sup> The newspapers also indicate that a “great body of povo” attended the festivities, which in 1874 “were able to keep out of their beds many people who witnessed the always pleasant tropical sunrise.”<sup>14</sup> It did not take long for the society’s commemorations to become traditional. In 1872 the *Jornal do Comércio* wrote that “as always,” the society “played a very active part in the public festivities.” By 1875 these were so well known that major newspapers simply noted that they followed the program of previous years.<sup>15</sup>

The society frequently lamented its sparse resources and tried to raise funds. Francisco Ferreira Rosa much later recounted that before each 7

September, Gamboa “went around with girls dressed in green and yellow” to ask for donations, a practice similar to that of religious festivals’ organizers. Another chronicler described a girl adorned with yellow and green ribbons holding a bag of the same color, in which the people put their coins. There were accusations in 1871 and 1882 that the government was secretly subsidizing the society’s work.<sup>16</sup> By dispatching the artillery battery to Santo Antônio Hill and assigning military bands to play in the square the government also supported the patriots.

All agreed that Gamboa was the society’s heart and soul, although he only became president after the 1871 festivities. In 1875 *Mefistófeles* (a short-lived illustrated periodical) thanked Gamboa and noted that he was in fact the only member who took his task seriously. Most members had joined at his request and only occasionally paid their dues. However, the columnist could not resist in mocking the “baggy trousers” that Gamboa normally wore, a suggestion that he and the commemorations were out of date.<sup>17</sup> It was difficult to fill all the places on the board of directors; the 1873 *Almanaque Laemmert* indicated that three men had refused to serve as directors-at-large. Only thirty-seven men turned up at the meeting on 29 September 1874 to elect the same directors for 1875.<sup>18</sup>

Certainly Gamboa was not a prominent figure. He had enlisted in the cavalry as a second cadet in 1849; without the formal education that was increasingly required for promotion, he served eleven years before being commissioned as an ensign. Health problems forced him to request retirement at the beginning of the Paraguayan War, but he found employment as a civilian in the Ministry of War for a few years.<sup>19</sup> Very little is known of the other twenty-eight men who served as directors between 1870 and 1886 (this figure excludes directors-at-large such as Lorena, rarely mentioned and not very active in the society’s administration).<sup>20</sup> Many of the directors, such as Gamboa, served for more than one year. Three of them held the title of doctor (but none of them appear among the medical doctors in the *Almanaque Laemmert*), and one proudly declared that he was a degree-holder. Six of these men (including Gamboa) held military ranks (two captains, one lieutenant and three ensigns), although Captain João Mariano de Jesus (first secretary in 1882) was the acting commander of the fire brigade. Carlos Clementino Carvalhaes (first secretary in 1873) was a retired artillery lieutenant,<sup>21</sup> and Ensign Wenceslau Vieira Armond (treasurer in 1881) must have been retired as well, since he lived in the Asylum for the Homeland’s Invalids, an indication of his poverty. The most prominent member was the Baron of Lorena, elected as one of the twelve

directors-at-large in 1875, but it is possible that he simply deemed it useful to participate in a society that celebrated on his doorstep. The little information available about these men suggests that the Commemorative Society was, at most, an association of what can be considered the lower middle class.

The connection of the society to the Lyceum also indicates ties to the working class. Founded in 1858, the Lyceum offered free education in the arts and in their application to trades and industry.<sup>22</sup> Manuel Duarte Moreira de Azevedo described the Lyceum as “a popular institution, the working classes’ school [and] the povo’s college.” He also described the architect, Betencourt, as a “son of the povo” who had risen because of his merits and talents; he wore his habit in the Order of the Rose on his “work shirt.” Betencourt was later involved in labor organizations and the Lyceum provided meeting space for many societies.<sup>23</sup> Not all looked favorably on this connection between the Commemorative Society and the working classes. In 1882 Apulco de Castro castigated “a certain Possidônio” and other “rascals, friends of light work, who go around pretending to be workers,” who sought money from the government to celebrate the Seventh of September in the Praça da Constituição and the São Pedro Theater.<sup>24</sup>

Members of the Commemorative Society did not just celebrate independence, they also reflected on its meaning. In October 1872 Gamboa wrote to Alexandre José de Melo Moraes to request the donation of a set of his magazine, *Brasil Histórico* (Historical Brazil, 1864-67), which could no longer be found in the bookshops, since at “various times” during society meetings, there had been “heated discussions about facts of Brazilian history, especially about our political emancipation.” The historian obliged Gamboa with three volumes of the magazine and the first volume of his *História do Brasil Reino e do Brasil Império* (History of Brazil As a Kingdom and As an Empire, 1871); the second volume was then in press. He also explained to the ensign that a careful reading of the book would demonstrate that the equestrian statue “amounts to no more than a garden ornament that evokes sad memories; because Pedro I carelessly dismantled what the real patriots ... had built.” The statue of José Bonifácio also should also be “viewed with indifference,” since he was not a real patriot.<sup>25</sup> Gamboa’s request is a rare indication that the debates about history had an impact on society. The fact that the Commemorative Society did not accept the historian’s advice and continued to celebrate around the statute suggests that its members drew their own conclusions, conclusions that did not please the monarchy’s critics, such as Melo Moraes.

Another indication of discomfort with the society's control of patriotic street festivities appears in the work of the historian Moreira de Azevedo. In 1867, five years after the inauguration of the monument to D. Pedro I, he lamented that a fenced park had been built around the statue. The square should have been kept as an open space for "the great popular meetings or for the dignified celebrations of the nation." In the revised version of the book, published ten years later, he cut these recommendations, even though, in fact, such gatherings and popular festivities of independence had taken place since 1870.<sup>26</sup>

Both Mello Moraes's arrogant recommendation and Moreira de Azevedo's omission indicate that for different reasons the Commemorative Society's patriotic festivities caused unease. Those who rejected the monarchy condemned the apparent popular monarchism, while those who supported the imperial regime found it disconcerting that the most enthusiastic patriots came from the povo. These criticisms intensified over the following decade.

#### CRITIQUES, 1876-85

At the same time that Moreira de Azevedo was revising his recommendations about the use of the Praça da Constituição, press attitudes toward the Commemorative Society changed noticeably. The once favorable commentary gave way to more critical observations about the festivities, now considered old-fashioned, dominated by the povo and unworthy of a civilized Rio de Janeiro. It is impossible to know whether this change reflected a change in the social profile of participants or a change of opinion on journalists' part; probably there was a little of both.

The first sign of the changing attitudes toward the society appeared in 1876, in the form of an attempt to wrest control of the festivities from the men of modest social origins who formed the society. Gamboa and three other elected directors had their mandates annulled at the beginning of the year; a new executive under the control of Isidro Borges Monteiro organized commemorations identical to those of the previous year.<sup>27</sup> Monteiro was an honorary *desembargador* (appeals court judge) and had been Rio de Janeiro's chief of police in the 1850s, an indication that his presidency constituted an official initiative. If so, it failed. The new board remained in place for 1877, but according to the *Revista Ilustrada*, the "brave folk" preferred "to listen to the Santo Antônio Hill [cannon] blasts from their beds," an indication that Monteiro had not managed to inspire enthusiasm. In 1878 they lacked the

means to hold festivities “with the necessary brilliance.” Gamboa, some of his friends, and those who lived around the Praça da Constituição entered into the breach and organized the popular independence festivities, but rainy weather hampered the commemoration.<sup>28</sup> The society’s failure to publish the names of its directors in the *Almanques* for 1878, 1879 and 1880 is another indication of its difficulties.

At the same time that Gamboa was removed, the Independence Society (Sociedade Independência) was created to organize festivities in the Largo de São Francisco around the statue of José Bonifácio. The president of this society, Councilor Dom Francisco Baltasar da Silveira, was a Supreme Court desembargador. Among the other directors of this society were a doctor, a lieutenant-coronel (probably from the National Guard) and the city librarian (Afonso Herculano de Lima). All this indicates that this was a group of men with a higher social position than that of Gamboa’s boards.<sup>29</sup> In addition to having the independence anthem sung at dawn by some ladies (members of the society), it paid for a Te Deum in the Santa Cruz dos Militares Church, after which it freed five slaves (something that the Commemorative Society never did). For three evenings, the Independence Society offered music (navy bands) and illumination in the square. It held the same commemoration in 1877, although only three slaves were freed.<sup>30</sup>

A columnist in the *Jornal do Comércio* compared the Independence Society favorably to the Commemorative Society, for the latter “has only existed to set off girandoles and build band shells” while the former “since the first day that it appeared has done good, dried tears [and] broken the chains of captivity.” In 1876 the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* reported that the day had been “better celebrated than in previous years,” thanks to the new society’s efforts, while Machado de Assis expected that the competition between it and the Commemorative Society would stimulate greater festivities in the future, but the Independence Society disappeared after 1877, leaving Gamboa and his society as the sole organizers of popular festivities on 7 September.<sup>31</sup>

It is not clear what lay behind the efforts to jettison Gamboa and to create a rival society. Until then the press coverage had been generally favorable, although there were some indications of the criticism that would be developed later. There may have been a connection to partisan politics, since these efforts coincided with the final two years of the Conservative ministry of the Duke of Caxias (June 1875 – January 1878). The new Liberal cabinet of João Lins Vieira Cansação de Sinimbu (January 1878 – March 1880) and his successors left Gamboa and his fellow patriots free to organize the festivities that they wanted.



As we will see new attempts to control them only emerged after the Conservatives returned to power in 1885.

In any event, Gamboa survived the effort to marginalize him, reorganized the Commemorative Society and resumed organizing popular festivities similar to those of the early 1870s. However, now he had to face increasingly critical comments about his festivities, although they were so well known that the first tourist guide to Rio de Janeiro included a detailed description of them.<sup>32</sup> *O Domingo* lamented in 1878 that the “enlightened” city celebrated independence in such a “ridiculous” manner. In 1879 Laet suggested that political parties could learn something from the scrupulousness with which the society followed its program [*programa*]; it looked like “something done by a machine” (*programa* also means political platform in Portuguese).<sup>33</sup> But such regularity quickly became monotony. In 1881 one of the *Revista Ilustrada*'s columnists wondered why the “festival commissions have only one commemorative program: lights in the two squares ... and band music.” The *Gazeta de Notícias*'s columnist went further, admiring the “unalterable manner in which the festive program was repeated.” The same men organized the same festivities year after year and it always rained. Were it not for the artillery salutes, people would sleep peacefully without even remembering the day.<sup>34</sup>

Two years later, Ângelo Agostini gently satirized the commemorations, especially the small wooden forts (the band shells) with cardboard cannon and the flesh-and-blood soldiers who garrisoned them during the day. Groups of men, representing the “brave Brazilian folk,” gathered in the square, but with their peaceful attitude “there was nothing fierce [*bravos*] about them” (a play on the independence anthem's words) (Figure 1). On the right side of the cartoon “a sort of Otávio Hudson went around reciting some patriotic stuff in verse, talking about the Land of the Holy Cross [an old name for Brazil]!”<sup>35</sup> The year before while “a multitude of the povo crowded the Praça da Constituição” in the late afternoon of 6 September, an observer declared that the celebration was “ever more grotesque,” especially now that real soldiers – perhaps even Paraguayan War veterans – garrisoned the mock forts.<sup>36</sup> The *Gazeta de Notícias* columnist judged that the forts and the artillery park amounted to besiegers of the equestrian statue. D. Pedro I would have to decide whether he would once again declare “Fico!” (I'll stay), as he did on 9 January 1822, or whether he would flee along Rua Leopoldina, the only open route. Laet complained about the organizers' “lack of imagination” and imagined the first emperor's boredom at the “classic solemnities of the great national day.” Koseritz attributed a mixture of sadness and disdain to D. Pedro

I as he watched everything from his pedestal. Another columnist commented that the patriots who sang the independence anthem “executed it,” since their “good intentions were inversely related to their artistic talents.”<sup>37</sup>

Figure 1 – The Festivities of the Society for the Commemoration of the Empire’s Independence, 1883



Source: *Revista Illustrada*, 15 Sept. 1883.

These critical comments offer some details about the individuals involved. We have already noted Gamboa’s baggy trousers and his undistinguished military career. After his death a columnist called him the “ensign who never made lieutenant” and commented that he had never even been decorated with a knighthood in the Order of the Rose, the empire’s lowest decoration.<sup>38</sup> Otávio Hudson, the bard in Figure 1, is considered Brazil’s first proletarian poet. He began his career as a typesetter and gradually emerged as a journalist, poet, labor organizer, and advocate of popular education, although he never abandoned his trade.<sup>39</sup> Antônio José Nunes Garcia, a poet with few artistic talents who had produced patriotic verse for civic festivities since the 1850s, also frequently attended the festivities. With a woolen scarf wrapped around his neck to keep away the cold, he always had some colored papers in hand, which he said were “verses,” recalled one chronicler.<sup>40</sup>

All agreed that many people spent the night in the square. Laet estimated that in 1879 between three and four thousand people would be there at dawn, but since he did not want to catch bronchitis, he stayed home. The U.S. consul commented in 1884 that “Constitution Park” had been “thronged with people all night.” Koseritz spoke about a “formidable human mass” in 1883.<sup>41</sup> Unless it was rainy, the popular independence festivities attracted many people.

Journalists invariably observed that those who spent the night on the square were part of the “povo,”<sup>42</sup> an undefined but highly significant social category used to distinguish the majority of the population – free, poor and of color – from the small lettered elite that held political and economic power. An old observer of social changes commented in 1877 that no one (of his class, it went without saying) went out anymore to visit “illuminations” and described the Commemorative Society as a group which struggled to keep alive customs that were disappearing. In a revealing report from 1884, the *Gazeta de Notícias* contrasted the “povo” that had gathered around the statue with the “youth” who spent the night “dancing happily” to the sounds of carnival music in the clubs located near the Praça da Constituição.<sup>43</sup> The following year a cartoon in *O Mequetrefe* highlighted both the low social origins and the racial diversity of those who celebrated in the square (Figure 2). One of the first childhood memories of the folklorist, Luiz Edmundo (1878-1961), son of a public school teacher, was going from his house in Botafogo “downtown to enjoy the illuminations” on days of national festivity, a memory that he dated to 1883 or 1884. Apart from the streetcar fare, this was cheap entertainment for the family of a poorly-paid public employee, but he did not mention the Praça da Constituição, which according to Koseritz, stood out from the rest of the city like a “river of light” cast by “thousands of gas nozzles.”<sup>44</sup>

Figure 2 – The *Povo* at the Seventh of September Commemorations, 1885



Source: *O Mequetrefe*, 10 Sept. 1885.

Koseritz, who judged the festival “more grotesque than grandiose,” wondered why the “formidable human mass” gathered around the equestrian statue on the night of 7 September 1883, since there was “absolutely nothing” to do, other than hear bands playing in the two forts. Others agreed. In a dialogue between two fictional brothers-in-law published in *Distração*, one declared that even though he was Brazilian, “I do not have an obligation to be so stupid as to waste a entire night going to the Rocio [an old name for the Praça da Constituição] to hear half a dozen idiots screaming something bland, which the simpletons called the *independence anthem* ... These stupidities are no longer of this time. Now we are in the century of light! No one else lives on songs.”<sup>45</sup>

After Gamboa’s death, “Marcos Valente,” a columnist with *A Semana*, declared that no one went to the square to see the old decorations, hear the anthem, flirt, “catch a cold, get drunk, [and] relieve others of their wallets,” indications of what happened there. Laet alluded to prostitution and in the same column criticized the “naive admirers of flags and fireworks” who crowded the square.<sup>46</sup> All of this took place at any popular celebration, but what is notable is the absence of references to the dancing which had been so important in other popular celebrations such as the Holy Spirit Festival (Pentecost) and carnival. Nor are there any references to the construction of booths for the sale of food and drink (although Laet mentioned two old female foodsellers [*quitadeiras*] with cakes and bread in 1876 and another later chronicler remembered itinerant sellers of pies and ice cream).<sup>47</sup> There were probably enough bars and other stores in the square’s vicinity for the public’s needs. Capoeira is another notable absence in the press reports. Although later columnists remembered that “during the late Gamboa’s days,” “it was not rare ... for a quiet and inoffensive citizen” to be attacked by *capoeiras* during the popular festivities, there are no contemporary reports of this, merely a few indications of arrests of *capoeiras* on the Praça da Constituição.<sup>48</sup>

Alongside those who criticized the Commemorative Society’s festivities as antiquated and unworthy of a civilized Rio de Janeiro, self-proclaimed revolutionaries also rejected them. After describing the “pharaonic pomp” of 7 September 1882, *A Revolução* recommended that “each passionate Brazilian go to beach, squat and evacuate from his belly his dose of independence on the shiny sand.” Real independence was not commemorated with such pomp, but with the construction of schools and factories, explained this broadsheet.<sup>49</sup> A certain Oscar de Castro lamented in 1885 that the povo celebrated “a monarchy that has a golden crown derived from the [slave] trade.” The following year, O

*Farol*, the periodical which published Castro's text, compared those who celebrated in the square with slaves whose master gave them "the right to entertain themselves by dancing and drumming and, when fed up with the pleasures of these miserable Africans, orders the overseer to send them back to their quarters, so that they would be more ready to work the next day."<sup>50</sup> Other critics lamented that the povo did not recognize the limits of the independence proclaimed in 1822, in the same way that Mello Moraes castigated Gamboa for commemorating D. Pedro I. A poet writing in a student publication condemned the "vile slaves" who did not recognize the importance of Tiradentes, the republican symbol.<sup>51</sup> Veriano Fontino, the author of an 1877 pamphlet hit the same note, castigating the "miserable people" who surrounded the statue, "proof of *imperial power and tyranny*."<sup>52</sup>

Gamboa's death in early 1886 and the resulting lack of popular independence commemorations provoked a wave of reminiscences, in which journalists retreated from their previous criticisms. Gamboa had been "the unperceived safe in which all [of us] deposited our patriotic fervor," explained the *Gazeta de Notícias*'s columnist: "True to his commitments, Ensign Gamboa died taking with him the precious deposit; hence the taciturn, melancholy and unusual Seventh of September that we had."<sup>53</sup> Albeit somewhat grudgingly, Laet also praised the ensign's enthusiasm for independence celebrations.<sup>54</sup> All journalists agreed that without him there would be no Seventh of September festivities in the square, something that they regarded with ambivalence. Not having any commemoration was worse than the ensign's outdated festivities.<sup>55</sup> The radical newspaper, *Carbonário*, happily judged that the povo had finally learned "that the independence of the Ipiranga was nothing other than the suffocation of the republican fervor that was stirring in the free provinces."<sup>56</sup>

## THE NEW SOCIETY, 1887-89

In 1887 the Society for the Commemoration of the Empire's Independence reappeared with a new board of directors headed by Senator Manoel Francisco Correia. It organized independence commemorations very similar to those of Gamboa's time, with band shells in the Praça da Constituição, music and fireworks at night, the singing of the independence anthem at dawn – now by music students and members of the society – followed by cheers and a procession to José Bonifácio's statue to repeat the anthem and the cheers. Due to the construction of a new street alongside Santo Antônio Hill, it was no longer possible to place an artillery battery there, so the salutes were fired from

in front of the barracks on the Campo de Santana. Fireworks were set off from the top of the hill. At the end of the afternoon on 7 September, the society sponsored a parade of schoolchildren and at night it held a solemnity in the municipal council building. During the nights of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> the society provided music and fireworks to distract the people.<sup>57</sup>

The society held an almost identical commemoration in 1888,<sup>58</sup> but all recognized that it was no longer Gamboa's Commemorative Society. *Diário de Notícias* declared in 1887 that "the traditional deceased child [*anjinho*] dressed in green and yellow" – the old society – "gave way to the elegant representatives of Fluminense high society [*grande-monde*]," or, according to the *Jornal do Comércio's* columnist the year after, "citizens of an elevated social position."<sup>59</sup> In his speech at the 1887 solemnity, the educator Joaquim Abílio Borges declared that the society's aim was to restore the long diminished enthusiasm for the Seventh of September festivities, a brusque rejection of everything Gamboa had done.<sup>60</sup> In 1888 the *Gazeta de Notícias's* columnist declared that the society's efforts indicated "ruling classes'" desire to promote the means for awakening in the povo the feeling of nationality and to invigorate – if not awaken – in their hearts love for the homeland [*pátria*]."<sup>61</sup>

The new Commemorative Society's leadership came from a class of men (and women) very different from the time of Gamboa.<sup>62</sup> The new president, Correia, senator for Paraná since 1877, had served as minister of foreign affairs in the Conservative cabinet of the Viscount of Rio Branco. The vice-president, Francisco Augusto de Almeida, was a prominent homeopathic doctor who had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. I do not have any other information about the other five men who served on the board in 1887 and 1888, but there were connections to the Conservative Party (back in power since August 1885) in the committee charged with organizing the festivities. It included Senator Domingos José Nogueira Jaguaribe, a cabinet colleague of Correia in 1871 (named the Viscount of Jaguaribe in 1888), and the merchant and future senator, Manoel José Soares, a long-time conservative activist.<sup>63</sup> The third member of this key committee was the second Baron Ipanema, José Antônio Moreira Filho. The twenty councilors formed a mixed group. They included the poet Garcia and the architect Betencourt da Silva. These relics of Gamboa's time disappeared from the board in 1888, which now included ten women, perhaps teachers.<sup>64</sup> The society's functions were not entirely restricted to Conservatives and the official orator at the 1888 solemnity was the Viscount of Ouro Preto, a Liberal who would be the last president of the empire's council

of ministers. In his talk he stressed the importance of improving the education system as a complement to abolition.<sup>65</sup>

The new society's pedagogical interest was also manifested through the promotion of student processions. In 1887 the municipal council refused to order the participation of municipal schools, but the Abílio (whose owner was Joaquim Abílio Borges) and Menezes Vieira private schools sent their students. The students from the Abílio school, uniformed and regimented, carrying wooden rifles and bayonets, made a good impression with their discipline and their martial bearing. They held standards with the names of Tiradentes and Padre Roma (the martyrs of 1789 and 1817) and patriarchs of independence such as José Bonifácio and his brothers, José Clemente Pereira and Joaquim Gonçalves Ledo (a mixture of republican heroes and traditional monarchist figures). The students from the Menezes Vieira wore their "gymnastic uniforms" with a "belt with the national colors." Six other schools participated and the press hoped that there would be greater participation in the future.<sup>66</sup>

In 1888, in fact, a large number of municipal schools joined the parade, in which both boys and girls participated. It was watched by a large crowd, undoubtedly consisting of many proud parents. The gymnastics skill of the boys from the Colégio Ítalo-Brasileiro impressed all.<sup>67</sup> The justification for these parades appeared in comments on the Children's Festival to commemorate the abolition of slavery. Held on 10 July 1888, this procession included more than 2000 students from twenty-eight municipal schools (almost one quarter of the 9022 children enrolled in the ninety-eight municipal schools); it ended in the Imperial Teatro D. Pedro II where, in Princess Isabel's presence, the children sang hymns, recited poetry and played music. The *Diário de Notícias* explained that these "children's festivals, widespread in Europe," promoted patriotism and "accustomed them, future citizens, to society, making them more apt for social life, and being regimented, as they are, engraves in them the notion that in every event, in all the acts of life, order is necessary."<sup>68</sup> These parades can be considered the first steps on the long path that would lead to the excesses of Orpheonic singing and the large schoolchildren's parades of the *Estado Novo* (Getúlio Vargas's 1937-45 dictatorship).<sup>69</sup>

The new Commemorative Society had more resources than the poor society of Gamboa's time. In 1888 it acquired a green silk standard for its parades. It displayed images of the equestrian statue, the Southern Cross, and an angel of liberty who held "the broken fetters of the free nation" and held "a crown over the august forehead of D. Pedro I."<sup>70</sup> In 1887 and 1888 the society

published a magazine (a pamphlet) to publicize its activities, in which it also transcribed the favorable press coverage. Both issues of the magazine included long acknowledgements thanking the individuals and companies that had supported the festivities through donations. In both years the Banco Mercantil rented the São Pedro Theater for the society and streetcar companies transported the students for free.<sup>71</sup> A large number of “ladies and gentlemen” and “a large number of distinguished families and gentlemen with a high social position” attended the solemnity both years.<sup>72</sup> In 1887 the official orator, Borges, spoke for an hour about “the important facts of the history of this nation, for which Divine Providence has reserved a brilliant future.”<sup>73</sup>

While the cream of Fluminense society filled the municipal palace in 1887, “the extraordinary concourse of povo” in downtown streets ensured that the day was “truly festive.”<sup>74</sup> As in Gamboa’s day, the povo began to arrive in the wee hours of the morning and the square was soon so full that it was difficult to walk through it.<sup>75</sup> Some repeated these evaluations in 1888, but others had a more critical view.<sup>76</sup> Writing for the *Diário de Minas*, Raul Pompeia reported that he had seen only a “small number of curious people” in the middle of the night and believed that “national joy was absent from the city.” Similarly, a *Diário de Notícias* columnist perceived only “coldness” and “indifference.” Furthermore, he argued that the last true “popular commemoration” of the Seventh of September had taken place in 1848, when anti-Portuguese nativism and radical liberal efforts to win the municipal elections had led to violence.<sup>77</sup> That these republicans rejected the popular festivities and remembered the last great radical liberal demonstrations on a day of national festivity is consistent both with their rejection of the monarchy and their evolution from radical liberalism.

A new model for the band shells caused much discussion in 1888. Instead of the traditional forts, the society built two octagonal pavilions, supported by sixteen columns, between which were painted illuminated portraits of the emperors looking to the statue, surrounded by small shields with important dates from each reign.<sup>78</sup> This example of ephemeral architecture, so common a few decades previously, now seemed completely antiquated. A columnist recommended that the police prohibit these “shameful manifestations of bad taste” and another deemed the portrait of D. Pedro II so badly painted that he seemed to be suffering from “a neuralgia that swelled up his entire face and twisted his features into an expression of pain that made him worthy of pity.”<sup>79</sup>

The final commemoration of the Seventh of September during the empire was held under the auspices of the new Liberal government of the Viscount of



Ouro Preto. The Commemorative Society got to work and decorated the Praça da Constituição. A large crowd was there to hear five military bands playing the anthem at dawn. Most newspapers agreed with this evaluation from *Jornal do Comércio*.<sup>80</sup> Rui Barbosa's republican newspaper, the *Diário de Notícias*, judged the square deserted and saw little enthusiasm. The other republican publication, *Novidades*, admitted that there was a "joyful appearance" in the streets, but deemed it all a "fanfreluche."<sup>81</sup>

The Commemorative Society, so closely tied to the Conservatives in 1887 and 1888, may have undergone some changes in the interval between the appointment of Ouro Preto to the presidency of the council of ministers in June and independence day. The press made no mention of the society's leadership. Prince Pedro Augusto presided over the solemnity and gave his first public speech, in which he summarized the country's history and "hailed the brilliant future reserved for Brazil." Deputy Afonso Celso Jr., son of the president of the council of ministers, spoke about Brazil's peaceful history and its capacity to carry out great deeds such as independence and abolition without great conflicts.<sup>82</sup> Somewhat begrudgingly, *Novidades* recognized that the prince had made a successful debut, but a republican weekly saw his participation as ridiculous and condemned his weak understanding of Brazilian history, his naïve respect for this progenitors, and judged the whole session a great fiasco.<sup>83</sup> For some time the prince, the oldest son of Princess Leopoldina, raised in Brazil since the death of his mother, had been conspiring to replace his aunt as heir to the throne and his participation may have been an effort to improve his image.<sup>84</sup> The by now traditional student parade was praised by many.<sup>85</sup>

Ten weeks later the republic was proclaimed and the Society for the Commemoration of the Empire's Independence disappeared. The first republican governments invested much more in the commemoration of the Fifteenth of November than the Seventh of September and the few avowed monarchists contrasted the militarized commemorations of the first anniversary of the new regime with the "popular festivities" of the monarchy.<sup>86</sup> This observation completely ignored the many criticisms of the Commemorative Society and the efforts to control the popular festivities that had begun in 1887.

The history of the Commemorative Society touches on several important questions related to imperial politics and society, including the popularity of the monarchy, the nature of the popular relationship with the imperial state and the concerns about the povo. The fact that thousands of people had

participated in patriotic festivities around the statue of D. Pedro I suggests the existence of a certain popular monarchism, as does the fact that they commemorated the empire's independence. As the society's festivities became more popular, more dominated by the povo, they attracted more critical comment from the press. Although for different reasons the Commemorative Society's control over the popular independence festivities troubled many.

There is a certain irony in the criticism of Gamboa's society and a parallel with the cultural processes identified by Maria Clementina Pereira da Cunha in the Carioca carnival. She argues that the popular carnival societies founded at the end of the nineteenth century reflected the success of the pedagogical project of the carnival societies founded in the 1850s. The popular societies emulated the so-called "great societies," but when the new societies with their Afro-Brazilian rhythms appeared to overwhelm the European civilized carnival idealized by the elite, they began to suffer criticisms.<sup>87</sup> Gamboa and the popular patriots had well learned the civics lessons of the 1850s, when the rhetoric of the Seventh of September highlighted the role of D. Pedro I in the proclamation of independence, when the campaign to erect the statue was in full swing, and when the patriotic societies' festivities attracted people from all classes (including the imperial family who used to visit the illuminations at night). In the 1880s, however, uncritical acceptance of the statue was rare and popular patriots appeared antiquated and naïve to many, and completely wrong in the eyes of those who rejected the imperial regime.

Those involved in the Commemorative Society between 1887 and 1889 could not accept this independent popular patriotism and made an effort to create an appropriately disciplined national sentiment through school parades and public commemorations under their control. Abolition, of course, was an important context and the society's reorganization was part of the concern about the povo, also manifested in the efforts to control vagrancy or to repress capoeira which also took place at this time, although these happened mainly after the republic's proclamation.<sup>88</sup>

Analyzing the history of the Commemorative Society is also a way of looking at the old question of the imperial regime's popularity. Although many have argued that the monarchy enjoyed much popularity in its final years, Ronaldo Pereira de Jesus has recently argued that the predominant popular view was "indifference" to the regime, punctuated by outbreaks of violence such as the Vintém Riot of 1880 and by pragmatic individual or collective appeals to the monarch.<sup>89</sup> In contrast, Lilia Moritz Schwarcz and Martha Abreu perceive a reciprocal relationship between the official image of the monarchy

and its reception and comprehension through popular festivities. They argue that the abandonment of a large part of the apparatus of royalty and the cultural changes which contributed to the decline of popular festivities undermined the regime in the eyes of the population.<sup>90</sup> The sources left by the Commemorative Society do not permit such a deep analysis of the popular consciousness, but it is certain that the patriots who commemorated independence on the Praça da Constituição had their own vision of independence, the origins of the nation, and the appropriate ways to celebrate the empire's foundation. They were not indifferent to the monarchy.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the endnotes: AGCRJ (Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro) and *RSCII (Revista da Sociedade Commemorativa da Independencia e do Imperio)*. I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Canada) and the *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (Capes)* for their financial support.

<sup>2</sup> MELLO MORAES, Alexandre José de. *Festas e tradições populares no Brasil*. 3.ed. Rio de Janeiro: F. Briguiet, 1946, p.151.

<sup>3</sup> KRAAY, Hendrik. "‘Sejamos brasileiros no dia da nossa nacionalidade’: comemorações da Independência no Rio de Janeiro, 1840-1864". *Topoi*, v.8, n.14, p.9-36, 2007.

<sup>4</sup> *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 Sept. 1870. On the installation of the gas lighting, see the petitions of the Sociedade Commemorativa da Independencia do Império to the Câmara Municipal, 5 Aug. 1870, AGCRJ, 43-3-64, fol. 22; and 18 Aug. 1870, AGCRJ, 43-1-64, fol. 28; Manager, Rio de Janeiro Gas Company, to Câmara, 18 Aug. 1870, AGCRJ, 43-3-64, fol. 23. For a reference to the purchase of the candelabras, see Gamboa to Câmara, Rio de Janeiro, 18 Jan. 1873, AGCRJ, 43-3-68, fol. 2. For the favorable evaluation, see "Sete de Setembro," *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1870.

<sup>5</sup> SILVA, Eduardo. *Dom Obá II d'África, o príncipe do povo: vida, tempo e pensamento de um homem livre de cor*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997, p.38-44.

<sup>6</sup> GRAHAM, Richard. *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, p.182-206.

<sup>7</sup> On the rejection of the empire, see MELLO, Maria Tereza Chaves de. *A República consentida: cultura democrática e científica do final do Império*. Rio de Janeiro: Anpuh, 2007.

<sup>8</sup> CHAMON, Carla Simone. *Festejos imperiais: festas cívicas em Minas Gerais (1815-1845)*. Bragança Paulista: Edusf, Universidade São Francisco, CDAPH, 2002; BASILE, Marcelo Otávio Neri de Campos. "Festas cívicas na Corte regencial." *Varia História*, v.22, n.36, p.494-516, 2006; KRAAY, Hendrik. "Nação, Estado e política popular no Rio de Janeiro:

festas cívicas depois da Independência.” In: *Nacionalismo nas Américas*. Edited by PAMPLONA, Marco Antônio, and DOYLE, Don. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2008, p.329-354.

<sup>9</sup> C[arlos] de L[aet], “Folhetim,” *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 9-10 Sept. 1876.

<sup>10</sup> “Sete de setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 Sept. 1871; “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal da Tarde*, 5 Sept. 1871; “Festejos,” *Jornal da Tarde*, 6 Sept. 1871. In Sept. 1871, D. Pedro II was in Europe.

<sup>11</sup> “Dia 7 de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 4 Sept. 1872; “Noticias locais,” *A Nação*, 9 Sept. 1873; *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 Sept. 1874; “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1874. José Bonifácio’s house stood on the corner of today’s Avenida Passos and Praça Tiradentes, COARACY, Vivaldo. *Memórias da cidade do Rio de Janeiro*. 3.ed. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1965, p.89.

<sup>12</sup> “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1883; “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1885; “Chronica da semana,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, 9 Sept. 1888.

<sup>13</sup> “Sete de setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8-9 Sept. 1871; “Anniversario da Independencia,” *Correio do Brazil*, 9 Sept. 1872.

<sup>14</sup> Folhetim, *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 13 Sept. 1874; “Festejos,” *A Nação*, 8 Sept. 1872. See also *Gazeta de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1875; and “Chronica,” *Vida Fluminense*, 12 Sept. 1874.

<sup>15</sup> *Jornal do Commercio*, 8-9 Sept. 1872; “Sociedade Commemorativa da Independencia do Imperio,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 Sept. 1875. See also “Sete de setembro,” *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 8 Sept. 1875.

<sup>16</sup> *Diario de Noticias*, 5 de setembro de 1872; *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 de setembro de 1873; FERREIRA DA ROSA, [Francisco]. “Memorial de [sic] Rio de Janeiro: personagens – fatos – narrativa de acontecimentos – vida e progresso da cidade em meio século (1878-1928)”. *Arquivo do Distrito Federal*. v.2, p.88 (1951); FERREIRA DA ROSA, [Francisco]. “Chronica antiga”. In: *Prosa sadia (pequeno extrato de uma antiga coleção de escritos)*. 9 Vols. Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Sauer, 1936-46, v.6, p.24-25; “7 de Setembro,” *O Mequetrefe*, Sept. 1892; “S. C. da Independencia do Imperio,” *Jornal da Tarde*, 9 Sept. 1871; “Memorandum: 7 de setembro,” *Corsario*, 3 Sept. 1882.

<sup>17</sup> “Chronica da semana,” *Mephistopheles*, 11 Sept. 1875. For other references to Gamboa’s “baggy trousers,” see “Chronica da Semana,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, 11 Sept. 1887; “Collaboração,” *Corsario*, 7 Sept. 1881. Others also remembered that he was responsible for most of the society’s work, Dorante, “Bric-à-brac” (folhetim), *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 8 Sept. 1878; “Chronica da Semana,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1889.

<sup>18</sup> *Almanak Laemmert* (1873), p.485; “Sociedade Commemorativa da Independencia do Imperio,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 1 Oct. 1874.

<sup>19</sup> See his petitions and service record in Arquivo Histórico do Exército, Requerimentos, A-58-1815.

<sup>20</sup> The list of directors’ names was compiled from *Almanak Laemmert* (1872-77, 1881-86) and from the society’s announcements.

- <sup>21</sup> SACRAMENTO BLAKE, Augusto Victorino. *Diccionario bibliographico brasileiro*. 7 Vols. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1883-1902, v.2, p.60.
- <sup>22</sup> BARROS, Álvaro Paes de. *O Liceu de Artes e Ofícios e seu fundador: depoimento histórico no primeiro centenário da grande instituição*. Rio de Janeiro: no publisher, 1956, p.15-17, 34.
- <sup>23</sup> MOREIRA DE AZEVEDO, Manuel Duarte. *O Rio de Janeiro: sua história, monumentos, homens notáveis, usos e curiosidades*. 2 Vols. 3.ed. Rio de Janeiro: Brasiliense, 1969, v.2, p.107, 109; SACRAMENTO BLAKE, *Diccionario*, v.3, p.3-4; HAHNER, June E. *Poverty and Politics: The Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870-1920*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986, p.97; BARROS, *Liceu*, 111-112.
- <sup>24</sup> "7 de setembro," *O Corsario*, 5 Sept. 1882. In the following issues he also castigated Posidônio as an ersatz worker, "O dia 7," *O Corsario*, 11 Sept. 1882.
- <sup>25</sup> Américo Rodrigues Gamboa to Alexandre José de Mello Moraes, [Rio de Janeiro], 21 Oct. 1872; and Mello Moraes to Gamboa, [Rio de Janeiro], 23 Oct. 1872. In: MELLO MORAES, A[lexandre] J[osé] de. *A Independência e o Império do Brasil, ou a Independência comprada por dous milhões de libras esterlinas...* Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Globo, 1877, p.353-354. I do not know how Gamboa and his companions could draw these conclusions from the disorganized *História do Brasil*, which is essentially a collection of documents with some sparse comments from the historian, MELLO MORAES, A[lexandre] J[osé] de. *História do Brasil-Reino e do Brasil-Império*. 2 Vols. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1982 [1871-73]. There are some critiques of D. Pedro I and José Bonifácio in the second volume, p.47, 48, 335-336, 440.
- <sup>26</sup> MOREIRA DE AZEVEDO, Manuel Duarte. *Pequeno panorama, ou, descrição dos principaes edifícios da cidade do Rio de Janeiro*. 5 Vols. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de F. de Paula Brito, 1861-67, v.5, p.44-45, 49 (quote). The observations on the use of the square for civic festivities do not appear in the equivalent passage in the second edition, MOREIRA DE AZEVEDO, *Rio*, v.2, p.33-34.
- <sup>27</sup> Comparison of the society's listing in *Almanak Laemmert* (1876), p.538, with the program published in *Gazeta de Noticias*, 6 Sept. 1876 (which mentions the new board).
- <sup>28</sup> *Revista Illustrada*, 8 Sept. 1877; "Festejos da Independência," *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 6 Sept. 1878; "Festejos," *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 7 Sept. 1878. The rain is mentioned by D. Filho, "A viagem imperial," *O Besouro*, 14 Sept. 1878.
- <sup>29</sup> For the society's board, see *Almanak Laemmert* (1877), p.545. Silveira is mentioned with the other judges, *ibid.*, 144. For Lima's biography, see SACRAMENTO BLAKE, *Diccionario*, v.1, p.14.
- <sup>30</sup> First Secretary, Sociedade Independência, to Câmara, Rio de Janeiro, 29 Aug. 1876, AG-CRJ, 43-3-68, fol. 16; *Gazeta de Noticias*, 6 Sept. 1876; "Independência do Imperio," *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 6 Sept. 1876; "Sete de Setembro," *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 Sept. 1876; "Programma Sociedade Independência"; *Diario de Noticias*, 6 Sept. 1877.
- <sup>31</sup> "A semana" (folhetim), *Jornal do Commercio*, 17 Sept. 1876; "Independência do Impe-

rio,” *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 8 Sept. 1876; [Machado de Assis], “Historia de quinze dias,” *Ilustração Brasileira*, 15 Sept. 1876.

<sup>32</sup> CABRAL, Alfredo do Valle. *Guia do viajante ao Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. da *Gazeta de Notícias*, 1882, p.363, 366-367.

<sup>33</sup> “Noticiario,” *O Domingo*, 15 Sept. 1878; L[ael], “Microcosmo,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 7 Sept. 1879. See also his column of the same title in *Jornal do Commercio*, 12 Sept. 1880.

<sup>34</sup> Alter, “Chronicas fluminenses,” *Revista Illustrada*, 10 Sept. 1881; “Chronica,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 11 Sept. 1881.

<sup>35</sup> Cartoon, *Revista Illustrada*, 15 Sept. 1883.

<sup>36</sup> “Sete de Setembro,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 8 Sept. 1882; Cont. Oscar, “Reclamação,” *O Mequetrefe*, 10 Sept. 1882. See also A., Correspondência, *Gazeta Suburbana*, 7 Sept. 1884.

<sup>37</sup> Folhetim, Chronica, *Gazeta de Notícias*, 17 Sept. 1882; L[ael], “Microcosmo,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 10 Sept. 1882; KOSERITZ, Carl von, *Imagens do Brasil*. Translated by Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco. São Paulo: Martins, 1943, p.187; “Chronica da Semana,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 7 Sept. 1884.

<sup>38</sup> “Dia a dia: Notas a lapis,” *Gazeta da Tarde*, 7 Sept. 1886.

<sup>39</sup> MENEZES, Raimundo de. *Dicionário literário brasileiro*, 2.ed. Rio de Janeiro: Livros Técnicos e Científicos, 1978, p.331; SACRAMENTO BLAKE, *Diccionario*, v.6, p.321; HAHNER, *Poverty*, p.76.

<sup>40</sup> “Chronica da Semana,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 9 Sept. 1888. For other references to Garcia, see “Chronica da Semana,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 8 Sept. 1889; Violino, “Reportagem parnasiana,” *Diario de Notícias*, 6 Sept. 1886. On his participation in 1850’s independence celebration, see KRAAY, “Sejamos brasileiros,” p.24-25.

<sup>41</sup> L[ael], “Microcosmo,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 7 Sept. 1879; ANDREWS, Christopher Columbus. *Brazil: Its Condition and Prospects*. 3.ed. New York: D. Appleton, 1891, p.57; KOSERITZ, *Imagens*, 187. See also “Pacotilha,” *Diario Fluminense*, 11 Sept. 1884.

<sup>42</sup> In addition to the references to “povo” above, see *Diario de Notícias*, 9 Sept. 1870; “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1870; *Jornal do Commercio*, 8-9 Sept. 1872; *A Nação*, 10 Sept. 1875; “As duas mentiras (7 de Setembro),” *O Mequetrefe*, 9 Sept. 1875; *Gazeta de Notícias*, 9 Sept. 1877; Mariani, “Cousas e lousas,” *O Trabalho*, 14 Sept. 1879; “Sete de Setembro,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 8 Sept. 1881; “A festa da Independencia,” *Gazeta da Tarde*, 7 Sept. 1882; “Sete de Setembro,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 8 Sept. 1883; “Sete de Setembro,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 8 Sept. 1884.

<sup>43</sup> “Em familia,” *Ilustração do Brazil*, 15 Sept. 1877; “A Noite de Ante-Hontem,” *Gazeta de Notícias*, 8 Sept. 1884.

<sup>44</sup> EDMUNDO, Luiz. *De um livro de memórias*. 5 Vols. Rio de Janeiro: no publisher, 1958, v.1, p.66; KOSERITZ, *Imagens*, p.187.

<sup>45</sup> KOSERITZ, *Imagens*, p.186, 187; *Distração*, 12 Sept. 1885.

- <sup>46</sup> Marcos Valente, "Historia dos quinze dias," *A Semana*, 11 Sept. 1886. For other references to pick-pockets and flirting, see "A policia," *Corsario Junior*, 10 Sept. 1882; "Carta," *Corsario*, 11 Sept. 1883; L[aet], "Microcosmo," *Jornal do Commercio*, 13 Sept. 1885.
- <sup>47</sup> NEC [Carlos de Laet], "Folhetim," *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, 9-10 Sept. 1876; Fantasio, "Chronica," *A Cigarra*, 12 Sept. 1895.
- <sup>48</sup> "Chronica da Semana," *Gazeta de Noticias*, 9 Sept. 1888; Fantasio, "Chronica," *A Cigarra*, 12 Sept. 1895. On the arrest of *capoeiras* in the square, see "Capoeiras," 8 and 9 Sept. 1884. Students of capoeira highlight its presence at popular and civic celebrations, SOARES, Carlos Eugênio Líbano, *A negregada instituição: os capoeiras na Corte imperial, 1850-1890*. Rio de Janeiro: Access, 1999. p.79-83.
- <sup>49</sup> "O dia 7," *Revolução*, 12 Sept. 1882. See also "Sete de Setembro," *Corsario*, 7 Sept. 1881.
- <sup>50</sup> Oscar de Castro, "Viva a Independencia," *O Pharol*, 7 Sept. 1885; "Sete de Setembro," *O Pharol*, 7 Sept. 1886.
- <sup>51</sup> T. Tupy, "Sete de Setembro," *Labaro Academico*, 15 Sept. 1874. See also Carlos Ferreira, "Folhetim Sem Titulo," *Correio do Brazil*, 9 Sept. 1872; "As duas mentiras," *O Mequetrefe*, 9 Sept. 1875. On the use of Tiradentes as a republican symbol, see CARVALHO, José Murilo de. *A formação das almas: o imaginário da República no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998, p.55-73.
- <sup>52</sup> FONTINO, Veriano. *Sete de Setembro*. Rio de Janeiro: no publisher, 1877, p.4.
- <sup>53</sup> "Chronica da Semana," *Gazeta de Noticias*, 12 Sept. 1886. See also José Telha [José Ferreira de Araújo], "Macaquinhos no sótão," *Gazeta de Noticias*, 7 Sept. 1886; "Dia a dia: notas a lapis," *Gazeta da Tarde*, 7 Sept. 1886.
- <sup>54</sup> L[aet], "Microcosmo," *Jornal do Commercio*, 12 Sept. 1886.
- <sup>55</sup> In addition to the sources already cited, see Box, "Cogitemos," *Distração*, 4 Sept. 1886; and "Dia a dia: Notas a lapis," *Gazeta da Tarde*, 7 Sept. 1886. The same issue appears in "Chronica da semana," *Gazeta de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1889.
- <sup>56</sup> "Sete de Setembro," *Carbonario*, 10 Sept. 1886.
- <sup>57</sup> *RSCII* (1887), p.2-3. The agenda was widely discussed in the press. The problem of the artillery park's location is discussed in "Festejos do dia 7 de Setembro," *Jornal do Commercio*, 3 Sept. 1887; and L[aet], "Microcosmo," *Jornal do Commercio*, 11 Sept. 1887.
- <sup>58</sup> *RSCII* (1888), p.9-11; "Sete de Setembro," *Jornal do Commercio*, 5 Sept. 1888.
- <sup>59</sup> "Notas do dia," *Diario de Noticias*, 6 Sept. 1887; "A Semana," *Jornal do Commercio*, 10 Sept. 1888.
- <sup>60</sup> "Discurso do Dr. Joaquim Abilio Borges, orador official na sessão magna do dia 7," *RS-CII* (1887), p.6. On Borges, see SACRAMENTO BLAKE, *Diccionario*, v.4, p.73, 514.
- <sup>61</sup> "Chronica da Semana," *Gazeta de Noticias*, 9 Sept. 1888.
- <sup>62</sup> The directors' names were published in *RSCII* (1887), p.1-2; (1888), p.5-6.

<sup>63</sup> SACRAMENTO BLAKE, *Diccionario*, v.6, p.84-85; v.2, p.404; *RSCII* (1887), p.2; SACRAMENTO BLAKE, *Diccionario*, v.2, p.222; v.6, p.144.

<sup>64</sup> *RSCII* (1887), p.1-2; (1888), p.6. I was unable to identify any of these women.

<sup>65</sup> “Discurso do Exm. Sr. Visconde de Ouro Preto...,” *RSCII* (1888), p.21-25.

<sup>66</sup> Ruling on Petition of Sociedade Commemorativa da Independencia do Imperio to Câmara, 12 Aug. 1887, AGCRJ, 44-4-48, fol. 16v; “Descrição especial dos collegios Abilio e Menezes Vieira,” *RSCII* (1887), p.38-39; “Procissão cívica,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1887; L[aet], “Microcosmo,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 11 Sept. 1887; “Procissão cívica,” *Diario de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1887; “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1887; “Chronica da Semana,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, 11 Sept. 1887.

<sup>67</sup> “Sete de Setembro,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1888; “Chronica da Semana,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, 9 Sept. 1888; “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1888; “Sete de Setembro,” *O Paiz*, 8 Sept. 1888; “Na rua do Ouvidor,” *Diario de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1888; “Sete de Setembro,” *Carbonario*, 10 Sept. 1888.

<sup>68</sup> *A festa das creanças*: comemoração da Lei 13 de Maio que aboliu a escravidão no Brazil. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1888, p.172-74 (the number of schools) and p.165 (the transcription from the *Diario de Noticias*, 10 July 1888). The figure for enrolled students is from the Ministry of the Empire, *Relatório* (1888), p.19. For photographs of the parade, see LAGO, Pedro Corrêa do, and LAGO, Bia Corrêa do. *Coleção Princesa Isabel*: fotografia do século XIX. Rio: Capivara, 2008, p.294-295, 306-307.

<sup>69</sup> PARADA, Mauricio Barreto Alvarez. “Educando corpos e criando a nação: cerimônias cívicas e práticas disciplinares no Estado Novo”. Doctoral Dissertation. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2003.

<sup>70</sup> *RSCII* (1888), p.29.

<sup>71</sup> *RSCII* (1887), p.35-37; (1888), p.39-48.

<sup>72</sup> “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1888; “Festas da Independencia,” *O Paiz*, 8 Sept. 1887.

<sup>73</sup> “Como se executou o programma da festa,” *RSCII* (1887), p.4.

<sup>74</sup> “Sete de Setembro,” *Gazeta da Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1887.

<sup>75</sup> “Como se executou o programma da festa,” *RSCII* (1887), p.3. See also “Sete de Setembro,” *Gazeta de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1887; “Sete de Setembro,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1887.

<sup>76</sup> “Como de executou o programma da festa,” *RSCII* (1888), p.12; “Sete de Setembro,” *Diario de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1888; “De Palanque,” *Diario de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1888; “A semana,” *Jornal do Commercio*, 10 Sept. 1888; “Sete de Setembro,” *O Paiz*, 8 Sept. 1888.

<sup>77</sup> POMPEIA, Raúl. *Crônicas do Rio*. Edited by Virgílio Moretzsohn Moreira. Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1996, p.39; Lucano, “Chronica Semanal,” *Diario de Noticias*, 10 Sept. 1888. On 7 September 1848, see KRAAY, “Sejamos brasileiros,” p.14-15.



<sup>78</sup> For descriptions of these illuminations, see "Sete de Setembro," *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1888; "Sete de Setembro," *Diario de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1888.

<sup>79</sup> "De palanque," *Diario de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1888. See also "Chronica da Semana," *Gazeta de Noticias*, 9 Sept. 1888.

<sup>80</sup> "Sete de Setembro," *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1889; "A Semana," *Jornal do Commercio*, 9 Sept. 1889; "A festa nacional," *Diario do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1889; "Sete de Setembro," *O Paiz*, 8 Sept. 1889; "Chronica da semana," *Gazeta de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1889.

<sup>81</sup> "O dia de hontem," *Diario de Noticias*, 8 Sept. 1889; "A semana passada," *Diario de Noticias*, 9 Sept. 1889; "As festas de ante-hontem," *Novidades*, 9 Sept. 1889. See also Flaminio, "Chronica," *Archivo Contemporaneo Illustrado*, 16 Sept. 1889; and Gil, "Linhas por baixo," *Novidades*, 6 and 7 Sept. 1889.

<sup>82</sup> "Sete de Setembro," *O Paiz*, 8 Sept. 1889; "Sete de Setembro," *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1889; "7 de Setembro: Discurso pronunciado na Câmara Municipal da Corte pelo orador official..." *Tribuna Liberal*, 8 Sept. 1889.

<sup>83</sup> "Sete de Setembro," *Novidades*, 7 Sept. 1889; *O Meio*, 7 and 14 Sept. 1889

<sup>84</sup> BARMAN, Roderick J. *Citizen Emperor: D. Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825-1891*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999, p.344, 347-348, 366; SCHWARCZ, Lilia Moritz. *As barbas do Imperador: D. Pedro II, um monarca nos trópicos*. 2.ed. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1999, p.433.

<sup>85</sup> "Batalhão escolar," *Gazeta da Tarde*, 7 Sept. 1889; "Sete de Setembro," *O Paiz*, 8 Sept. 1889; "Sete de Setembro," *Jornal do Commercio*, 8 Sept. 1889.

<sup>86</sup> *A Tribuna*, 15 Nov. 1890, cited by SIQUEIRA, Carla. "A imprensa comemora a República: memórias em luta no 15 de novembro de 1890". *Estudos Históricos*, v.7, n.14, p.171, 1994.

<sup>87</sup> CUNHA, Maria Clementina Pereira. *Ecoss da folia: uma história social do carnaval carioca entre 1880 e 1920*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001, p.154-155, 159-160.

<sup>88</sup> SOARES, *Negregada instituição*, p.324-339; AZEVEDO, Célia Maria Marinho de. *Onda negra, medo branco: o negro livre no imaginário das elites – século XIX*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1987; MACHADO, Maria Helena. *O plano e o pânico: os movimentos sociais na década da Abolição*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. UFRJ; São Paulo: Edusp, 1994.

<sup>89</sup> JESUS, Ronaldo Pereira de. *Visões da monarquia: escravos, operários e abolicionismo na Corte*. Belo Horizonte: Argumentum, 2009, p.36-39.

<sup>90</sup> ABREU, Martha. *O Império do Divino: festas religiosas e cultura popular no Rio de Janeiro, 1830-1900*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira; São Paulo: Fapesp, 1999, p.334, 385; SCHWARCZ, *Barbas...*, p.519-525.

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