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Imperial Gaze: D. Pedro de Alcantara's visit to the Russian Empire in 1876

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Abstract:

The aim of this thesis is to understand how the Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II [D. Pedro d'Alcântara] found the Russian Empire, in his journey the world-over in 1876, as a tool for his identity building and a reflex of his own internal politics. Through a Global History perspective, D. Pedro d'Alcântara appears as an actor that represents how the aristocracy needed to deal with the main “modern changes” in the second half of the nineteenth century. To understand Dom Pedro's reception and perception in the Russian Empire, we need to revisit the context where he came from. For that sake, it is important to look through the lens of the Imperial History at the formation of the Brazilian Empire as an alternative to restoring the power of the old Iberian empires in a new context, funding it in a colonized continent and charging it with new modern values. It resulted in an empire made of contradictions at different levels of its constitution. We look how Dom Pedro, living and ruling over such contradictions, used the erudition to build a scenario of progress and knowledge. Within the process of nationalization of Brazil, the emperor's found the image of a civilizer, an intellectual with a love for the Orient that existed so far from his imperial peripheral context. Nevertheless, the so desired modernity by this aristocrat ruling a monarchy in a republican continent could be found only overseas. It made him travel with restless itineraries to encounter the modern world ordered and exhibited to him in the form of expositions, museums, parks and gardens, schools, universities, and etc. The peculiarity that Dom Pedro would encounter in the Russian Empire is a vast territorial place exhibited in a way that reveals as it being another great European power, but with the characteristic of carrying oriental features.

Key words: D. Pedro II, Imperial History, Global History

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Introduction. D. PEDRO II'S TRAVELS AND ITS INTERPRETATIONS

If we look how Dom Pedro's travels abroad were approached, we will face the presence of the huge influence of Brazilian national history. It was divided in the sequence of three journeys to Europe. The first journey, in 1871, is the one which historians have paid more attention and asked more questions. The second, that will be partly analyzed in this work, has been seen as more or less an extension of his first adventures and 'euroization' of his behavior. The third was the tragically-enforced journey of 1889, which he went dethroned and exiled by the new republican regime.

Some historians had interpreted Dom Pedro II's travels as strategic actions with symbolical demarcation of the borders of the so-called American monarchy. These travels are usually referred to as an intention to contribute to the broadening of the monarchy's sovereign power both internally and externally. Such interpretations significantly defined the journeys of 1871 and 1876 also as a possibility of leaving the country in moments of political trouble (the end of the Paraguayan War¹, and the Religious Issue,² respectively). They also provided an opportunity to leave the imperial regency in the hands of his daughter Isabel, giving her credibility and preparation to hold power, thus potentially avoiding any crisis of succession.³

On the first Emperor's voyage to Europe, the prominent biographer Heitor Lyra⁴ said, that Dom Pedro "liked to move". Even being a "man of cabinet, his mobility was proverbial." He tended to adapt to all forms of transportation "ship, railway, car, bus, horse," but especially enjoyed the process of walking.⁵ In the same way of approaching the life of D.

¹ This was the largest international armed conflict in South America. The war happened due the border conflicts and access to the River Plate. On one side was the Paraguay of Solano Lopez, with a contingent of 150,000 combatants, and on the other, the Triple Alliance (Brazilian Empire, Argentina, and Uruguay, with about 235,000 troops. The war was fought from 1864 until 1870, resulting in the victory of the Alliance. Brazil assumed the role of the Great Power of South America, and occupied Paraguay until 1876. It is estimated that 300,000 Paraguayan citizens died because of the war, up to 69% of the population. See: Francisco Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra: Nova história da Guerra do Paraguai*, (Petrópolis: Companhia das Letras, 2002).

² Moment in the Brazilian imperial history when the Emperor Dom Pedro II confronted some priests of the Catholic Church because they decided to be more loyal to Vatican than to the Empire.

³ When Dom Pedro left the Brazilian lands he wrote communicating of the regency in a form of a formal letter of advice to Isabel. There he gave her the main instructions of what to do and how to act in different situations.

⁴ Heitor Lyra (1896-1973) was a Brazilian diplomat, member of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute. He worked in different place of Europe, where he collected material to write his historical works on Brazilian empire.

⁵ Heitor Lyra, *História de Dom Pedro II* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1977), 171.

Pedro, Lyra's contemporary and also member of the IHGB, Pedro Calmon⁶, in his 5 volumes of *The Philosopher King*, asserted that "some kings had already passed to America." But "no one had yet been to Europe, to scare off the English and Austrian aristocrats with their wild and natural simplicity, and also with their French culture and German appearance."⁷

Lyra, who studied the life of D. Pedro II, is a part of historiography that see the acts of D. Pedro as acts of majesty, despite the author revealing in his biography of Dom Pedro both the strength and the weakness of the Emperor, it always appears more as a kind of romantic narrative than real statements to criticize the "errors" of D. Pedro. For the author, in his long and apologetic political narrative, the termination of the War of Paraguay marks the apogee of the imperial regime in Brazil; it was the golden age of the Monarchy. For him, it was at this time that Brazil could place itself on an international level, describing itself from the exterior. This was due to the institutional stability of D. Pedro's kingdom, "its conservative nature, internal peace, the just appointment of our statesmen, the refinement of our society," and of course "the unmistakable personality" of the Emperor, that Brazil had a reputation – together only with the US – of a great power located in Americas.⁸

Thus, Dom Pedro, for the author, was not just a 19th century aristocrat but the stereotype of the erudite bourgeois of that time, a "product of the social philosophy of the late eighteenth century." Being a stoic in his essence, Dom Pedro had no need for the applause of the masses, and could not be compared with Louis Philippe, *Roi de la canaille*.⁹ To Lyra, these European journeys were part of the Emperor's role that saw himself as having a civilizing function in both intellectual and administrative ways. In that way, he had the need of being surrounded by men artists, scientists, and scholars; and despite the fact he had attracted many of these people to his court, he knew that Europe would provide the opportunity to expand it further.

To Fernando Gouvêa (1978), a historian who wrote specifically about Dom Pedro's travels, even the Emperor's earliest journeys within his Empire in the 1840's were underpinned with a strategy of power connected with spatiality. There, the Emperor made himself present and visible to his vassals, and had the territory of the Empire and its population under his gaze, in a matter of recognition, demarcation, and pacification of his

⁶ Pedro Calmon M. de Bitencourt (1902-1985) was a law Professor that worked in different Brazilian universities. He also was member of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute.

⁷ Pedro Calmon, *O rei filósofo: a vida de D. Pedro II*. (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938).

⁸ Lyra, *História de Dom Pedro II*, p. 9.

⁹ Ibid, p. 19-20.

nation. The political class of the Brazilian Empire consisted of diplomats that worked in the process of molding the young Empire; and according to him, Dom Pedro II was one of these diplomats. It is then concluded that his journeys were part of a major diplomatic characteristic of the country's policy of foreign recognition as the unique exponent of the monarchy in Americas. That is Brazil, as an Empire, carried the burden of playing the role of the most 'European' place in the New World and needed such external contact. The author argues that the republican movement is part of a nationalizing movement of Brazil, as the stronger the nationalization is, the weaker the Empire (and its monarchical institution) becomes and the Empire could not carry national values by itself. Dom Pedro journeys abroad lead him to face the national path of every country, thus becoming aware of the Brazilian one, in Europe and in the United States.¹⁰

His passage to the Russian Empire is not as well studied as his travel to the United States or Egypt, for instance. It is because that during his journey to Russia, he did not leave diaries of his expedition. As such, it is possible to talk only about three works on his travel to Russia. First, we again need to mention a diplomat from the 1930s and 1940s; Argeu Guimarães. His book *Pedro II na Escandinávia e na Rússia* (1941) has a detailed account about Dom Pedro's days in the Russian Empire. His research was carried out in 1937 and based on newspapers found in the Helsinki archives. Guimarães (1941) tried to describe the journey of the Emperor to Scandinavia and to Russia. The book seems to be more of an acclamation from Brazilian patriots of the first half of the 20th century. The author openly writes that his research on the life and travels of Dom Pedro II is apologetic in character, trying to perpetuate the Emperor's memory as one of the most magnanimous men in history. He speaks generally of the journeys of the Emperor, and of the places where he was well recognized by the foreign public. Nevertheless, he still presented some historical incoherencies, mainly when he refers to meetings or friendships with intellectuals with whom Dom Pedro probably did not meet, such as Nietzsche and Wagner [sic]. Much of his come from the fact that the author did not state his sources when write his work.

Since the end of the 1990's, more biographical works have been written about D. Pedro II's using critical academic methods of research. Whilst they cover the whole of D. Pedro's life, the journeys' chapters rely heavily on works created in the first half of twentieth century. Thus, a compilation of information written by diplomats like Lyra, Guimarães, and Calmon were still the most valuable references for the topic. Within these works we can find

¹⁰ Fernando da Cruz Gouvêa, *O Imperador Itinerante*, (Recife: Sec. De Ed e Cultura, 1978).

Roderick J. Barman's *Citizen Emperor: Pedro II and the Making of Brazil* (1999), with a public-personal dichotomy approach; Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *The Emperor's Beard* (2004), with a culturalist approach, looking at the symbols and representations in Dom Pedro's life and reign; and José Murilo de Carvalho, *D. Pedro II: Ser ou não ser* (2007). Although all of them rely on primary and secondary sources, they still use the work of Guimarães (1941) to talk briefly about the passage of the Brazilian Emperor through the Russian Empire, for instance.

For José Murilo de Carvalho, D. Pedro II was a Habsburg lost in the tropics.¹¹ The author understands the Emperor's behavior as a conflict in character between D. Pedro II as an Emperor and Pedro d'Alcântara as a citizen. On one side he was an orphan that received a strict education to become the perfect Emperor, and on the other, behind the rituals of the monarchy, there was a human being named Pedro d'Alcântara. This Pedro d'Alcântara was someone who had a passion for traveling, also possessing the "vocation of a wanderer and an insatiable desire to know new places and people."¹²

Last, but not least, we should refer to Monique Sochaczewski's *Do Rio de Janeiro a Istambul* (2017), one of the most recent works which addresses D. Pedro's travels. Looking for a comparative history of the Brazilian and the Ottoman Empires, the author invokes ideas from international relations, posing those Empires as "peripheral Empires" in an international society made up of external legitimacy and sovereignty. For the sake of membership in that international order, Brazil of the 1870's (as well as the Ottoman's Tanzimat, and Meiji Japan) used forms of non-verbal diplomacy. D. Pedro's journey in that context may be understood as part of the rituals and symbols of these political aims.¹³

One crucial point in all of these works to be discussed here is that Dom Pedro traveled, carrying and gathering both ideas and contacts of intellectuals. It was considered that he did this for a number of reasons, one possibly being that he saw this as a part of his claim for sovereignty and international acceptance, and another that he considered this as part of a process of nationalization. Perhaps, even, that he was following the performative needs of kingship, or just simply traveling for pure pleasure and knowledge. This king, that sought to be seen as a citizen, used his interests in science and education to play this role. As we can

¹¹ With his sources Carvalho tries to show that the Brazilian court has full of sadness and the Emperor was a kind of shadow in the ceremonies. Not only by Calmon and Lyra, but also to the majority of the historiography considered being more Habsburg than Braganza.

¹² José Murilo de Carvalho, *Dom Pedro II: Ser ou não ser*, (Petrópolis: Cia das Letras, 2007).

¹³ Monique Sochaczewski, *Do Rio de Janeiro a Istambul: contrastes e conexões entre o Brasil e o Império Otomano (1850-1919)*, (Brasília: FUNAG, 2017).

see, there is no more need to reveal this transformation of a king or citizen, but to use this understanding of his behavior to reveal the situations which D. Pedro's lived experience comes from. It still requires a global historical understanding of what makes the Brazilian Emperor, a man called Dom Pedro de Alcântara, who kept searching through European capitals for Richard Wagner, a Brazilian, rather than a Braganza or a Habsburg. The answer may be beyond the needs of a national state in development: it may be in the imperial dynamics of an Empire in decline, dealing with its own contradictions and ambiguities. The answer may also be in the role of D. Pedro as an heir of the European aristocracy and his struggle to protect his Empire within the global transformations of the nineteenth century.

What we will try to illustrate in the following chapters is how his journeys could grant us a narrative that converges with the nineteenth-century imperial experience of Brazil in a global context, and what the Emperor's actions tell us about the identities that shaped this situation. We need then to look at D. Pedro's travels not only from a nation-centered perspective or his own personal motivations, but from a global view. In the nineteenth century the European aristocracy, of which D. Pedro's was surely part of, needed to reinvent themselves and deal with the many trends of modernity to keep their own power of ruling. D. Pedro was an Emperor and an aristocrat in a European form that was born in, and ruled, a place that certainly was not Europe, a place with a very particular historical path.

Brazil - enchained in itself by the backwardness of its colonial past under the rule of a European empire - was an unfolding part of the Western world that at the same time carried all of the hopes of modernity. Brazil was chosen by its ruling elite to be a monarchy with Empire in its title to resist (Mayer) and at the same time to survive (Lieven) modernity in a similar way of those proposed by scholars about the European aristocracy, but in a slightly different situation.

What we are aiming to see here is that, despite the conservative setting of the court, Dom Pedro espoused the ideologies of progress and reform, with the symbolic reference for this program being the post-Napoleonic European continent. Thus, in order to understand his politics at home, one needs to pay special attention to his journeys. They were not just for pleasure, they were an important element in the symbolic politics of reform and progress that emanated from the throne. For that sake, we need go briefly into the history of the Brazilian Empire and demonstrate its path until D. Pedro II's rule aimed to provide a solution for the

modern challenges of the nineteenth century. A time which the world started to be seen in a representative way. That is, represented as an exposition.¹⁴

The solution found by Dom Pedro, under the cultural climate of his time, was to embody the ideals of the cosmopolite citizen-emperor that traveled the world intending to observe modernity, and apprehend the exposed world under his curious gaze. To support this, it is worth studying his visit to the Russian Empire. The minuses of this journey can provide clues to reveal D. Pedro's reception and impressions in the Russian Empire, and show how it followed the scheme of D. Pedro whole 1876's journey.

Looking at his visits to expositions, universities, and gardens, we will understand that the manners of "how knowledge is organized and conceived is central. Imperial projects are predicated on and produce epistemological claims and epistemic communities that are powerful political ones."¹⁵ In the last chapter, we will find an Emperor watching the Russian world represented to him with peculiar Oriental and occidental characteristics. This was a place where he could also encounter the desires for being modern, but with the politics of another of the great imperialist powers of Europe.

¹⁴ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

¹⁵ Stoler, Ann Laura. Considerations on Imperial Comparisons. In: Edited by Ilya Gerasimov, Jan Kusber& Alexander Semyonov. *Empire Speaks Out: Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in the Russian Empire*. Brill. Leiden, Boston, 2009. p. 3-26.

Chapter 1. THE FORMATION OF THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE

When we discuss the end of empires, or the end of the age of empires, we usually tend to talk about the advent of the nation state due to the strong impact of nationalization in Europe prior to the First World War.¹⁶ Historiography about empires in a global context has been developing new ideas of understanding the different imperial situations throughout the history of human civilization, without adding any teleological claims into it. It is primarily a response to previous historiography dependent on the nation state, and the process of understanding the development of a given region on its ideal national path. In Brazil's case it is not different.

The Brazilian Empire was formed in a global imperial context, within the dissolution of the old Iberian Empires, during a process of changing forms of sovereignty and their relations with their colonies. Brazil, as well as other South American nations, was subject to revolts and revolutions. To Jeremy Adelman (2006), the empires of the Old World were destroyed not simply because of their own cry for nationhood but instead partly, or even entirely caused by, a larger imperial context. Geography is also an important factor in understanding the end of the Iberian empires. The European continent faced an insecure period of wars during the late eighteenth century, and the maritime empires were forced to invest in outside geographic expansion and in the accumulation of capital from its colonies. The ways in which each empire managed to rule across the Atlantic determined their fate.¹⁷

This process happened between the middle of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century, a period known in historiography as *Sattelzeit*. This period was marked by important conceptual changes that welcome modernity, but “politically, the *Sattelzeit* did not witness the breakthrough of democracy in either Europe or Asia; rather, it was the last fling of aristocratic rule and autocracy.”¹⁸ The same can be said about Brazil. The imperial practices of the Iberian empires in the eighteenth century were made in a way that those empires fell into difficulty governing its subjects by allowing a space for contradictory forms of sovereignty taking place in different parts of its possessions. For example, the escape of the Portuguese court from Napoleonic occupation to Brazil, and its subsequent

¹⁶ Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, (Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).

¹⁷ Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*. (Princeton NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹⁸ Jüngen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: a global history of the nineteenth century*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 61.

establishment in Rio de Janeiro, generated politics of subordination and taxation in other parts of the colony. It naturally generated mistrust in other regions (*Grão Pará, e Província de São Pedro*), weakening the court's sovereignty in those places.

In the European international context, wars and internal revolts made a huge impact in the Iberian empires. At first, Napoleon's invasion of Spain and Portugal created a change in the governmental model to a constitutional and parliamentary empire and, second, caused the monarchy to flee with their court to the Brazilian colony. To Adelman (2006), the relationship between empire and colony was crucial to Atlantic history. The argument to be enforced here is the idea that the revolts from by the colonists - Adelman's description of the inhabitants of South America - did not appear to be due to the struggles for some form of national identity but were molded by both the internal European context of change and the global imperial situation.¹⁹ The conflict amongst empires in Europe appears in the form of a historical development of commercial networks within the colonies. It is already clear in the first chapters of the book that he demonstrates the roles of commerce and the mine workers, and how this attracted the French and British Empires to also take their own place in the Atlantic in the context of the eighteenth century. What is impressive is that the Atlantic was never entirely dominated by the Iberian empires, but there were constant attempts to be part of the South American colonial networks from France, England, and Netherlands since the sixteenth century.

The hegemony of the Atlantic could be achieved by the empire which was more flexible, for example allowing its politics to work in different contexts and its ability to make changes.²⁰

The imperial practices of the old Iberian empires, to maintain their sovereignty, needed to deal with the emergence of nation states. The colony conditioned the choices from the metropolis due to the uncertain outcome of the revolts. The conclusions of these events were possibility of building new autonomous regimes in the form of monarchies, and republics. Each choice should work with specific forms of sovereignty that developed in the relationship of metropolis-colony.

¹⁹An imperial situation can be "defined by the tensions, incongruity, and incommensurability of the languages of self-description. It cannot be described within a single non-controversial narrative or typified on the basis of rationality and equally non-controversial classificatory principles. Gerasimov, Ilya; et. all. *New Imperial History and the Challenges of Empire*. In: Edited by Ilya Gerasimov, Jan Kusber& Alexander Semyonov. *Empire Speaks Out: Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in the Russian Empire*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill ,2009) 3-26.

²⁰Make changes to maintain its form of rule also has been addressed in new historiography about empires, mostly on Russian Empire and how Soviet Union can be seen as part of this process of changes. See: Gerasimov et al., *Empire Speaks Out*. (Brill. Leiden, Boston, 2009).

In the sense of building its own forms of sovereignty, Brazilians were even more autonomous from Portugal than their Iberian neighbors were from Spain – at certain points they were effectively living in an extension of the Kingdom of Portugal. Everything happened in a certain imperial situation. In Brazil “the fundamental principles of sovereignty – monarchy, central rule, and the ballast of an ennobled slave-owning aristocracy – remained intact even though the formal ties to Lisbon were broken,” and as such there were no needs for revolution.

Conceptually speaking, sovereignty in the Iberian empires was synonymous with imperium. In this period, the main source of conceptual understanding of the Portuguese view on imperious was Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho (1755 – 1812).²¹ Portuguese diplomat, Coutinho, also known as the Count of Linhares, thought about how Brazil’s importance had evolved from merely a colony to the center of the Empire. This change was concluded during the escape of Braganza’s court to the New World. The inversion of the Portuguese imperial foundations in a geographic way served to endure its imperial order during the storm of revolutions both in Europe and Americas. Here we can understand in the ideas of Arno Mayer (1981) that the age of revolutions had as its own antithesis; conservatism and counter-revolutions, followed by terror and struggles. It is a process of the adaptation of imperial institutions in order to survive changes [imperial dynamics].

At the end of the eighteenth century, Portugal was involved in the conflict of the British and the French, with its elite divided between pro-British, and pro-French. The latter wished to become free from dependence on Britain. Notwithstanding, after the alliance of Napoleon with Spain, and French pressure on Portugal to enter in the continental system, Coutinho’s solution was to flee to Brazil, which he did on November 29 1807. To him, the idea of transferring the imperial order “afforded a historic opportunity for the monarchy to regenerate and revitalize itself, guided by modern principles of governance.” The succession of events within the following years in the new empire happened with the logic of crafting Brazilian sovereignty: the control of the problems in the River Plate, a freedom of commerce with Britain, allowance of industries within colonial territories and local press development.²²

In 1808, the Prince-Regent of Portugal (the future Dom Joao VI), together with the royal family and his court who were also fleeing from the Napoleonic wars, transferred the court to the Brazilian colony. Twenty thousand people crossed the Atlantic Ocean in order to

²¹Coutinho was a Portuguese diplomat and politician whom accompanied the court to Brazil. He had conviction in his ideas of progress of the Anglo-Saxon world, and enthusiast of the foundation of an empire in the new world.

²²Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*.

reestablish the court in the New World. It is easy to imagine the strong impact in the American lands of the Empire: about twenty thousand European people (including naturalists, artists, and merchants from England, France, Austria, and Italy) moved to Rio, a city until that time populated with only 60 thousand souls.²³ There, the process of naturalization of the court gave them a sense of grandeur and strength that no longer existed in Lisbon, as well as a feeling of order and quietude necessary for the state administration and creating of new imperial plans – over the River Plate, for example.²⁴ Such things made the permanence of the Portuguese court in the Americas likely, elevating Brazil to the status of Kingdom. In 1815, the Empire was renamed the United Kingdom of Brazil, Portugal, and Algarve, with Rio de Janeiro its new capital. This process, that started in 1808, is referred to in historiography as the "interiorization of the metropolis".²⁵

José da Silva Lisboa, a Brazilian-born statesman with influence in the court, said:

Brazil should rely in its commerce with international parts to be part of the civilized society of Atlantic world. "Here, he claimed, was a historic opportunity. Civilization, the churchman argued, developed in stages. First Egypt civilized Greece, then withdrew to become Greece's 'first state.' Then Greece civilized Italy, only to recede as Rome became the center of civilization. Italy did the same to the rest of Europe, and Europe carried the same civilizing process on to America. (Lisboa, apud. Adelman, 2006, p. 237)

It was now, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, up to Brazil to show the world the virtues of a new model of empire and redeem it by becoming its new center. Within this time, two generations lived in a moment of conceptual discontinuity²⁶: the generation of the independence, and a generation that attempted to build a nation state.

²³ Lília M. Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador: D. Pedro II, um Monarca nos Trópicos*, (Petrópolis: Cia das Letras, 1998).

²⁴ Sérgio B. de Hollanda, *Historia Geral da Civilização Brasileira. Tomo II. O Brasil Monárquico vol. I. O Processo de Emancipação*, (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2003).

²⁵ Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, *A Interiorização da Metrópole e Outros Estudos*, (São Paulo: Alameda Casa Editorial, 2009).

²⁶ The concept of history was shifting due the transformations in the way of experiencing history. Within this period of conceptual discontinuity from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, the so-called creation of modern times took place. Times shaped by global and local characteristics, based on past experiences and expectations of the future. See: Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. 1979).

The carioca statesman José Bonifácio de Andradas e Silva²⁷, like the European thinkers of the eighteenth century, shared these progressive ideas. For him, the present was superior to the past. For José Bonifácio, it was known that Portugal must also carry in its being a philosophical history to explain her own progressive and regressive deeds as one of the old European states. In this context, the foundation of the monarchy in Brazil would be understood as a regeneration of Portugal itself, making Portugal present in the Universal History of the future.²⁸

The Portuguese Empire was worried about losing its integrity, and wanted to guarantee the prosperity of the Kingdom of Brazil, aiming to; civilize the savages, to emancipate the slaves, to make structural reforms, to create colleges, and etc. With regards to Universal History developing in a cyclical form, which civilizations were always changing, Brazil could represent a new beginning to Portugal's glorious past. The Portuguese Empire that no longer had the possibility of progressing in a linear ahistorical fashion, but to become part of a Europe that needed to reevaluate itself to face a new Other - the Americas.

1.1. Brazil as an Empire

In 1822, D. Pedro de Alcântara e Braganza, son of Dom João VI, and heir of the Portuguese throne, officially dismembered the Kingdom of Brazil from the Portuguese Empire, keeping the house of Braganza in the newborn Brazilian Empire under the authority of D. Pedro I. Thus, in August 1822, Brazil was able to have its own history separate from Portugal's history whilst, at the same time, a different future and a different destiny. Brazil acquired longer temporal dimensions. With a deep colonial past, and a distant future, the present is shrunken. There was no more hope of Portuguese interference in its history, and no more prospects of restoration were imaginable. The process of independence now reinforced the distance between the two kingdoms. In the Americas, something different was happening. A new past, and an unknowing new future were obstructed by the obstacles of the old order that were still maintained.

²⁷ José Bonifácio (1763 – 1838) was a Brazilian statesman, poet, and naturalist descendant of the Portuguese aristocracy that had an important role in the process of the independence of Brazil. José Bonifácio is officially considered by the state as the “founder father” of the Brazilian Independence.

²⁸ Araújo, Valdei Lopes de. A Experiência do Tempo na Formação do Império do Brasil: autoconsciência moderna e historicização. In: *Revista de História*, n. 159, (2) 105-132.

The fact of Brazil's independence meant that Brazil needed to have a character of veracity in the sense of appearing as an autonomous political body. The strategies employed also made use of the image of D. Pedro I - admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte - as Emperor. In this way, it was investing in the ceremonies of monarchic traditions to define itself from the Spanish American republics surrounding its borders.²⁹ The choice of Brazil to exist as an empire satisfied many of the needs of that time for a detachment from Portugal, but also to demonstrate its uniqueness as a political entity (Souza), representing its territorial (Lyra) versus its cultural aspects as the popular of the Empire of the Divine (Schwarcz).³⁰

Brazil was at the same time a poison and an antidote, both a symbol of death and a symbol of redemption for the collapsed Portuguese Empire. As such, there were divergences on the recognition of Brazil as an independent state. To the Holy Alliance, D. João was already known as the King of Brazil, but at the time of D. Pedro I, the recognition of Brazil as an independent American state went through British mediation. The British Empire was pro-Brazil after 1822, but before making a statement they still required that Portugal accept Brazil was no longer its colony. This is because it could not follow the principles of the Holy Alliance. Not all member of the Holy Alliance accepted Brazil's independence, the Russian Empire – that always defended legitimist interventions in Americas - for instance, was against Brazil, and even suggested to assist Portugal with military force against its old colony. The Austrian Empire, France, and the German states were sympathetic to Brazil; France in particular due its ideas on immigration (Hollanda, 2003). The first place to recognize the Brazil as an independent empire was the Kingdom of Daomé. Brazilian connections with Africa where so strong due the slave trading that was even a plan to make Angola part of the Brazilian Empire.³¹

Of the New World nations, the United States was the first to recognize Brazilian independence in an attempt to keep Brazil far from the Holy Alliance, but their act of recognition was still slower than its previous recognition of the Latin American republics. In their case, it was immediate following declaration, in the Brazilian case it took about a year. The US always supported the independent states, but as at that time Britain had much more

²⁹ Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*.

³⁰ Empire of the Divine is a popular traditional celebration from nineteenth century Brazil in which every year someone is chosen as emperor of the divine and receives a scepter and a crown from a local priest in a 'coronation' ceremony.

³¹ Alberto Costa e Silva, O Brasil, a África e o Atlântico no século XIX. *Estudos Avançados*. 8(21), 1994.

influence than the US over Brazil, this impacted how quickly recognition was given. In addition to this, Mexico recognized Brazilian independence before Portugal.³²

In 1826 João VI of Portugal died, causing disagreements about who should be the rightful heir to the throne. At the same time, political difficulties, wars, and debates about the formation of a constitutional state were occurring in Brazil, making Dom Pedro I of Brazil's control of the new empire more difficult.

Here it is important to consider that, typical of the refugees from Napoleon and the French Revolution, the Portuguese court at the time had conservative and anti-progressive politics. In the transition from being part of the Portuguese Empire to existing as its own Empire, Pedro I and the political elite set a constitutional empire with features of modern ideas whilst conserving both the power of the rural elite of its colonial past and the *Reserve Power*. This was the key to keeping control in the hands of the Emperor. Dom Pedro I had to balance the significant contradiction of a Brazilian Empire that born with the ideas of progress and modernity³³, but which was historically dependent on its roots in conservative and anti-progress institutions (Adelman).

Following these events, the first Brazilian constitution was granted in 1824 and parliament was opened in 1826. Parliament, as well as since the constituent assembly, was divided into conservatives, that supported the authoritarian interventions of D. Pedro I, and liberals, that wanted parliament to govern itself. Nevertheless, all of them desired the same thing, the constitution of a constitutional monarchy. The main role of the Reserve Power was to contravene the typical ceremonial monarchies of the nineteenth century where "the king reigns but does not governs".

The victory of D. Pedro I's and his supporters caused problems at the beginning of his reign. On one side, the majority of newspapers in the empire were liberal, and accused the Portuguese-born Emperor as both establishing a Portuguese-born government and conspiring to reunite Portugal and Brazil [sic]. On the other side, criticism came from the liberals in parliament – composed of slave-owner landlords that already knew the intentions of D. Pedro I to gradually abolish slavery.³⁴ In 1828, due to problems of succession in the Portuguese

³²Hollanda, *Historia Geral da Civilização Brasileira*.

³³Araújo, Valdeir Lopes de. A Experiência do Tempo na Formação do Império do Brasil: autoconsciência moderna e historicização. In: *Revista de História*, n. 159, (2) 2008, 105-132.

³⁴D. Pedro was known at the time by being strongly against old institutions that surrounded as the racism and the divine right of kings. Once, on a journey within his empire, when the local population wanted to carry his carriage by their hands D. Pedro I protested and commented: "It offends me to see my fellow men giving tributes appropriate to the deity. I know that my blood is the same color as that of black people."

throne, many exiled Portuguese aristocrats wanted D. Pedro I to fight for his daughter Maria I's claim to the throne. Historiography points out that, by 1829, Pedro I had already shown his intention to abdicate and travel to Portugal for that reason.³⁵

The most significant problems appeared on November 21, 1830. The Italian journalist, and oppositionist of the government, Libero Badarò was killed in Rio de Janeiro, prompting an intense commotion in the Brazilian liberal press. It was implied that D. Pedro was likely connected to the crime, sparking an explosion in the media against the Emperor.

It is worth noting that in 1830 there had already been a revolt in France, resulting in the deposition of King Charles X. The fuse for Dom Pedro's secession became known as the Night of the Bottle Fight on March 31, 1831, an event in which Portuguese (who supported the politics of the Emperor) and Brazilians citizens (who opposed them) confronted each other.³⁶

Unable to deal with so many problems, in April 7, 1831 Pedro I decided to abdicate from the Brazilian throne, with his son, D. Pedro de Alcântara, or Pedro II (five years old at the time) succeeding. Pedro I then returned to Portugal to fight for the throne in favor of his daughter Maria, and against his brother Dom Miguel.

Thus, the Brazilian Empire remained in period of regency that would remain until the adulthood - 18 years of age - of Pedro II. However, due to intense parliamentary disputes, and many separatist wars in various regions of the Empire, the political elite accorded that Brazil needed, as soon as possible, a monarch who would be able to, symbolically at least, unify all of the nation's territory.³⁷ Then the first non-violent coup in Brazilian history took place with the reduction of the legal adulthood age of Pedro II to 14 years of age, 7 years younger than previously stipulated by law.³⁸ The Emperor Dom Pedro II was crowned in 1841, and reined for 49 years. This period in Brazilian history is called The Second Kingdom (1841-1889). It has been interpreted in national historiography as the moment when the authentically

³⁵ Hélio Vianna. *Vultos do Império*, (São Paulo: Cia Ed. Nacional, 1968).

³⁶ Maria Lígia Prado. *A Formação das Nações Latino Americanas*. São Paulo: Atual, 1994.

³⁷ Lília M. Schwarcz, *O Império em procissão: ritos e símbolos do Segundo Reinado*, (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Zahar, 2001).

³⁸ This movement became known as the "Elderly Coup". It marks the end of the regency period (1831-1840) and the beginning of the second reign. The constitution determines a minimum age of 21 years before the new monarch may take office. Revolts, conflicts, and attempts to decentralize power and public administration led the elite to revert to the emperor's authority to stabilize the country's problems. At first, a "Ministry of Marriages" was created, which reduced the institutional age to 18 years. Nevertheless, with the violent climate of the country, the liberals of the country deemed on July 23, 1840, that the emperor, if he wanted, would assume power at the age of fourteen. Conservatives considered that a coup. See: Emilia V. da Costa. *Da Monarquia à República: momentos decisivos* (São Paulo: UNESP, 1987).

Brazilian institutions legitimately started to be established. That is, when the national state achieved its consolidation. The role of D. Pedro II and his image was an important part of the constitution for both *formative* and *inventive* narratives of the development of the Brazilian state. As we shall see, the idea of progress was precious to Dom Pedro, and also to the official writers of Brazilian history since 1870, who made narratives about the country's focus on the power of modernization that Brazil, as a nation, had to attain itself. José Murilo de Carvalho says that despite the tendency to follow a narrative only about modernization, conservative and reactionary forces shaped Brazilian history. As much as Arno Mayer's interpretation of Europe, Brazil was part of a world that did not modernize itself in the expectation of its own modern conscious. Instead it adapted the expectations of modernity to accommodate conservative and old regime tendencies.³⁹

1.2. The kingship of Dom Pedro II

Born on December 2, 1825, D. Pedro D'Alcântara was the first prince born in Brazil, and at five years old he was already the sovereign of Brazil. His mother, Maria Leopoldina of Austria, died in 1826 and his father, D. Pedro I, went to fight in Portugal in 1834. D. Pedro D'Alcântara was soon deemed the "orphan of the nation", and was placed under the care of José Bonifácio until 1833. Having an intense schedule of studies and activities, he was already being prepared to be an ideal Emperor. He had special tutors and teachers, including Baron of Itanhaém as a tutor, Dona Mariana Werna as his chambermaid, and a judge, Aureliano Coutinho, preparing him for political life.

After the coup that placed D. Pedro d'Alcântara in legal position for a claim on the crown, the ceremony of his coronation occurred. On June 8, 1841, whilst it was intended that the ceremony be similar to that of Louis Phillip of Orleans (ally of the bourgeoisie), D. Pedro instead had a ceremony much closer to that of Napoleon I. It was more in line with traditional European monarchies rather than with the spectacle of modernity.⁴⁰ The coronation "was the most solemn and resplendent of these studied spectacles of power, and it was saturated with historical and religious symbolism" ... "this elaborate inaugural pageant, though centered on

³⁹ Carvalho, José Murilo de. Brazil 1870-1914. The Force of Tradition. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, V. 24, Quincentenary Supplement: The Colonial and Post Colonial Experience, (1992) 145-162.

⁴⁰ Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*:

the king, displayed and ratified the latest ranking of status and influence in civil and political society at large.”⁴¹ and as such was an extremely helpful solution to the Brazilian political situation. The ritual not only appeared to satisfy the political elite (both conservative and liberal) and conciliate their conflicts, but also accommodated the popular public perception of the monarchy, dressing D. Pedro II in a robe of a sacred boy-king.⁴² Thus, exalting and legitimizing the old order as a whole.

In the first decade of his kingdom, following the example of Louis XIV, Dom Pedro decided to sponsor the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute (IHGB), as well as to create both the Academy of Fine Arts and the School Dom Pedro II in Rio, all in order to shape Brazilian national identity by the hands of intellectuals chosen and influenced directly by him. It is important to remember that the province of Rio de Janeiro was the center of the Empire, and the majority of its institutions surrounded the Court.

In the Brazilian scenario, as well as in the European one, “capitals the royal and imperial courts were also the control centers of official culture. They hosted and sponsored operas, concerts, and plays; bought, commissioned, and exhibited paintings, sculptures, and furniture; and commissioned public buildings, monuments, and gardens.”⁴³ This was a movement in the promotion of an artistic environment that in Europe was used by kings and nobles to perpetuate an ideology, reassuring the ideals of the ancient regime. Therefore, at the very center of it all, was the Emperor himself.

Richard Wortman (2006) argues that, in a form of symbolic system, the public presentation of a mythologized image of the ruler is a part of the process of absolute rule. On the one side, the Emperor’s rule gives him an image of a superior being. From the other, this image contributes to his power to rule over his people. Of course, art, poetry, and even material form in which the world lands of its ruler was architected and constructed, were part of this mobilization to represent an ordered universe in ruled by the monarch.⁴⁴

In official history books during the Second Kingdom, for example, Dom Pedro II was frequently compared with emperors such as Philip and Alexander of Macedonia; Romans such as Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius; with Louis XIV of France, Leopold and Joseph of the Holy Roman Empire, Frederick II of Prussia; Peter the Great and Catherine the

⁴¹ Arno J. Mayer, *The persistence of the old regime – Europe to the great war*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), p. 136.

⁴² Schwarcz, *O Império em Procissão*.

⁴³ Mayer, *The persistence of the old regime*, p. 152.

⁴⁴ Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 4.

Great of Russia; and even with Catholic leaders such as Pope Lion X and Pope Benedict XIV. Every effort was made to generate European self-confidence and internally the identity cohesion of Brazil as both an empire and a nation state. Such attempts required pulling European monarchical traditions into an American context, whilst at the same time implanting the exotic of the New World into the old imperial order. Brazil, though, became a monarchy of the exotic, the land of *Tupi-guarani* romanticism.⁴⁵

With the passage of time, Dom Pedro became increasingly fascinated by the idea of progress. Due to his interest in science, photography, and electrification, Dom Pedro was often depicted surrounded by symbolism such as steamships, books, and the globe. In an IHGB's ceremony, he once uttered "I am the Science." Historians such as Roderick J. Barman, Lilia M. Schwarcz, and José Murilo de Carvalho state that during the 1870s, influenced by his visits to Europe, the Emperor started to dress in his monarch-citizen costume: represented by a black overcoat and a black top hat. However, the idea of an emperor that tried to also appear as a patriotic citizen was not of Dom Pedro's origin. It was clearly inspired by other emperors, for instance, his relative Louis Philippe of France.

The role of the Emperor and his Reserve Power guaranteed him the possibility of reigning and ruling. The 1850s were the pinnacle of stability in the Empire and its ability to govern. In the sense of *realpolitik*, D. Pedro II adopted modernizing measures such as the development of railroads, telegraphs, and steamships, thus providing a firmer foundation for his Empire. Dom Pedro sought to shape parliament to please all sides and sought to respect the political functions of senators and deputies, only intervening only when he saw a prejudicial imbalance. He also sought to have connections with his subjects, having weekly meetings with the general public to hear their points of view. On the other hand, the idea of pleasing everyone, and especially those who had greater control of social life in the Empire – for example the powerful slave farmers – pushed to delay many of the social reforms desired by politicians within the Empire, for example the issue of slavery.

It seemed that the institutional contradiction of Brazilian colonial times became stronger throughout its monarchical history. For example Dom Pedro II, who was highly educated by the court during his childhood, embraced progress, liberalism and, in the view of some, even republicanism.⁴⁶ At the same time, he ruled an empire with an illiteracy rate of

⁴⁵ The choice of the Native Americans as a national symbol is an appeal to a past far from the institutional reality of the nineteenth century Brazil, which was impregnated by the slavery. See Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*.

⁴⁶ Carvalho, J. M.. Pedro II e Euclides da Cunha: Dois republicanos. *Revista Brasileira* (2016) 149-162.

82% and still allowed the institution of slavery. Dom Pedro II used his power very carefully to manage equality in the parliament, oscillating between liberals and conservatives, with the intention of not displeasing either of the sides.⁴⁷

Nationalizing and centralizing ideologies were the most important politics of the Empire in creating its new forms of political and cultural representation. It was these political acts that centered the role of the Emperor in cultural production, which confirmed Rio de Janeiro as the center of the new Brazilian Empire that took place up until the start of the Paraguayan War.

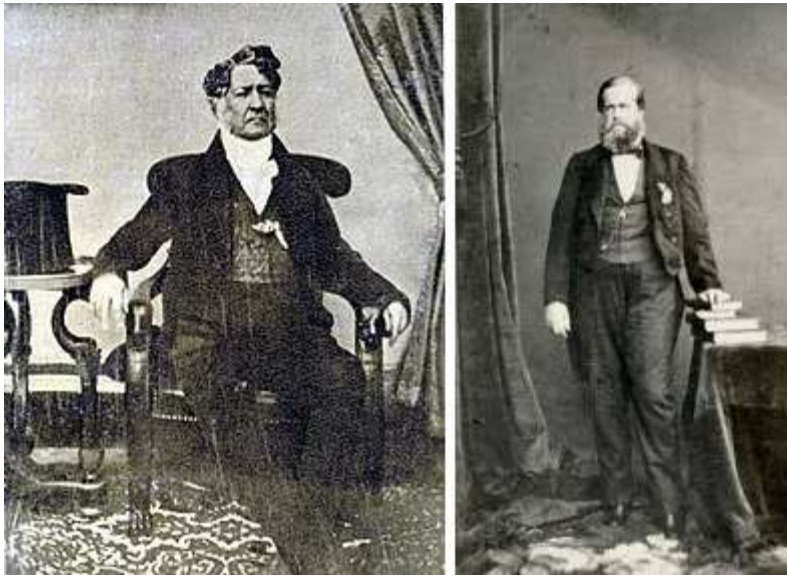
This war appeared to be a moment in which the nation could finally play its role as a unified block. The battles mostly took place in the southern lands, places where provinces were mostly split between federalism and separatism. Dom Pedro II pushed himself into the battlefields, both playing the role as a Brazilian citizen and to be considered as the “number-one volunteer” of the army to fight in the war. At the end of this 7-year-long war, the Empire fell into both an economic crisis from war expenses and social problems due the issue of slavery.⁴⁸ The Emperor didn’t just follow historical examples of kings that were soldiers (like his father, who became known in Portugal as the “King Soldier”), but followed what at the time was the aristocracy’s oldest vocation, personally fighting in war. German, English, and Portuguese aristocracies all have their origins in medieval knighthood.⁴⁹

Dom Pedro II returned to his court older, tired, and for many historians, melancholic. The war cost the empire 614 million contos de réis; 265m coming from taxes, 171m from bond sales, and 76m from both internal and external loans. The costs of the war were a significant burden on the shoulders of the Emperor, who decided to extend the war by invading Paraguay in an impulsive move that ended only following the death of the Paraguayan dictator Solano Lopez in March, 1, 1870. D. Pedro is still known by the statements written by himself in December 31, 1861 “I was born to consecrate myself to letters and sciences, and to occupy the political position, I would prefer that of president of the Republic or minister to that of Emperor.” Another demonstration of his political attitude towards the war was to obstruct an attempt to build a monument of him riding a horse as recognition of victory, and decided to use the money to build elementary schools instead.

⁴⁷Ferraro, A. R. & Kreidlow, D. Analfabetismo no Brasil: configuração e gênese das desigualdades regionais. *Educação e Realidade*, 29(2), 179-200, jul/dez. 2004.

⁴⁸As a result, in Brazil it lead to an economic, military and social crisis – what is sometimes considered as the root of both the fall of slavery in 1888, and of the empire in 1889.

⁴⁹Dominic Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe: 1815-1914*, (London: Macmillas Press, 1992), p. 181.



Louis Phillip in 1842, and Dom Pedro II in 1876

The embodiment of progress within Dom Pedro II appeared to become more solid with each decade, but at the same time further disconnected the Emperor from his country, particularly with its elite.

1.3. The Role of the Elite

1.3.1. The Political Elite

Despite power being in the hand of the Emperor, it was the political elite that made the decisions that shaped Brazilian imperial policies. The imperial elite are defined by José Murilo de Carvalho (2008) as “the Emperor, his state councilors, ministers, senators, and deputies,” coming from three different spheres of the society: judiciary, military and clerical. Despite their differing origins, they had the same educational and working backgrounds. This characteristic of the imperial elite in Brazil forms a worthy category of analysis, because in their ideology we can find a certain homogeneity that could not be found in other classes within nineteenth-century Brazil.

This uniformity within the elite finds its origins in institutional roots; the biggest majority of its members, until 1850, were literates and graduates from the University of

Coimbra, the majority bachelors in law. From the midpoint of the century, the elite also consisted of graduates from the law schools of both São Paulo and Recife.

The same cohesion existed in their professions, magistrates employed by the State, which made the bureaucracy stronger. The governmental structure of the Brazilian Empire was of such political simplicity that it permitted most positions to work well, guaranteeing each ruler the capacity to govern. Their many years of work in State service, in various locations, gave them a global view of the Empire.⁵⁰

The main division was between the two parties that were formed during the development of the constitution: conservatives (mostly large-landowners, magistrates and merchants from the Atlantic coast), and liberals (rural landowner and priests, mostly people from the interior, center and southern provinces). The conservative part of the elite aimed to maintain national unity, going against the liberals and the slave owners that coveted decentralization. It is also important to note that the military were not clearly connected with either party.⁵¹

Due to the simplicity of state structure, Brazil had a low degree of rationalization in its imperial bureaucracy. The bureaucracy worked hard to employ bachelors that would not have their own place in a society which comprised mostly of landlords and slave-owners. With pre-modern characteristics, local positions were occupied by not only landowners but also by merchants. The state was over-centralized, and weak in the peripheries that were under local control.

The political elite were unavoidably underpinned materially by the agriculture of slavery and its landowners, but they still had some autonomy in decision making. Sometimes they did not follow the landowners, but they did not break with them either (as was the case in the slow reforms leading to the abolition of slavery).

According to Carvalho (2008), Brazil's state council was Eurocentric, and it viewed England as synonymous with civilization. In its assemblies, the councilors and particularly the Emperor, were obsessed with the idea of civilizing their Empire. Here once again the ambiguity in the governance of the political elite can be found. Almost all of its members were ideologically adept with the new ideas of economic liberalism, but when they faced real problems, they acted pragmatically as protectionists and with interventionism, claiming that Brazil was not yet ready for the practices of liberalism. They also devised a form of social

⁵⁰ Jose M. de Carvalho, *A construção da ordem: a elite política imperial/ Teatro das Sombras: a política imperial*, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2008).

⁵¹ Carvalho. *A construção da ordem/Teatro das Sombras*.

liberalism, but at the same time most of them supported Dom Pedro's use of the Reserve Power, and were also against universal suffrage ideas. The state council was so important that it was considered the fifth constitutional power. At that level, it is possible to find the strongest contradictions within Brazilian imperial politics. Another factor that was crucial for that gap between the ideas and the *realpolitik* of Brazil was its absence of similar historical experience that it was difficult for the imperial political elite to imagine the potential of a Brazilian nation. Their solution was to put the State at the center of everything; and with it, monarchical rule.⁵²

All of these contradictions between ideal politics and real politics were a significant part of the political path in Brazilian history. To accommodate a monarchy – a new monarchy with modern ideals but founded inside of a colonial structure – it was demanded from the Emperor to not only be appear benevolent in his decisions, but also in his identity.

1.3.2. Brazilian nobility

Creating a new empire in a monarchical form also required the creation of a new nobility. With the lack of similar historical situations before it, this opened up a new form of noble titles.

In its origins, the Portuguese nobility represents a ramification of the Spanish one, and its medieval roots could not serve as ideal core to the construction of the Brazilian nobility. In Portugal, the main source of distinction to noble titles carry the preposition *de*, but differing from the French *de* that refers to a territory of origin or ownership, the Portuguese carries a military value, referring to a place conquest in battle.⁵³ It was thought that the Brazilian nation should free itself from its Iberian roots. Brazil's intention was to keep its back turned on the Latin American republics that shared the same continent. The result was the invention of Brazilian nobility, albeit an invention that borrowed from European systems of the same time.

From the beginning of the reign of Pedro I, the concession of noble titles was present. The first constitution allowed the Emperor to grant lifelong titles without financial traits and that were non-hereditary, also without any privileges from the feudal system. The granting of titles in Brazil was highly generous. Throughout almost eight centuries of existence, the

⁵² Carvalho, *A construção da ordem/Teatro das Sombras*.

⁵³ Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*.

Portuguese monarchy had nearly 50 persons with titles by the mid-nineteenth century. In contrast the Brazilian monarchy, in its first decade of existence, had almost 80. In the time of D. Pedro II, the giving of titles expanded.

The new Emperor availed himself of this technique rather often in order to set closer contact with the landowners. Therefore, as Carvalho mentioned, the title of Baron already lost its special high value by that time. It was conferred mostly to notably wealthy landowners and less to politicians. "So even though the Barons constituted 77% of D. Pedro II's holders, they accounted for only 14% of the Second King ministers who held titles."

Thus, in the second part of the nineteenth century the title of Baron became "synonymous and a distinctive mark of the great coffee-growers of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Minas Gerais; a form of co-optation, but also of compensation for the abolitionist laws of 1871, 1885, 1888."⁵⁴ Though, we should comprehend the fact that, even by the end of 1880s, some people who belonged to the new nobility still were not accustomed to using cutlery and bed linen. As the privileges of Brazilian landowners were based primarily on material factors, they were not as steady as ones of their European counterparts, whose status was based on cultural and political power.

Brazilian nobility at that time also included merchants, liberal professionals and intellectuals, who were "peculiarly dependent on crowned heads." This group of people was simply sponsored by the government, and their nobility consisted solely of the title, differently to European land-owning aristocrats.

European aristocracies such as Britain, Germany and Russia, as Dominic Lieven states, were comprised of magnates and people who could afford "living nobly", in other words the upper class. To the author, despite the hereditary nature of European aristocracies, there is a diversification of aristocracies within the ruling classes. The differences are in how directly they have control to the government, and by the means that they do it, using religious influence, cultural power, bureaucratic means, or other forms of dominance.⁵⁵

Though Brazilian landowners were acknowledged as aristocrats, their lifestyle often lacked the features considered typical for aristocrats in Europe. This means that in Brazil there was a clear distinction between aristocracy, which consisted of only the Emperor and his Court, located in Rio de Janeiro, and the nobility. Brazil, thus, combined European aristocratic and modern American lifestyles, which significantly contrasted each other.

⁵⁴ Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*.

⁵⁵ Lieven. *The Aristocracy in Europe*, p. XVII.

1.4. Dreams of a modern Empire

It was during the 1870s that D. Pedro could finally embody the idea of progress and modernity often dreamt since the foundation of the Brazilian Empire at the beginning of the 19th century. However, in the terms of pragmatic politics, Brazil was not in consonance with most of liberal ideals coming from Europe. In Brazil they existed, but remained mostly as ideas. No more the ritualism of the old traditions was important to D. Pedro, but the liberal process of modernization.

Since 1870, the ideas of evolutionism, materialism, and positivism started to impregnate Brazil. The so-called “generation of the 70s”, made up of intellectuals with different ideas, but that each grew up in the same background of appropriation and “tropicalization” of the main European intellectual trends of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵⁶ Particularly drawing on the ideas of Spencer, and Comte, the thinking in Brazil has defined the country, in its monarchical sense, as just a step in the Universal History leading to republican industrial progress. Science and technology in this way have been seen as factors of social transformation. Therefore, with these “modern” ideas, the monarchy in Brazil though was just a backward residue of Europe, putting it in opposition with the modern republican United States of America.⁵⁷ They had a similar role that in the European Enlightenment.⁵⁸

Defining moments in history of the politics of 1870s included the end of the Paraguayan War, the freeing of unborn slaves in 1871 (although total abolition would only come later in 1888) and the promotion of foreign immigration, mainly Germans, Austrians and Italians as the remnants of the idea of ‘whitening’ the population. Also, in the 1870s, the Manifesto of the Republican Party was created, which contained developments of both republican and federalist ideas. Church/State relations also changed, with the Emperor and his ministers preventing Catholic ambitions to influence the Empire politically. For example, two

⁵⁶ In the midst of these people the lawyer Araripe Junior (1848-1911), the journalist José Veríssimo (1857-1916), the politician and diplomat Joaquim Nabuco (1849-1910), and the lawyer and journalist Silvio Romero. All of them were writers and literates

⁵⁷ Carvalho, José Murilo de. Brazil 1870-1914. The Force of Tradition. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, V. 24, (1992), pp. 145-162.

⁵⁸ Ideas that were in vogue in Brazil were the naturalism and evolutionism, abolitionism, positivism and historicism, republicanism, and a centralized state. The main institutions for the development of these ideas were the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, *Academia Brasileira de Letras*, and Law Schools. See: Roberto Ventura, *Estilo Tropical: história cultural e polêmicas literárias no Brasil, 1870-1914*, (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras: 1991) 12.

bishops were imprisoned for challenging the government during this time. In addition, the main Brazilian statesmen were masonic and anti-clerical. They were José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior, and the Baron of Rio Branco, that also were well known by their imperialist views of the Brazilian nation over the River Plate. With regards to education, the Empire created polytechnic schools and scientific research institutes as science and technology were understood as factors of social transformation.

In Brazil, the separation of history and ethnology was not yet demarcated. Thus, modernity needed to fit into two antithetical discourses that gave a historical background for the Empire's modernization. The savage world in Brazil was at the same time represented by the "affirmation of natural and infinite happiness in the tropics;" and by the proclamation of "the advantages of civilization. It is an ambiguous vision, in which the perception of a contradictory reality emerges."⁵⁹

To enter into the hall of the civilized empires, Brazil needed a past to sustain its status, and its historical past as a colony of Portugal did not serve these purposes. Brazil needed to look deeper. Whilst Europeans could look for their origins in the old Arians, Brazilian historians looked to their own remote past to find their own Orient. Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century has a new passion; the interest in traces of ancient civilizations that would have existed in the territories of Brazil before the European invasions. Predictably, the Emperor himself sponsored the studies of celebrated intellectuals with the aim of discovering archaeological relics that would confirm theories of fabled settlements lost for centuries within the forest, or gigantic constructions such as the pyramids of Egypt. Notes by travelers who tried to decipher cave inscriptions from ancient civilizations excited the imagination and inspired those researchers. The main historian of the middle nineteenth century in Brazil, Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, even tried to demonstrate the possible origin of the Tupi-Guarani folks as being Eurasian. He did this by comparing their language with the ancient Egyptian and trying to demonstrate their similarities.⁶⁰

The enlightened orientalist-Emperor, feeling that he was carrying a political burden, wrote to the Count of Gobineau in August 7, 1873: "to be honest, the obligation of being in the current of politics and of the political administration, even in the position of constitutional monarch and rarely needing to intervene, takes me too much time," but he knew that he

⁵⁹ Roberto Ventura, *Estilo Tropical: história cultural e polêmicas literárias no Brasil, 1870-1914*, (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras: 1991).

⁶⁰ Mary Del Priori, and Renato Venâncio, *O livro de ouro da História do Brasil*, (Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro, 2001).

should carry out his duties in a proper way, and continues “I confess that I feel tired; but what to do?! ... However, I do not forget sciences and letters.”⁶¹

D. Pedro II, who was himself trying to endow Brazil into modernity by cultural means did not refrain himself from using his political power for this purpose when necessary. The Reserve Power gave him the possibility of ignoring defiant legislatures. He did not refrain himself from dissolving the parliament whenever he thought it was the proper thing to do. As well as European emperors, he acted with imperiousness. When, in 1868, he dismissed the Liberal parliament, he provoked indignation among the liberals that started to think that Dom Pedro overused the reserve power with tyranny. This incident gave forces to republicanism, as well as to the creation of a more radical liberal and republican parties in the beginning of the 1870s.⁶²

Here we can learn from Arno Mayer that, when we study the nineteenth century we should not only pay attention to the “advance of science and technology, of industrial and world capitalism, of the bourgeoisie and professional middle class, of liberal civil society, of democratic political society, and of cultural modernism.” We should also look at the reaction on the other side, to the “relentless tragedy of historical perseverance, and to explore the dialectic interaction between” the modernize power, and the force of tradition.⁶³ This force made the modern world persist having hereditary monarchs, religious influences, and other characteristics of the old feudal order.

In the tropical empire, the dream of being a part of the world of progress located on the northern side of the Atlantic Ocean was closer than never before. Nevertheless, if we look to the history of Brazil, as well as the history of the old European monarchies, we understand that there was something different to the usual belief that the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a period of the advance of modernity and part of a worldwide modernization. It was also was a moment of perseverance of the conservative power of the tradition that worked countercurrent against this modernity.⁶⁴

José Murilo de Carvalho highlights the reactions to modern civilization in Brazil from different parts of society: 1. Rural society - that during the 1870s represented almost the whole country; 2 but from the urban side also revolts appeared, for example, with the revolts against imperial taxation and the instauration of the metrical system took place in 1862, 1871,

⁶¹ Georges Raeders, *Dom Pedro II e o Conde de Gobineau, correspondências inéditas*, (São Paulo: Companhia Ed Nacional, 1938).

⁶² Ventura, *Estilo Tropical*, p. 73.

⁶³ Mayer, *The persistence of the old regime*, p. 4-5.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

and in 1874, in different parts of the country. In Brazil, there was a strong reaction from the population against the modernizing politics of the government which aimed to bring in new forms of administrative control, and against the secularization of the state.⁶⁵

To Carvalho, even the progressive ideas in Brazil had very few modern aspects. The positivism of Auguste Comte was concerned with highlighting the affective and religious values of society, following the premise that the Latin people were superior to the Anglo-Saxons for being more affective and spiritual than rational and pragmatic. Agreeing with Arno Mayer, Carvalho argues it is possible to conclude the same about Brazil, and even with more propriety. By the World War I, Brazil remained a place of huge plantations that exported primary products, and had in its political power a considerable social and political influence. Brazil had a part of the elite that consisted of landowners who could maintain the nation's economic dependence on agriculture, and another part that were Eurocentric and much disdain for the general population of poor, black, and uneducated.⁶⁶ Regarding the capital, Carvalho affirms that, "when it was said that Rio was civilizing itself, the expression indicated an aristocratization of urban life, rather than its democratization."⁶⁷

⁶⁵Carvalho, José Murilo de. Brazil 1870-1914. The Force of Tradition. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, V. 24, (1992): 145-162.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 160.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 157.

Chapter 2. THE MOVEMENTS OF THE EMPEROR

Dom Pedro II, the second and last Emperor of Brazil, had already traveled innumerable times within his own Empire before traveling abroad. During the first decades of his kingdom, he had already visited the north and south of the Brazilian Empire. Through this period, imperial politics were still intending to consolidate its internal peace and external borders. He visited Bahia, Rio Grande do Sul, and Pernambuco, for instance. In such provinces, where revolts had destabilized the region and had to be pacified by the regency government, Dom Pedro's physical presence was clearly a part of the political intentions of unification of the Brazilian new nation-state. In addition to this, the presence of Dom Pedro on the battlefield during the Paraguayan War, alongside the Argentinean and Uruguayan presidents Bartolomé Mitre and Venancio Flores, in 1865 was also a demonstration of such politics.

During his first journey, he visited several European cities. It included, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Rouen, London, and many Italian, and German cities.⁶⁸ His itinerary included important visits to England and Scotland, as the hegemony of their external trade with the Brazilian Empire was threatened by the United States. At that time, the emperor already had contact with the intellectual world. He also visited Belgium and Germany, where his most important excursion was a visit to see the tomb of Carlos Magnus, and also the tomb of his mother. A ceremony in which the anthems of Brazil, Hamburg, and Prussia were played occurred during the former. The emperor attended court meetings in royal residences, although remained staying at hotels. Beyond Europe, he went to Egypt accompanied by Gobineau, who referred his companion of travel as someone who often complained that "I have no time." He wanted to see everything, and because of this he moved quickly from place to place all the time. The Emperor always spent his time adjusting and rescheduling his time, whilst complaining about not having enough of it.

2.1. Dom Pedro II overseas in 1871

⁶⁸Some more examples are: Edinburgh, Ostend, Gand, Brussels, Liège, Aachen, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Essen, Hamburg, Berlin (meeting Wagner in person), Coburg, Dresden, Eisenach, Vienna, Budapest, Venice, Milan, Pomegranate. After Rome, Perugia (meeting the future Pope Leo XIII), Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Turin, Vatican (where he met Pope Pius IX - who took a disliking to the emperor following his offer to mediate on an issue between the Pope and the King of Italy). See: Lilia Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*.

Dom Pedro's first trip to Europe occurred due the internal fragility of the nation: the consequences of the Paraguayan War, developing republican ideas, the growing public cries for the abolition of slavery, and the Religious Issue (Gouvêa). Dom Pedro's solution was to appoint the Baron of Rio Branco⁶⁹ as Head of Parliament, trusting that he would lead the politics during the Emperor's absence. In that sense Dom Pedro could have himself a vacation after thirty uninterrupted years of reign. Thus, he could fulfill his biggest desire; to experience the Old World outside of the books that he devoted himself to for many years. In 1871, he felt that he had enough motivations to execute his ideas: the Empress's poor health combined with his melancholy following his daughter's death in Vienna.⁷⁰

Despite the opposition "the moment might perhaps be the most suitable for such a journey. It was only natural that the Emperor should make every effort to get to know the countries and civilization of Europe closely" (Lyra). He even stated as feeling the need to enrich his soul with the air of the Old World, especially after five years of serious preoccupation and with the campaign of Paraguay.⁷¹

2.1.1. Domestic receptions, and personal achievements

In both of his journeys abroad, D. Pedro decided to leave without making use of the facilities of being emperor. The funding for his travels came in part from his own funds and from friends, but the majority was actually borrowed from bankers.

During his first journey abroad in 1871, Dom Pedro showed a disregard for many of the pompous rituals and royal ceremonies that he encountered. In this time he was already dressed as a citizen-emperor: consisting of a black coat, hat, and hand luggage. Whilst out walking as a common citizen (sic), he did not demand guards or any solemnity. His visit to Europe persuaded him to leave all of the old imperial theatrics behind. Thus, when returned to Brazil, he decided to resign his title of sovereign, rejected other titles and statues, dispensed with the traditional ceremony of *beija-mão*⁷², and established the free press.

⁶⁹ José Maria da Silva Paranhos Júnior (1845 - 1912), Baron of Rio Branco, was a politician and intellectual from Rio de Janeiro.

⁷⁰ Gouvêa, *O Imperador Itinerante*.

⁷¹ Lyra, *História de Dom Pedro II*, p. 9.

⁷² Traditional public ceremony of medieval origin in the Portuguese Court. This was inherited later by the Brazilian imperial court. It represents a time when the vassal puts himself in direct contact with his monarch, reverence him, kisses his hand to demonstrate their submission.

The ceremonies, and particularly the act of dressing as a royal ruler in those ceremonies, were considered amongst the most important of connections with the old regime.

But the crowned heads did not reign by symbols and ceremonies alone. In fact, their way owed much to their real resources and powers, of which they never hesitated to avail themselves. It bears repeating that the dynasts were Europe's largest landowners and as such felt themselves to be *primus inter pares* in the landed estate.⁷³

Leaving behind his attachment to the old, traditional way of ruling, D. Pedro was not only changing the face of the old regime for something new but was also abandoning the order of things in his lands.

For Carvalho, D. Pedro's fascination with the old continent resulted in alienation from his own empire - already noticed at the time by local politicians - disturbing the trust that the court had placed in the Brazilian political and rural elite. It is worth initially stating here that the focus of some of the most important works in recent historiography written about the Brazilian Empire paid attention to D. Pedro's journeys abroad exactly in this way: looking at its consequences to the internal development of imperial politics. The emperor detested dances, feasts, ceremonies. His Court had a gloomy mood. In 1871, in Portugal he had already stated: "Let me enjoy this freedom of simple citizen; I'm sick of ceremonies and labels."⁷⁴

D. Pedro, now more than ever, made true the expression that he was a Habsburg lost in the tropics. Not merely due his physical appearance, but also due his increased interest in events happening on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. This was one of the reasons he felt the need to reinforce himself as a Brazilian citizen.

At the same time, whilst carrying the imperial contradiction of Brazil, he was an republican in his spirit: which in Gouvea's view was a state of spirit that can be achieved only inside of a monarchic regime; and with the specificity that his was educated during the regency period, identified in historiography as the Republican experience.

2.2. Legality and Authorization

⁷³ Mayer, *The persistence of the old regime*, p. 146.

⁷⁴ Carvalho, José Murilo. Dom Pedro II e Euclides da Cunha: Dois Republicanos. *Revista Brasileira*, pp. 149-162.

According to the Brazilian imperial constitution of 1824, D. Pedro's travels had to be approved by his deputies. Article 104 posed that

if the emperor left the country without consent, it would be understood that he abdicated the Crown, and his alleged motives were usually to take care of health matters his or the Empress Teresa Cristina. On these occasions, his daughter Isabel was confirmed by the same Assembly as imperial princess regent of the country.⁷⁵

In 1871, D. Pedro went to Austria to visit the grave of his daughter Leopoldina. There he intended to meet with his sons-in-law and grandsons, returning to Brazil together with them. He also used this occasion to travel through Europe and Egypt. In 1876, Dom Pedro again used the treatment of the Empress Teresa Cristina's health - in Gastein - as official motivation for his journey, as well as the visit to the Universal Exposition of Philadelphia. His logic was that he could cover North America and Europe in one trip, even allowing for travel to Greece and Jerusalem, a particular desire of his.

The journey of 1871 was met with the opposition of some politicians of the empire. Some of them simply referred the emperor as someone with a "*walking obsession*" due to the countless trips that already carried out within the national territory. Others claimed that he was constantly searching for foreign applause. The most pessimistic ones, however, said that he had grown older and was using it as an opportunity to train his daughter Izabel to reign after him.⁷⁶ On the other hand, there was still hope from those politicians that whilst in Europe, Dom Pedro would learn how to act as a true constitutional king - casting aside his mania of using from the Reserve Power without any restrictions.

2.3. The Journey of 1876

In 1876, D. Pedro followed a different itinerary. In what seemed more like a "world tour", he visited the United States, Canada, Ottoman Empire, the north of Africa, England, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Greece, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, France, and Portugal. According to Lilia Schwarcz, this was an opportune moment for him to play the roles of the great monarch, the citizen-emperor, and

⁷⁵ Sochaczewski, Monique. Do Rio de Janeiro a Istambul: contrastes e conexões entre o Brasil e o Império Otomano (1850-1919). Brasília: FUNAG, 2017.

⁷⁶ There was a long story of mistrust with the "goody princess" and her "French prince" (Count D'Eu) due to her proximity to the Catholic Church. The politicians, highly connected with the freemasonry, saw in her no possibility of a third reign.

of an intellectual. In the United States, for instance, he was received by the President Ulysses Grant as the first monarch to set foot on American land. Many of the historians quoted previously tend to show that the Dom Pedro had a talent for noticing prospective scientific talent, saying that he met with Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell, and had faith in their work before finding mainstream success. As previously mentioned, during his trip to Europe, the double identity of the Emperor-citizen was often highlighted. Schwarcz used the example of Greece, where he was obliged to present himself as Emperor for being considered just a monarch from a distant and exotic country. In Paris he acted like a democrat, meeting with Ernst Renan, Quatrefages, Pasteur, and Victor Hugo.⁷⁷ In the historiographies that take into account cultural anthropology and performativity, Dom Pedro often appears as an almost an adaptive actor, who changed himself according to the treatment he received in different contexts. His performativity is presented more based on reactions than in intention.

José Murilo de Carvalho also posed this dichotomy of Dom Pedro's personality as important to his travels. Different to the internal journeys of Dom Pedro through Brazil that had clear and intense political meaning; away from the Empire he wanted to travel bearing the cost to his own pocket, using personal loans. Carvalho's interpretation was that, during his journey, D. Pedro saw himself as free of the usual responsibilities of power, being able to enjoy the old continent together with his mistress Countess of Barral.⁷⁸

In Carvalho's work we can find more details on Dom Pedro's first journey, but he also points out the motivation for the second journey. Despite the Emperor's "trotting aspect", the calm political situation in the country in 1876, the fact that Izabel was already experienced as regent, the existence of a grandson who could be his heir, and confidence in the power held by the Duke of Caxias.⁷⁹ Dom Pedro was this time conferred with the travel license to accomplish the health treatment of the Empress (his official motivation for returning to Europe) without much opposition.

The idea to embark on a second journey date began in 1873, and started to firmly take shape in 1875. Before choosing to travel to the United States, D. Pedro exchanged letters with Louis Agassiz,⁸⁰ whom wanted Dom Pedro to visit. The moment appeared to be perfect. Due to the one hundred year anniversary of American independence, the Universal Exposition of

⁷⁷ Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador: D. Pedro II, um Monarca nos Trópicos*. Petrópolis: Cia das Letras, 1998.

⁷⁸ Countess of Barral was the most famous and important mistress of Dom Pedro II, who shared of his intellectual desires.

⁷⁹ Caxias was the only man to hold the title of Duke in the history of the Brazilian Empire.

⁸⁰ Jean Louis R. Agassiz (1807 - 1873) was a Swiss zoologist and geologist, notorious for his ideas on scientific racism and creationism in the nineteenth century.

Philadelphia was named *Centennial Exposition*.⁸¹ The Emperor felt he should start his journey with the United States.

2.3.1. Itinerary Making

During his reign after the Paraguayan War, D. Pedro d'Alcantara perpetually wanted to see everything and to know everyone. As citizen-emperor he wrote diaries of almost every journey (both within Brazil and abroad), detailed notes in which he described all his steps and all of the places that he visited (including information on geography, temperature and altitude), and also the people with whom he spoke. It is still difficult to precisely say why D. Pedro chose each place, and the origin of his desire to visit every place. Some of the letters received by the Court in the years of 1875-6 – that are now available in the *Imperial Archives* in Rio de Janeiro – may, however, provide us clues to uncovering the logic behind his itinerary”⁸²

José Murilo de Carvalho (2007) points out that D. Pedro “carefully planned the script and followed it rigorously. He studied in advance the places where he went, took books that described them, and checked the accuracy of the descriptions. "D. Pedro II probably spent time planning the itinerary of his journey in 1876 together with Gustav Freiherr von Schreiner⁸³, Austrian ambassador to Brazil from 1875 to 1881, who appeared to have many contacts all over the Europe.”⁸⁴

D. Pedro often delegated the preparation of his 1876 journey's itinerary to diplomats residing in the countries he desired to visit. In the case of the United States, Carvalho Borges⁸⁵ was charged with organizing the Emperor's visits. He exchanged letters with people from different parts of the country, subsequently providing suggested itineraries, receptions, and ideas of what to see, and with whom to meet.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Linda P. Gross, and Theresa R. Snyder. *Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exhibition*. (Mount Pleasant: Arcadia Publishing, 2005).

⁸² The sources consists most of letters between the Emperor, his friends, and counselors.

⁸³ In Egypt in 1871, Dom Pedro met Baron Gustave Schreiner for the first time. He was serving as Austrian consul in Cairo, and was subsequently invited to move to Rio de Janeiro to become the Emperor's Arabic tutor.

⁸⁴ Carvalho, *Dom Pedro II: Ser ou não ser*, p.137.

⁸⁵ Baron Antonio Pedro de Carvalho Borges (1824-1888) was a military man and mathematician that served as Brazilian diplomat in the United States.

⁸⁶ Letter from January 1876 to Carvalho Borges offering an itinerary to New Orleans. In: Achives of the Imperial Museum – Rio de Janeiro, Maço 175.

On February 23, the Viscount of Nogueira da Gama⁸⁷ sent an announcement to the ambassador Carvalho Borges explaining that the Emperor and his companions had departed from Rio de Janeiro in the direction of New York with his companies onboard the English steamship *Heveluis* from Liverpool Company, and informed him that

His Majesty the Emperor wishes that your Excellency hire in the best hotels of your city, that are located in a central position, the rooms must be conveniently prepared, with reception halls, cabinets, and bedrooms to His dormitory in common with His Majesty the Empress, with the windows turned to the streets or square, entrance and way out independent of the ordinary ones in the hotel, as well as separated accommodation to every single person listed; having also bedrooms, reception halls, and cabinets. His Majesty also wishes that your Excellency hire two decorous cars that stay daily under the His service, and anytime that anyone wants to leave.⁸⁸

Also corresponding with Carvalho Borges, in May 8, 1876, the American W. S. Auchincloss⁸⁹ wrote: “I have taken the liberty of mapping out a suggestive programme, for His Majesty’s consideration which I think will prove interesting in fulfilment,” and made a detailed schedule for D. Pedro’s stay in Widmington [arriving on May 11th], writing accurately every step for the Emperor, inviting him to visit both his factory and his home.⁹⁰ According to the time between the letter and the journey, we can see that not every step was prepared. D. Pedro had the cities informed to Carvalho Borges or to other diplomats, and the traveller’s diplomats were opened to accept suggestions and invitations from the places where they would visit.

Direct contact with D. Pedro was also possible during the preparation of his journey. To create an itinerary for his passage through Egypt, D. Pedro contacted Professor Henrich Karl Brugsch⁹¹ [who signed his letters as Henri Brugsch Bey]. On February 14, he said that his “friend Baron Schreiner” reproached him for not answering the letters from the Emperor. He wrote to explain that the letters were lost on the way from Egypt, and he decided to summarize now the contents of the three lost letters: 1, the answer of his letter; 2, the analysis

⁸⁷ Viscount Nicolau Antonio Nogueira da Gama (1802-1897) was a politician and Brazilian military man from a “traditional” family of statesman with noble titles in Brazil.

⁸⁸ Letter from February 23, 1876 from Nogueira da Gama to Carvalho Borges In: Archives of the Imperial Museum – Rio de Janeiro, Maço 175. Fev.º 1876.

⁸⁹ William Stuart Auchincloss (1842-1928) was an American engineer and vice president of the Delaware Car Works. He was in Brazil in 1873-4 at the time of the construction of the railroads.

⁹⁰ Letter from Auchincloss to Carvalho Borges offering an itinerary in the United States, May 8, 1876. Maço 175.

⁹¹ Henrich Karl Brugsch (1827-1894) was a Prussian scholar that worked in Egypt. Brugsch was the organizer of the Egyptian exposition at the Centennial Exhibitions in 1876.

in Leipzig of an Egyptian Papyrus about medicine; 3, a paper about the exodus of Jews. Some annexes from this paper that were published in the proceedings of Second International Congress of Orientalists hosted in London in 1874. His answer to D. Pedro's letter - saying that he will be at the Exposition in Philadelphia, and would even prepare the Egyptian exposition himself.⁹² Further to this, in response to another letter from D. Pedro II [June 24], Brugsch Bey directs to Carvalho Borges on July 5 that he accepted the Emperor's request of preparing his itinerary for the Egyptian visit, and that he "shall be very glad to be able to do my poor services to the Majesties during their stay in Egypt" and would prepare what he could for the Emperor's journey.⁹³

On July 18, Alfred Krupp⁹⁴ wrote to D. Pedro II explaining that he tried to contact the Emperor in Rio de Janeiro in the previous January, but his message arrived only after D. Pedro's departure. He said that he would be honoured to have the Emperor to visit him, and offered his services a day and a night whilst he was crossing Germany, even offering a house near the woods containing everything that the Emperor would need.⁹⁵

With regards to the Russian Empire, we know that D. Pedro had a meeting with the Russian commissar at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. In his travel diaries, he mentioned a couple of meetings with Mr. Bielski, the member of the Russian committee in the exposition; on June 28th and on July 5. In the last meeting, it is reported that Bielski accompanied the emperor in the moment of his departure from Philadelphia.⁹⁶

2.3.2. In the US

⁹² Letter from Brugsch Bey to D. Pedro II, February 14, 1876. In: Achives of the Imperial Museum – Rio de Janeiro, Maço 175. Maço 175.

⁹³ Letter from Brugsch Bey to D. Pedro II, July 5, 1876. In: Achives of the Imperial Museum – Rio de Janeiro, Maço 175. Maço 175.

⁹⁴ Alfried Felix Alwyn Krupp (1812-1887) German steel manufacturer and head of the Krupp company – a company that became, whilst he led it in the 1870s, one of the largest private producers of weapons and railroad technology in the world. Krupp was also known for his paternalistic politics in his companies, and for having high esteem by the Kaiser. Krupp is another of the contacts of D. Pedro II who adopted peculiar world views, as the anti-Semitism, anti-socialism and anti-liberalism. See: Eric D. Brose, *The Kaiser's Army: The Politics of Military Technology in Germany During the Machine Age, 1870–1918*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁹⁵ Letter from Alfred Krupp to D. Pedro II, July 18, 1876. In: Achives of the Imperial Museum – Rio de Janeiro, Maço 175.

⁹⁶ *Diários de Viagem de D. Pedro II no Acervo do Museu Imperial*.

D. Pedro disembarked in New York on April 15th. Crossing the US, he passed through 28 states in almost three months. He met President Grant in Washington (whom he found to have a “crude look”) and the future President Roosevelt. His citizen ‘mask’ was already in place: he stayed in hotels, visited educational and industrial centers, astronomic observatories, Catholic churches and talked to caciques and Mormons. He was the only foreign Head of State present at the Universal Exposition of Philadelphia (which was opened by him to the sound of Richard Wagner). Among the countless people that D. Pedro met in the United States, he also met with his friend Henry Wadsworth Longfellow⁹⁷, and with the family of his friend Louis Agassiz.⁹⁸

Usually the interpretations that focus on Dom Pedro’s performativity and in the identity shifting of Citizen-Emperor use the United States’ journey as an important case for analysis. The Emperor being viewed as a republican by North Americans at that time helped to shape the image of nineteenth-century Brazil as one of the two prosperous large empires in the New World. Both “empires”, Brazil and the US look forward to progress, with one difference, one with elected president, another with a democratic and crowned head.⁹⁹ D. Pedro even was appointed by the *New York Herald* as possible president in the election of 1877, receiving a considerable number of votes.

The visit of Dom Pedro II to the United States also had a symbolic expression of restoring diplomatic ties between the two countries which had weakened following the American Civil War. In the 1860s, Brazil had issue with the desire of the United States to deport black people, refusing the US’ attempt to send ex-slaves to colonize Brazil’s northern region and the Amazon rainforest. At the same time, however, Brazil opened its doors to American Confederates that wanted to escape from the Union, allowing them to settle in São Paulo.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Henry W. Longfellow (1807-1882) was an important American poet of the nineteenth-century. Dom Pedro made a translation to Portuguese some of his poems.

⁹⁸ Agassiz was a Swiss naturalist who was one of the main exponents of scientific racism and creationism in the nineteenth century. He was a close friend of D. Pedro II until his death in 1873.

⁹⁹ Dom Pedro wrote in his personal diaries whilst he visited the United States, but it lasted only until June 24 and returned only in November 14. It makes more difficult to find opinions about his European journey of 1876. He also wrote special travel diaries while he traveled within the US.

¹⁰⁰ Carlos Haag, O dia em que o Brasil disse NÃO aos Estados Unidos, *Revista pesquisa fapesp*, 156, (February 2009).

The United States also were the primary consumer of exported products from Brazil at the time, and it was part of D. Pedro's strategy to maintain and develop commercial relations with his American neighbor.¹⁰¹



D. Pedro's travel route through the United States of America in 1876. Created by André Hansen. Available at <http://www.museuimperial.gov.br/diario-d-pedro-ii/5393-diário-da-viagem-de-d-pedro-ii-aos-estados-unidos.html>.

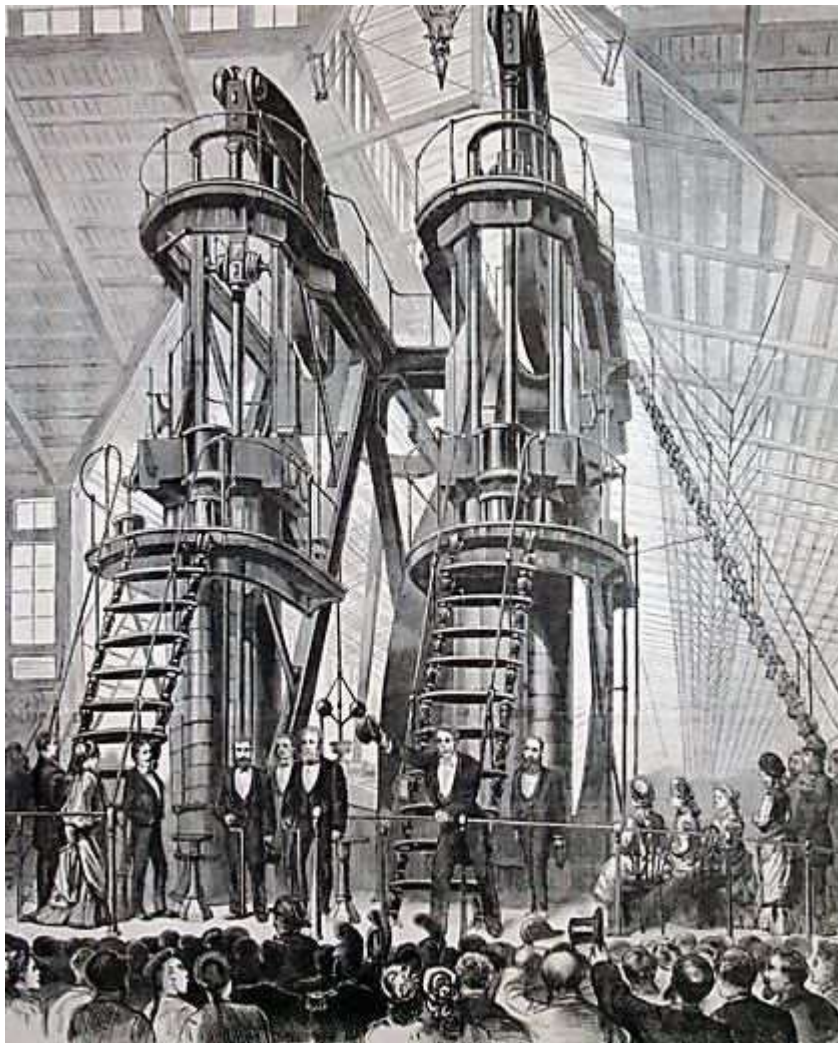
One of the main goals of his journey to the United States that is yet to be explored is the meaning of Dom Pedro's visit to the Philadelphia Centennial exposition. This was one of the formal motivations for the whole journey, and a point where the visit took on an official demeanor. Here we find D. Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, promoting both the deeds and the potential for progress in his country. He attempted to demonstrate that Brazil was also a place of knowledge and development, a place of civilization. D. Pedro could not find a better place to see the all the world, and to present himself under the gaze of the most modern tendencies of the world as a cosmopolite and progressive monarch.¹⁰²

The World Exhibitions was part of a modern promotion of a new background for power relations, a background where the power was in the process of organizing, watching and being watched; all of it in a represented world, a mimetic construction the reality. It superimposed "a framework of meaning over its innumerable races, territories, and

¹⁰¹ Steven C. Topik, *Trade and Gunboats: The United States and Brazil in the Age of Empire*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

¹⁰² Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*, (Petrópolis: Cia das Letras, 1998).

commodities. Made to appear an abstract order art from physical reality, this framework is an effect of structure analogous to those of military order, urban planning” as well of other colonizing and imperial practices that produced it by using methods of planning and coordinating. There, the Emperor faced with “not just exhibitions of the world, but the world itself ordered up as though it were an endless exhibition.”¹⁰³ It was place for encounter of non-Europeans with Modernity. The exhibitions of 1876 were particularly a trend in that sense; they showed that modernity was not only in Europe, but in the “West.” It revealed that the Americas were awake to the Universal History.



D. Pedro and President Grant in the opening of the Centennial Exhibition.

¹⁰³ Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, p. xiii-xiv.

In July, onboard the ship *Russia*, Dom Pedro proceeded to Europe (Germany, Austria, and Scandinavia), Russia, Palestine, Egypt, and then through returning to Europe through Greece. According to Carvalho, the second passage through Europe repeated the first, but expanded the itinerary, adding Russia, the Holy Land, Scandinavia, and Greece. Afterwards, by August 26th, 1877, the delegation was back in Brazil.

2.3.3. Back to Europe

D. Pedro and his journey fellows arrived in the port of Liverpool on July 23. They spent a day in London before go to Belgium to follow the second part of their official affairs; to visit the doctors that would take care of Teresa Cristina's health. After complying with protocol, and passing through the long journey of 1876, they returned to the British Empire to visit a number of cities, and numerous institutions (museums, prisons, hospitals, universities, and etc), also taking in landscapes across England and Scotland. There he met with Queen Victoria, with the Prince of Wales, with the Ottoman ambassador Musurus Bey and, at the Crystal Palace Dom Pedro met with King Leopold of Belgium. In London, he went to a public ceremony where many authorities were present, such as President Grant. In this ceremony, Gladstone made a speech which praised the Emperor of Brazil for both his activities and enormous curiosity that drove him to many parts of the world in search of knowledge.¹⁰⁴

Dom Pedro voyage to the Old Continent followed the same way than his journey in North America; he tried to look, examine, watch, and see everything that was possible. This frenetic will for absorbing everything under his gaze was already becoming part of his job as a modern Citizen-Emperor. While in Germany, after leaving Britain, Dom Pedro continued his explorations of educational, and scientific institutions, as well as places to contemplate both art and nature. In Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Bonn, Karlsruhe, Munich, and Salzburg, Dom Pedro visited museums, factories, parks, and universities.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Monique Sochaczewski, *Do Rio de Janeiro a Istambul: contrastes e conexões entre o Brasil e o Império Otomano (1850-1919)*, (Brasília: FUNAG, 2017).

¹⁰⁵ Carvalho. *Dom Pedro II: Ser ou Não Ser*.

An important event in Dom Pedro's travel to Europe was the inauguration of the Theater in Bayreuth, where he wanted to "see the opening of the musician of the future."¹⁰⁶ Also present to see Wagner were the Kaiser Wilhelm, the King Karl of Württemberg, the King Ludwig of Bavaria, Friedrich Nietzsche, Liev Tolstoy, among others. Dom Pedro was fascinated by the music of Richard Wagner, and during his stay in Bayreuth he watched the *Rheingold*, and the *Valkyries*. He decided to stay in Germany for a longer time than first expected. For that reason, the Emperor of Brazil visit to Denmark was already much delayed¹⁰⁷.

In Copenhagen, he visited the Museum of Ethnography and the amusement park Tivoli, where he met the prince that would later become King Frederic VIII of Denmark. He also visited art galleries. In one of them, he found an exposition of art works painted in colonial Brazil in the 17th century, at the time when the northeast of Brazil was occupied by Dutch.¹⁰⁸ Dom Pedro when to Elsinore [*Helsingor*], there he was received by the Regent of the Empire, due the King Kristian's absence, in an official journey to the Russian Empire.

Dom Pedro went to Sweden, including the cities of Stockholm and Uppsala, where he restlessly visited as many institutions as possible with the French ambassador, Count of Gobineau. Again, Dom Pedro listened to Wagner, this time was the *Tannhäuser*. There he was welcomed as a relative of the Royal Family, and his idea of traveling *incognito* attracted the curiosity of King Oskar II. On August 26th, from Stockholm, D. Pedro embarked a steamship that weekly connected Sweden and Finland.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Dom Pedro to Gobineau. In: Raeders, George. *Dom Pedro II e o Conde de Gobineau, correspondências inéditas*. São Paulo: Companhia editora nacional, 1938.

¹⁰⁷ Lyra. *História de Dom Pedro II*.

¹⁰⁸ The art works were signed by A. Eckhout, they were given by the Dutch Colonial Governor, Maurisse de Nassau to the King Friederovh III of Denmark.

¹⁰⁹ Argeu Guimarães, *Pedro II na Escandinávia e na Rússia*, (Rio de Janeiro: Jose Leite, 1941).

Chapter 3. THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

During his second journey abroad Dom Pedro, during the European part of his trip, added the Russian Empire to his itinerary. Leaving the Kingdom of Sweden, he traveled to the Russian Empire. The main purpose of this visit was to take part in the International Congress of Orientalists in Saint Petersburg. Nevertheless, he stayed in the Russian Empire for about a month. In the last days of trip, he displayed an eagerness to visit Constantinople. During this part of the trip, Dom Pedro insisted Gobineau accompany him as both guide and friend, first in the Russian Empire, then Greece, and then the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁰ Gobineau arrival to Saint Petersburg was on September 5th, as he only received permission from his government to travel on August 30th.

Until 1876, the idea of Russia in the imagination of D. Pedro came only from books and lessons. Nevertheless, as per the other parts of his itinerary, such as Greece and Scandinavia, he felt it necessary to transcend the eyes of a reader by putting the place itself under his gaze. The passage of Dom Pedro through the Russian empire was a way of highlighting the cultural climate¹¹¹ of the periphery empires. The mental mapping process of Dom Pedro is not only in his itinerary, but in the process of looking at the places in which he visited. The Empire was showing itself to its visitor, as well as the visitor was showing himself to this specific context. Both in a process of gazing each other. A gaze [not simply to look or to watch, but to concern about something] that reflected its representation of two different imperial situations that needed deal with global historical trends of being moderns.¹¹²

¹¹⁰On 30 August (1875) Gobineau received permission from the French Government to leave his post. (1) Author's note and accompany the Emperor. He leaves on September 5 (1876). He meets Don Pedro in Russia; (2) Author's note with the Emperor he visits Moscow, which enchants him, Kiev, Odessa. In Odessa, an immense storehouse of wheat, the Emperor of Brazil wished to rise on one of those mountains of accumulated grain where he sank to the middle of his legs. Then they leave for Constantinople, then for Greece. In Athens, Gobineau finds not only his memories of minister of France and his friends Dragoumis, but still and especially his daughter Diane and his four grandchildren. Tired, he left the Emperor who follows his journey to the East. See: Georges Raeders, *Dom Pedro II e o Conde de Gobineau, correspondências inéditas*.

¹¹¹ Presenting the cultural climate is what we can understand as contextualize the context. It would be a political, economic, and cultural moment that is an entirely historical context that stimulated certain forms of thinking.

¹¹² Martin Malia, *Russia under western eyes: from the bronze horseman to the Lenin mausoleum*, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999).

To Dom Pedro, who spent many of his days accompanied by Gobineau Russia carried a dual aspect. On the one hand, being a European Empire where his journey would follow very similar itinerary than the Scandinavia one, for instance. On the other hand, Russia was a semi-Asiatic empire, being notable by its proximity with the historical stagnation of China, contrary to the enlightened and progressive Western World. To Gobineau, who hated Russia, this place was a danger for the European civilization. The Russian Empire would be consumed by China, a step towards Asian rule over Europe.¹¹³

Traveling incognito within the Russian Empire would concede D. Pedro a special position. Dom Pedro had already studied stories of emperors in the world, and he certainly knew the significant impact would have to hold the title of *incognito* on a journey through the reformist Empire of Alexander II. The Russian Empire first appeared pictorially under D. Pedro's curious eyes in Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition in 1876. In an exposition which already revealed Russian's continental identity, showing its empathy to Asia. This Empire that since 1850's, according to Martin Malia, was considered to be more familiar to Western eyes¹¹⁴ still had its own identity much related with the east.

This Asiatic Russia was self-represented with a place that contained the Orient in its own lands, and to the Orientalist Dom Pedro, also from another multiethnic Western periphery, could be a good environment to face another multiethnic and multicultural empire. In addition, the scientific way that Russia appeared to present its interest in the Orient, through the *vostokovedenie*, was the most important attraction to the Emperor who was looking forward to attending the Congress of Orientalists.

3.1. Finland

Mr. Count, I approach *Hangö*, where I hope to set foot on solid ground at three o'clock, after having been shaken enough to throw away what was in my stomach. It was not at all a continuation of Stockholm
, except in thought. The coast is a reef and the weather is horribly wet. I am hopeful that this reception will soon be compensated in Russia - but not only in imagination - with pleasant contrasts and with the fact that you will soon find me. There is an English Orientalist aboard, he is preparing for the St. Petersburg Congress. He seems profound to me, judging by the pile of Hindi-language newspapers, which he constantly leafs through in an imposing way. Bye. I entrust myself to greet those ladies who have been so kind to me, as

¹¹³ Letter Gobineau to Dom Pedro. Raeders, In: George. *Dom Pedro II e o Conde de Gobineau*,. (São Paulo: Companhia editora nacional, 1938).

¹¹⁴ Malia, *Russia under western eyes*.

well as the excellent Hildebrand. Write me; and connect Sweden and Russia via your letters so full of facts and interesting reflections while it is not possible to continue our conversations. Yours, D. Pedro de Alcântara.¹¹⁵

The letter above, which was forwarded to Arthur de Gobineau, was written in August 26 [14]¹¹⁶, 1876, aboard the steamship *Express*, crossing the Baltic Sea in direction to Viipurí [or Vyborg, in Swedish]. The author, D. Pedro de Alcântara, was a Brazilian citizen in a peculiar position; he was the Emperor of Brazil. He had been traveling in this fashion for six months already before he approached the Nordic lands of the Russian Empire. After exploring Sweden, which was much known and appreciated by Gobineau, he would meet his friend in Russia to accompany him through Greece and the Ottoman Empire.

D. Pedro and his entourage arrived in Finland through the port of Hangö on the 14th of August of the old calendar, followed to the village of Ekenäs, and then to Vyborg. On 15th he went by boat to Rättijärvi, and from there on to Imatra and Lauritsala. On 16th of August he was arrived in Vyborg, where he then took the train to St. Petersburg. Newspapers of the time show that people were waiting for him in Helsingfors [Helsinki], but the Emperor decided to skip this part of the itinerary, as he was concerned about missing the Congress of Orientalists in Saint Petersburg.¹¹⁷

On August 27 [15], Dom Pedro wrote from the Hotel of Sainm Lake:

Countess, I have enjoyed the channel between Vyborg and Lake Sainm, one of which I already see from the balcony of the hotel, and the great rapid of Imatra. Ask the Empress to show you my letter. Time does not allow me to write to you as much as I wish. I got sick of the patch when I got to Illängo. When will I hear from there? I was with Alhandra this morning; but I have not given you your letter yet; it remains until after tomorrow in St. Petersburg. The whirlwind of the waters in Imatra gives curious shapes to the stones. I'll give you one though it's not as cuddly as the *petit-bonhomme's*. Surely it costs a lot to me to write such short letters; but I think you like it anyway.¹¹⁸

In the letter directed to the Countess of Barral, who also remained in Europe, and that was going to find D. Pedro again a little latter than Gobineau, just in Constantinople, the

¹¹⁵ Letter of Dom Pedro II do Arthur de Gobineau, from August 24, 1876. In: Raeders, Georges. *Dom Pedro II e o Conde de Gobineau, correspondências inéditas*. Companhia editor nacional, 1938.

¹¹⁶ The dates of the Old calendar will appear in [].

¹¹⁷ Argeu Guimarães, *Pedro II na Escandinávia e na Rússia*, (Rio de Janeiro: Jose Leite, 1941).

¹¹⁸ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, August 27, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr., *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1956), p. 195-196.

Emperor makes reference to a meeting that he already had had with the Brazilian ambassador in Russia, Baron de Alhandras.

D. Pedro's passage through the Russian Empire, similar to the journey within the Ottoman Empire, as demonstrated by Sochaczewski, did not allow as many material vestiges as the visits of European monarchs.¹¹⁹ Referring to his trip to Constantinople, the author states that "he was neither the first nor the last monarch to visit Constantinople", the French Empress, Eugenie, had been there in 1869, as well as Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1889 and 1898. There were physical landmarks left from those visits, such as the room occupied by "the Empress in the Beylerbeyi Palace on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, or the fountain offered by Wilhelm II in the square of the Hippodrome in Istanbul." Nevertheless, no monument of the kind "remained of the visit made by the Emperor of Brazil in October 1876" to the Ottoman Empire. However, his visit to Finland had left a material trace. In the place described by D. Pedro in his letter to Barral – Imatra's waters - we can see a stone with the inscription of the Emperor's name. This was probably written by the Emperor himself. It is likely that upon seeing the inscriptions of Catherine I¹²⁰ on the stones, he also wanted to follow this ritual by immortalizing his name and the date "27 Agosto 1876" in the place now known as *Kruununpuisto's* (Crownw Park) Stones.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Sochaczewski, *Do Rio de Janeiro a Istambul*.

¹²⁰ The Empress of Russia Catherine II visited *Imatrankoski* in the summer of 1772.

¹²¹ According to the Precision Inventory Report done in 2010, the name of D. Pedro II was verified in one of the rocks. The inscriptions are dated from the beginning of the 18th century, but appear to have been a popular ritual in the 70s of the 19th century, when D. Pedro II signed his name and date. See: UlrikaKöngäs & TiinaMikkanen. See: UlrikaKöngäs&TiinaMikkanen . "IMATRA IMATRANKOSKI. Kalliohakkaustenjahistoriallistenrakenteiden. dokumentointijakartoitus. Tarkkuusinventointiraportti." "IMATRA IMATRANKOSKI.



<http://kontrev.ho.ua/bibl/Mash19.html> Photo: U. Kõngäs 2010.

His farewell to Finland demonstrates that Dom Pedro intended to rise in the early morning for his journey ahead, and shows his hopes and high expectations that Russia would be as interesting a place. In his short account from August 28 [16] he wrote to Barral: "What a beautiful wonder in Vyborg! Finland is very picturesque. I hope the rest of Russia would also interest me, and even more. Tomorrow at 4:44 in the morning I'll be in Petersburg, hopefully before 9".

3.2. Saint Petersburg: Pedro d'Alcantara amongst intellectuals

D. Pedro d'Alcantara departed at daybreak along the Finnish railway, arriving on the early morning of Tuesday. He was traveling in a ministerial car accompanied by two people (likely the Viscount of Bom-Retiro and Artur Teixeira de Macedo). After crossing the border at Karelia, there already happened to be a small welcome tribute to Dom Pedro from the official in the customs house. It prompted the local population together, thus making somewhat of a spontaneous reception for the Emperor. It is reported that a local woman used the opportunity to collect donations for the Russian Red Cross. D. Pedro apparently made a

generous one.¹²² In Saint Petersburg, the General-adjutant Trepov¹²³ was waiting for him at the Finland station.¹²⁴

The local press was already waiting for him, and from the moment of his arrival there was someone following him. His passage was reported in the pages of *Vedomosditi SPb gradonachal'tva i SPb politsii*, *Niva*, *S-Petersburskie vedomosti*, *Pravitel'stvenniy vestnik*, *Golos*, *Sovremennye izvestiya*, and *Moskovskie vedomosti*.

It was reported by the local newspapers that in Russia, in the same way as in his previous passages through other European countries, the visit had no political motive, and was undertaken “solely out of curiosity”.¹²⁵ Thus, immediately after arriving and settling in his room at the Hotel Europa on Mikhaylovsky Street, this peculiar Brazilian citizen began his restless tour of the city of St. Petersburg.

At noon on the very same day, D. Pedro visited the St. Petersburg Stock Exchange, St. Isaac's Cathedral, and the Zoological Garden.¹²⁶ Additionally, he visited the Botanical Garden.¹²⁷ At the end of the first day of his tour in St. Petersburg – 29 [17] of August, D. Pedro wrote to the Countess of Barral: “I have seen all the major memories of Peter the Great,” and continues: “I got your letters. You have no reason to fear the voyage to Constantinople. Everything is going to be fine, and I am sure you would not make me go to Constantinople as I will not find all those I left.”¹²⁸ Here, he refers to Barral's concerns regarding their meeting in the Ottoman Empire, as at that time the Empire was also suffering a crisis regarding the succession of the throne, and the latest news reported had been about the April Uprising and the Batak massacre. What D. Pedro refers to more specifically, however, is the more recent troubles of the Great Eastern Crisis, the Herzegovina uprising.¹²⁹ In his letters to Barral, D. Pedro's suggests that she and another ministers were also were against his journey to the Ottoman Empire. In another letter from Russia, D. Pedro wrote that Barral's

¹²² Guimarães, *Pedro II na Escandinávia e na Rússia*. Guimarães mentions that those facts appear as narrated in an announcement from the “*Agência Geral Russa*”.

¹²³ Fyodor Fyodorovich Trepov (1809-1812), state and military leader, was Adjutant General in 1876, being also Governor of St. Petersburg from 1873 to 1878.

¹²⁴ *Современные известия*, (!) уточнить номер (5707)).

¹²⁵ *Правительственный вестник*, № 184, с. 2.)

¹²⁶ *Moscovskie vedomosti*, 20 Aug. 1876. №212.p. 2., *Moscovskie vedomosti*, №213, p. 2

¹²⁷ *Moscovskie vedomosti*, №214, p.. 4

¹²⁸ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, August 27, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr, *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira, 1956), p. 196.

¹²⁹ About two months before the visit of D. Pedro, Bosnian and Montenegrin governments decided to declare war against the Ottoman Empire.

claims could harm the esteem that he wanted to demonstrate to the Turkish people. He complained that she “seems to fear his visit to a place of dangerous barbarians”.¹³⁰

In that same letter from August 29, he says “I do not understand your fears, and therefore see you in Constantinople! I cannot keep sending telegrams every moment. But I always remember who esteems me, and I pay it in the same way.” And impatiently finishes: “I’m about to leave again. On the September 1st at 1pm begins the Congress of Orientalists. I think you will excuse the scribbles and believe that I cannot forget you.”¹³¹

On August 30[18], D. Pedro woke up at five in the morning and, after breakfast at 7 o'clock, went to the *Alexander Nevsky Lavra*,¹³² and also spent a significant part of his day at The Imperial Public Library, from around 11am to 3pm according to the local newspapers. During this visit he spent a large amount of time visiting the *Faust cabinet*.¹³³ Whilst there, the Emperor was shown a collection of luxurious covers for various scientific publications of the library.¹³⁴ After visiting the library, he went to the Academy of Sciences, where he was accompanied by the Russian Minister of Education [National Enlightenment], Count Tolstoy.¹³⁵ Then he visited the Faculty of Asian and African studies at the University of Saint Petersburg, where he was received by Professor Berezin, and by Professor Vasilyev (with whom he talked about the Chinese language¹³⁶, and likely also about Sanskrit, as D. Pedro was studying this language during his journey). D. Pedro inspected many of the offices and working rooms there, including those of Professor Mendeleev. The newspapers say that he stayed for about three hours.¹³⁷ There, he was proclaimed a Member of Honor of the institution and received works such as History of the University of St. Petersburg by

¹³⁰ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, August 29, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr, *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1956), p 196.

¹³¹ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, August 27, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr, *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 196.

¹³² (Современные известия, №232, с?)

¹³³ In Gothic style, the Cabinet was built and decorated in medieval style in 1857, by I. I. Gornostaev and V. I. Sobol'shchikov. In the decoration references to Gutenberg. There are the books published before 1500. http://www.nlr.ru/nlr_history/rooms/ostr/ros/1f_2.html

¹³⁴ (Правительственный вестник, № 184, с. 2.)

¹³⁵ Dmitry Andreyevich Tolstoy (1823-1889), statesman and historian of the Russian empire. Between 1866 and 1880 he was minister of education of the empire. In the period he was famous for being an enthusiastic of reforms.

¹³⁶ Ilya Nikolaevich Berezin (1818-1896) was a Russian orientalist and professor of the department of Literature in the University of Saint Petersburg, specialist in studies of Iran, Turkey, and Mongolia. He graduated in the University of Kazan in the 30's from the department of Eastern History and Philosophy. Vasily Pavlovich Vasilyev (1818-1900) was a Russian sinologist, academic of Buddhology, and Sanskrit. He also was a former student of the University of Kazan, and then member of the department of Eastern studies in the University of Saint Petersburg.

¹³⁷ *Sovremennye izvestiya*, №232, с?), *Moskovskie vedomosti*, №214, p. 4 (с ссылкой на «Правительственный Вестник»).

Grigoriev, the Russian Encyclopedia by Professor Berezin, a Natural History, and other university publications. The *Moscovskije Vedomosti* reports that in the same day he visited the Kazan Cathedral, Peter and Paul's Fortress, and the former house of Peter the Great.¹³⁸

At this point, Dom Pedro was already in contact with the Russian intellectuals with whom he would meet at the International Congress of Orientalists. From the Westernized capital of the Russian Empire, these Russian orientalists were developing a more sympathetic way of looking to the East, often posing themselves as part of the East instead. Professor Vasilii Grigoriev, for example, fitted in closer with the ideals that Dom Pedro had about the academic studies of orientology. Despite his connection to the imperial state, Grigorev believed that their faculty should work primarily for the sake of academic studies and the dissemination of knowledge.¹³⁹

If Professor Grigorev was closer to the ideal of intellectual of whom Dom Pedro could wanted to assimilated himself, we can say that Professor Vasilyev suited to such ideal. Vladimir Vasilyev was a sinologist was sympathetic in his attitude toward the East, stating that he loved the Orient. In his view "scientific materialism, faith in progress, and oppositional political inclinations," were "typical of Russia's post-Romantic intelligentsia." This was different from Dom Pedro's "Western" orientalism; molded by Germanic tutors, as Vasilyev's East was located a little farther than Turkey or Jerusalem. To him "the real East consists of the areas ruled by China, with India to the south and Siberia to the north." Like Gobineau, he also believed that China could dominate the West.¹⁴⁰

On the morning of August 31[19] [Thursday], Dom Pedro went to watch an Orthodox ceremony in a local monastery. During his passage through the United States in the same year, D. Pedro related in his travel diaries the innumerable times he visited churches and cathedrals. Whilst there, the Emperor was always pleased to visit Catholic churches and talk to local priests. His time in the Russian Empire was different. Here, his curious gaze was not focused on the advances of technology, but on the traditional and peculiar rites and buildings of the Orthodox Church. In the monastery, he wanted to examine the library, and was guided by the Prior Igumen. There, he received copies of a number of books, as well as a wooden icon.

¹³⁸The Moscovite newspaper refers that Dom Pedro had a conversation with Mendelev that was not revealed by other sources (*Moscovskie vedomosti*, №213, p. 2).

¹³⁹Grigor'ev served as Minister of Interior. See: Van der Oye, David Schimmelpenninck, *Russian Orientalism*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁰Van der Oye, David Schimmelpenninck. *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2010).

Dom Pedro spent the rest of his day on a visit to *Tsarskoye Selo*.¹⁴¹ At 2 o'clock, he arrived at *Tsarkoye Selo*'s arsenal and stayed in the museum for an hour and a half.¹⁴² He was accompanied there by the director of the arsenal, Professor Rockstuhle, who gave him a copy of the *Catalog of Tsarkoe Selo*. During the nineteenth century the arsenal, located near St. Petersburg in the city of Pushkin, was a museum that contained a huge collection of weapons from different parts of the world. It was built between 1819 and 1834 in a Neo-Gothic style, which itself is based on the styles of medieval Europe, and even included authentic medieval European stained-glass. This building did not differ from the European style which Dom Pedro had encountered in the places he visited in 1871, or even during this journey of 1876 in Western Europe, but it may have given him a more genuine feeling of being in one of the European empires. In only a few rooms the arsenal represented the world of combat, with its central room, the "Hall of Knights", containing a collection of weapons from the era of Nicolas I. In other rooms were Persian, Japanese, Turkish, Italian, Spanish, and German weapons.¹⁴³ The Emperor's restless desire to 'see everything' was instantly recognized by Russian statesmen. Pyotr Valuev¹⁴⁴ noted in his diary "One of my fellows - the Brazilian Caesar is here and looks around the sights. He lives in the European hotel *incognito*. He came counting that he would not see the sovereign here so that do not bother him on the eve of his departure."¹⁴⁵

On Friday, September 1 [August 20], D. Pedro began his day at 7am in the palace of Ekateringof and its surrounding park, which was the place where Dom Pedro spent his mornings with peaceful walks.¹⁴⁶ At that time, the place was very important to the Petersburg aristocracy, as well as to foreign visitors. Ekateringof was not only a place for aristocratic parties but also a place of knowledge. Located there was a museum, library and also a concert hall. The place had gothic style in its wooden constructions, but also included a pavilion, "Moresque", that was built to give the grounds an Oriental flavor.¹⁴⁷ Such places frequented by aristocrats was signified by rich and lavish parties hosted for people considered to have

¹⁴¹ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, August 27, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr., *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 196.

¹⁴² *Spyremennye izvestiya*, №232, c?. The Tsarkoe selo Arsenal is located in the city of Pushkin, and at the time of the visit was a museum that containing military equipment.

¹⁴³ During the reign of Alexander III, the collection visited by Dom Pedro was transferred to the Imperial Hermitage, where it can be found in the Knights' Hall. See: http://eng.tzar.ru/museums/palaces/alexander_park/landscape_park/arsenal.

¹⁴⁴ Russian statesman and intellectual, who wrote diaries through the year of 1876.

¹⁴⁵ Valuev Diaries, Pyotr Valuev. 60 y.o. August 31, 1876, prozhito.org

¹⁴⁶ Guimarães. *Pedro II na Escandinávia e na Rússia*.

¹⁴⁷ Hayden, Peter. *Russian Parks and Gardens*. Frances Lincoln. 2006.

good taste, and was marked by the presence of freedom of speech. Places that Lieven refers as, “semi-political salon, where individuals of similar political and cultural tendencies gathered.”¹⁴⁸ Dom Pedro d’Alcantara was not only able to listen conversations about art, but about reformation, education, and politics as well.

In the same morning D. Pedro was at the Mining Institute. Valuev noted that “the formalities are completely private. With him there were only Count Tolstoy and the lone-valet from the hotel. Dom Pedro d’Alcântara - so he signed in the visitor’s book.” To him, the Brazilian emperor seemed to be “the most tireless and curious of tourists. No even the slightest sign of posing, but dignity and *aisance*.”¹⁴⁹

The emperor was surrounded by the political context pos-reformist of Alexander II. The Russian Empire, as his own lands, had also its political peculiarities generated by the attempts of being part of the modern European society. In the second half of the nineteenth century Russia had implemented a French democratic agenda, but in a way that it would maintain the autocratic power, and the supremacy of the aristocracy. What Dom Pedro faced was not only a new environment composed by progress supporters, or liberals, but an aristocratic context, that had its enlightenment, as well in the German States had passed 50 years before, as a form of resistance of the old political order.¹⁵⁰

Within this context Dom Pedro continue his itinerary through the semi-political saloons of the imperial capital. After an evening walk around the islands, he visited Gromov's Dacha, a two-storey wooden house built inside of the *Lopukhinsky Garden*, near *Kamennoostrovsky bridge*. This place was built by the architect G. I. Wintergalter for the merchant and philanthropist Vasily Fedulovich Gromov (1798-1869). Gromov’s dacha was used as an art gallery and a theater scene. Like Ekateringof, its magnificent garden and constructions also served as the location of a number of parties. The newspapers also mention that he visited the Pavlovsk Theater in the same evening, and listened to several plays performed by the Arban’s Orchestra, who were in St. Petersburg at the invitation of Alexander II.¹⁵¹¹⁵² Dom Pedro wrote that at the Pavlovsk Theater he listened to *Le Beau Dunous*, a composition entitled Departing for Syria.¹⁵³ This song was written in the beginning

¹⁴⁸ Lieven, *The Aristocracy in Europe*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁹ Valuev diary. September 1, 1876. In: Prozhito.org

¹⁵⁰ Malia, *Russia under western eyes*.

¹⁵¹ *Sovremennye izvestiya*, №234, c?

¹⁵² Joseph Jean-Baptiste Laurent Arban (28 February 1825 – 8 April 1889) a nineteenth-century academic musician from France who developed the use of cornet in classical music.

¹⁵³ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 169.

of the nineteenth century, and was very popular in France of the Second Empire, considered almost a kind of national anthem. The song was inspired by Napoleon's campaign to Egypt, and narrated the story of love and honor of the crusader Dubois in his religious journey to Syria.

Dom Pedro wrote to Barral that at *Tsarkoye Selo* he met with "the Grand Duke Constantine and all his family" whom "are very kind." He continued: "Who pleased me most was the King of Greece." Dom Pedro refers here to Constantine Nikolaievich (1827-1892), the Grand-Duke General Admiral who was the younger brother of Emperor Alexander II, and to George of Schleswig-Holstein-Sondergurg-Glücksburg (1854-1913), or George I, of Greece. The Grand-Duke apparently was hosting George I who had some years before went through a governmental crisis in his kingdom, he decided to spend his summer in the court of his wife Olga Constantinovna in Saint Petersburg.¹⁵⁴

The two monarchs, both of constitutional monarchies and in the highest positions of semi-powerful states of their time, Pedro II and George I had a common ambition of maintaining their rule whilst being recognized by their peers as nation builders and progress supporters. Politics may not have left the conversation in the chamber of these statesmen. Immediately after mentioning his esteem for George of Greece, Dom Pedro wrote "The time here has not been fresh; but it is an exemplary inconstancy. I am also taking care of the situation in Herzegovina."¹⁵⁵

On the morning of Saturday [August 21], Dom Pedro was at the *Smolny Institut*. Between breakfast and lunch, Dom Pedro then visited the Philological Institute, the Holy Synod, the Third Gymnasium, and the Technological Institute. According to the newspapers, he stayed at the Technological Institute from 2pm to 4.15pm. After lunch, he attended the meeting of the Congress of Orientalists, and then went to watch the Vespers in Isakievsky Cathedral, where he stayed for about 45 minutes.¹⁵⁶

In the Institute of Technology D. Pedro visited the library, auditorium, museum, drawing classes, mechanical workshop, mechanical laboratory, physical cabinet, chemical cabinet, and chemical-technology laboratory.¹⁵⁷ The institute was created by Tsar Nicolas I,

¹⁵⁴ George I, before Prince George of Schleswig-Holstein-Sondergurg-Glücksburg, indicated to be king by the English government with the approval of the Russian Empire. He was considered by the National Assembly of Athens as the "King of the Hellenes" in 1854. See: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*.

¹⁵⁵ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, August 27, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr., *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 196.

¹⁵⁶ *Moscovskie vedomosti* №217, p. 3

¹⁵⁷ (Ведомости СПб гр-ва и СПб полиции, 29 авг., вс., №197)

with the goal to give the merchants' children practical and theoretical knowledge to allow them to become masters in the factory and of mechanical work. Since 1862, the students could also achieve degrees in engineering and mechanics, and gain employment in the public service. In 1876, the Institute was directed by Ivan Alexeevich Vyshnegradsky.¹⁵⁸ Dom Pedro visited these places accompanied by the Count Tolstoy, who invited him to have a dinner at his house, where also attended Valuev. Among the subjects of the evening conversations was the Easter Question.¹⁵⁹

Dom Pedro, while visited educational institutions in the Russian empire met with another empire, just like his own, with institutional incoherence. In the case of the decade of 1870's

the War Ministry controlled its own numerous educational institution and its chief, Dimitri Milyutin, was a liberal strongly committed to high intellectual standards, to a 'modern' curriculum of mathematics and living languages, and to the training of first-class military teachers. Meanwhile the ministry of Education, headed by the rich-conservative Dimitri Tolstoy, was attempting to thrust a classical curriculum down the unwilling throats of Russian boys in the ordinary gymnasiums. As a result the military schools became havens of relatively 'progressive' educational principles, good teaching, and friendly relations between teachers and students.¹⁶⁰

However, his attention was not turned only to the direction of educational institutions. Dom Pedro had a huge interest in understand about the peculiar organization of the religious institutions of the empire in what he currently visited. On the morning of September 3 [August 22], D. Pedro II visited the Annunciation Shelter, and at 10 o'clock went to St. Isaac's Cathedral. There he listened to the liturgy, after had lunch in his hotel, then later returning to the Cathedral again. There, accompanied by the church elder and two clerics, he rose up to the building's dome to enjoy a panoramic view of the city. Dom Pedro had often visited churches over the past few decades whilst traveling through his own Empire. During 1876, in his diaries he particularly noted every place where he had visited local churches, how many churches were present in each location, and also his participation in Catholic ceremonies. Unfortunately he did not leave diaries from his time in Russia, and his letters from this time mention nothing about Catholic churches. In the evening D. Pedro went, along with the Baron

¹⁵⁸ Scientist and statesman, he also worked as professor, and was member of the academy of sciences.

¹⁵⁹ Prozhito. Valuev diary. August 21.

¹⁶⁰ Lieven, Dominic. *The Aristocracy in Europe*. p. 175.

of Alhandras, to the Bolshoi Kamenny Theater (The Stone Theater) to watch the ballet "*Bábochka*."¹⁶¹¹⁶²

In September 4 [August 23], after a long day of institutional visits accompanied by the Grand Duke General-Admiral, and by the Count Tolstoy,¹⁶³ Dom Pedro received a delegation from the Academy of Sciences. They had come to the emperor to give him the title of Member of Honor of the Academy, and a diploma from the University of Saint Petersburg. A welcoming speech was made by the archeologist Marii Brosse, and by Professor Andrei Beketov.¹⁶⁴ Amongst the academicians of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, were Mr. Veselovsky, Mr. Brandt, and Mr. Sukhomlinov.¹⁶⁵ G. Brosse, who led the discourse, said:

Sovereign, at the end of the 17th century, the Great Monarch, who had the same name as Your Majesty, removed from himself, like you, the external signs of high rank and, having examined the best states of Europe, concluded his glorious field with the establishment of Our Academy of Sciences, cadence to develop science in Russia. The St. Petersburg Academy will preserve the precious memory of the visit to which your Majesty honored us, and instructed us to ask your Majesty to allow us to put your August Name on our list of members and accept the diploma that we have the honor to grant to you.¹⁶⁶

The Great Monarch was Peter the Great that in 1797-1798 visited incognito Western European countries. There are no sources containing the reaction of D. Pedro to this comparison and this speech. Nevertheless it would be already expected from his part to receive this comparison. D. Pedro d'Alcântara was a learned in the history of European empires, and knew much from the Russian History. In his period of nationalization of Brazil he was often compared with great monarchs all over the world, including Catherine the Great, and Peter the Great. With the last for also having built a city that carried his name and that

¹⁶¹(ВедомостиСПбгр-ваиСПбполиции, 29 авг., вс., №197) and (Современныеизвестия, №235, с?).

¹⁶²*Bábochka*, or *Le Papillon* is a fantastic ballet of 1860 created by Marie Taglioni and Jacques Offenbach, expanded by Marius Petipa and Ludwig Minkusfor presentation in Saint Petersburg. In the scene played Ekaterina Vazen, Lev Ivanov, PavelGerdt, MathildaMadaeva, and LubovRadina. The battle that Dom Pedro watched is a fantastic story set in Circassia.

¹⁶³(Современные известия, №235, с?), (Ведомости СПб гр-ва и СПб полиции, 29 авг., вс., №197).

¹⁶⁴MariiIvanovichBrosse (1802-1880), important Russian-French orientalist. Being one of the great names in Kartvelologiya (Georgian studies), he is known as a founder of Georgian archeology. Andrei NikolaevichBeketov (1825-1902) was a Russian botanist, professor, and rector of the University of Saint Petersburg, and a public figure in the popularization of science in the end of the nineteenth century.

¹⁶⁵(Ведомости СПб гр-ва и СПб полиции, 1 сент., ср., №198)

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

was projected to be the capital of his empire: Petrópolis. Above all, the reference would be very proper to the goals that Dom Pedro have in the 1870's: search for culture, knowledge, and modernity to his role in theater kingship.¹⁶⁷ As well as to Dom Pedro, "to Peter the Great, western literature, theatre, and philosophy were guides in how to act as Europeans," it was part of their theater of power, and empowerment.¹⁶⁸

Wednesday 5[24] was the day when D. Pedro faced with the Russian Imperial Navy. Accompanied by the Grand Duke General-Admiral¹⁶⁹ he went to Kronstadt on the Imperial Steam Yacht "*Alexandria*", escorted by the Manager of the Sea Ministry "*Leva*". They went directly to the Great Kronstadt, where the guest was invited to the royal boat, which brought the Brazilian emperor to the fort *Constantine*, built 5 years before the visit. From the fort - on the steamer "*Ermolov*" they went to the battery "3". Then on board of "*Alexandria*" they visited the city's port. Still in the Kroonstad, D. Pedro visited the new dock, the ship named "*Peter the Great*", the armored frigate "*Prince Pozharsky*", an armor-piercing factory, a parachute factory, a library, a technical school and so on. At the end of the fourth hour Dom Pedro returned to St. Petersburg.¹⁷⁰

In the next day D. Pedro spend his morning in the Botanical garden where he had breakfast and went to listen *Court-Song Choir*. The director of the Capella, Mr. Bakhmetiev presented D. Pedro with an album of spiritual plays of his composition. D. Pedro then examined the mosaic department of the Academy of Fine Arts and the Imperial Library for the second time. In the evening he was at the Marinsky Theater.¹⁷¹¹⁷² This time D. Pedro had more specific interests about the Imperial Library, it made the accounts of his visit being described in a more detailed way. For two hours the emperor talked with the librarian Garvaki¹⁷³ about Jewish old manuscripts. With him Dom Pedro showed up being interested in learning about the archeological dispute on the new finding of Jewish artifacts in Crimea. With the scheduled visit to Palestine in the near future, Dom Pedro enjoyed the situation to talk about old Hebrew language, and about the ways of interpreting old Hebrew documents.

¹⁶⁷ Built in 1843, Petrópolis was projected by the German military and engineer Julius Friederich Koeler (1804-1847) to be the Imperial Capital, and the place where would reside the summer palace of D. Pedro II. Ended up that this was the place who he spent most of his time.

¹⁶⁸ Richard Wortman, Theatricality, Myth, and Authority. *The Russian Review*, 50, 1(January 1991): 48-52

¹⁶⁹ *Moscovskie vedomosti*, №219, стр. 2

¹⁷⁰ Вестник СПб гр-ва и СПб полиции, 29 авг., вс., №197

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Abram Yakovlevich Garkavi (1835-1919), Russian orientalist, semitologist, librarian in the public library of Saint Petersburg

The August 27th [8, Fri] would be a significant day for the Brazilian presence in the Russian Empire. In that day Dom Pedro stayed in the Nikolayev Institute for about an hour and twenty minutes,¹⁷⁴ and visited once again a conference at the Congress of Orientalists also not for so long as well. It happened like that because in the evening D. Pedro would have a celebration in the residence of the Brazilian emissary in the Brazilian empire, José Bernardo de Figueiredo, the Baron of Alhandra –who had already prepared a reception and met Dom Pedro in his moment of arrival in both Finland and Saint Petersburg.¹⁷⁵

The reason for the celebration was the coincidence of between the anniversary of Brazilian's independence [September 7, 1822], and the presence of Dom Pedro in the Russian imperial capital. The celebration Among the guests in the celebrations there were Alhandra's wife Amélia Ana Temple Forster, other ambassadors and their spouses, and also some Secretaries of Embassies, the Minister of State Property [Valuev], the Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Alexander Gorchakov], many higher dignitaries, several scientists and up to twelve other ladies. *Vedomosti of St. Petersburg City Government and the Metropolitan Police* relate that there were up to 50 guests.¹⁷⁶ Valuev noted in his diary that the night had the character of homage to D. Pedro, and that there he

saw the whole diplomatic corpus there. The Marquis Bedmar expressed some concerns about the final denouement. The English ambassador was in a more satisfactory mood. Giers was even more tranquil. Baron Langenau in the overcast, Kabul-Pasha in the obvious consciousness of the awkwardness of his position. The Count Berchem, he was different as usual, *par un air d'importance quasi-mysterieux*, besides it again seemed to me that his conscience was not perfect.¹⁷⁷

The evening given by Alhandra lasted until midnight. It also relates that one Petersburge magnate presented a few ancient Brazilian coins of a high archaeological rarity to the emperor.¹⁷⁸ *Moskovskie vedomost* says that the small group in the party had nothing of

¹⁷⁴(Ведомости СПб гр-ва и СПб полиции, 29 авг., вс., №197)

¹⁷⁵ He was a Brazilian doctor and diplomat, having been plenipotentiary ambassador on several occasions, having died in Russia on an official mission. Received the title of doctor of the Faculty of Medicine of Paris. He was awarded the Grand Cross of the Pontifical Order of Christ, the Legion of Honor of France and the Order of St. Gregory the Great, as well as the commendation of the Military Order of Christ. He was a gentleman of the Imperial Household and received the title of Counselor. Lived until the end of his days in Saint Petersburg, in 1885.

¹⁷⁶Ведомости СПб гр-ва и СПб полиции, 1 сент., ср., №198)

¹⁷⁷Valuev Diaries. September 9, 1876. In: prozhito.org

¹⁷⁸ Sovremennye izvestiya, №240.

official (there were no uniforms or medals), but the evening "left the most pleasant memory possible to all those who attended it."¹⁷⁹

Before leaving, the emperor presented the precious diamond ring to the manager of the European Hotel, and left the servants of the hotel 300 rubles.¹⁸⁰ In the next day Dom Pedro left by express/courier train to Moscow – at 19.30 of September 9 [August 28].¹⁸¹ The station was escorted by the Governor of Saint Petersburg, mayor Trepov, and the Brazilian association in Petersburg.¹⁸²

On his farewell from the capital Dom Pedro wrote to the Countess of Barral:

Countess, fortunately I did not make the fall as disastrous as it could be, and I was reassured by the letter I received with great pleasure before the telegram from yesterday. I've seen a lot here, and the huge city with beautiful spirits on the bank of the Neva is very pleasing to me.

The church music is excellent, and the opera by the Russian composer Glinka has great merit. It is titled "Die for the Tsar." This afternoon I am going to Moscow. Bye.¹⁸³

It is not surprise that what attracted Dom Pedro in the capital of the Russian Empire were its "Eastern peculiarities." In the end of his letter he says: "Who would have told me that my visit to the Hermitage and the Winter Palace would not make a great impression on me?"¹⁸⁴ After visiting the United States, Western Europe, and Scandinavia, Dom Pedro was already facing himself with the east, perhaps earlier than expected when it should happen in the Ottoman Empire.

In the end, the daily experience and excursions appeared to be the best way for Dom Pedro to encountering the Russian Empire and its interest for the Orient. I was by the influence of the Asiatic architecture, the expositions, the music of Glinka, and the eastern traditions that Dom Pedro d'Alcantara was mostly interested. Nevertheless, he also felt the need for being in place among scholars and intellectuals. This place was the Congress of Orientalists.

¹⁷⁹ *Moskovskie vedomosti*, №222, стр. 3 (c Journal of St. – Petersburg)

¹⁸⁰ *Sovremennye izvestiya*, №240.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Moskovskie vedomosti*, №220, стр. 2

¹⁸³ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 1, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 197.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

3.2.1. The 3th International Congress of Orientalist

Consumed by religious and political frenzy, Europe and Asia are in a state of agonizing turmoil.... Race arms against race. One faith takes up the banner against another.... [Yet] in this ocean of unbridled passions, there is a haven where they do not dare intrude, a sanctuary that gives us a soothing foretaste of happier times to come. That refuge is scholarship.¹⁸⁵

With this speech Vasili Grigoryev opened on August 20 the 3th International Congress of Orientalists in the Imperial University of Saint Petersburg. The hall of the university gathered innumerable intellectuals of various nations. Grigorev ended his speech on that day prizing Peter the Great. He said that the emperor was the great modernizer of Russia, and because of him, all the fellows in the salon can consider themselves as being in one of the Western nations.¹⁸⁶

It is possible to understand D. Pedro II as an Orientalist of his time due his intellectual devotion and love for the east, and not in the political terms highlighted by Edward Said. It is so because as ruler he was not interested in impose himself to the East. To Sochaczewski (2017) there are some possible explanations to Dom Pedro's love for the East: "he inherited the interest and "orientalist" library of his mother, Empress Leopoldina; was interested in being part of the intellectual fashion of his time; or was even influenced by the Count of Gobineau."¹⁸⁷ Dom Pedro's Orientalism was in that way similar to that of the St. Petersburg school, with no pretensions of imperialist policies beyond the will for knowledge. But this also helped in the political relations between Brazil and the Ottoman Empire, for example.¹⁸⁸ The way in that Dom Pedro behaved in the the West, East, and in the Russian Empire reveal us at least an identitarian needs of his travel. Traveling and facing every part of where he had been demonstrates a sake for being modern, civilized, and to carry the knowledge that a ideal ruler should have to legitimate its sovereignty.

¹⁸⁵ Vasilii Grigoriev, appud David Van der Oye Schimmelpenninck, *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration*.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Sochaczewski, Monique. *Do Rio de Janeiro a Istambul: contrastes e conexões entre o Brasil e o Império Otomano (1850-1919)*. Brasília: FUNAG, 2017.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

The Congress of Orientalists though appeared to serve that sake. It was a place where were more space to Dom Pedro II, the Emperor of Brazil, than to another erudite aristocrat.

Seems that the much waited Congress appeared to D. Pedro not as brilliant as him expected, as well as D. Pedro's shine did not shone in the room with the biggest number of scholars where he had faced himself in. In a letter written by Dom Pedro to the Countess of Barral – with the date of September 1st, the emperor said that he kept looking at the big Saint Petersburg. He reports: "Countess, I continue to see look at this city that is immense. This morning the Congress of the Orientalists was opened in a not exceptional way. I believe that it will not yield great results."¹⁸⁹ It was the last reference of Dom Pedro in his letters to Barral that mentioned the Congress. It also cannot be found in memoirs or further diaries written by Dom Pedro while described his intellectual adventures. In the local newspapers that reported daily D. Pedro's visit, nothing connects him with the Congress that also was highly reported.

On the other hand, in the two volumes of published proceedings of the Congress, we can find one reference of D. Pedro. It is in the second volume, organized and prefaced by the Baron Victor de Rosen.¹⁹⁰ Dom Pedro is not "d'Alcantara", but *Dom Pedro II the Emperor of Brazil*, the first and the only one highlighted name in the list of honorary members. The second volume was composed by the foreigner publications – written in French, German, and English. In the first volume that were in charged by Grigorev, D. Pedro's name has the same presence.

3.3. Moscow, Tula, and Nizhny Novgorod

In Moscow he was waited by the adjutant-general Nikolay Vasilyevich Isakov, and for the counselor and director of the Moscow's library the Count Ivan Davydovich Delyanov. Since the late arrival Dom Pedro and his companions went straight away to the Hotel

¹⁸⁹ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, August, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 169.

¹⁹⁰ Arabist Baron Viktor Romanovich Rosen, who succeeded Vasil'ev as the faculty's dean in 1893. As his name suggests, Baron Rosen's background was very different from his predecessors'. Born into a German noble family in the Baltic port of Reval (now Tallinn, Estonia), his outlook was Western rather than Eastern.⁵⁸ He enrolled at St. Petersburg University in 1866 to read Near Eastern letters, but unlike earlier generations of Russian orientologists, he completed his studies not in Asia but in Europe. After a year with Leipzig's renowned Heinrich Fleischer, he taught Arabic at the faculty from 1872 until his premature death in 1908. See: Van der Oye, David Schimmelpenninck. *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration*.

Slavianski Bazar, at Nikolskaya Street, 17. During the moving he was still concerned with the opinion of Countess of Barral on their visit to the Ottoman Empire. In September 10th [August 29] he wrote from the Hotel:

Countess, upon arriving at this very curious city I received your letter from 3th. My journey to Constantinople is as much a sign of esteem as I have ever had for the Turks, and you sound as I am about to visit a horde of savages just out of curiosity. So I am very sorry to disagree with your opinion, and I am not afraid of such a journey. I am going from Odessa to Constantinople, certain that I will find you there.

I still note that I do not travel as sovereign, and that you let alone guide by reason will not find my firm resolution loveable; lack of awareness, and everything he wrote with some exaggeration. I think if I was there he would not talk to me like that after listening to me.¹⁹¹

Dom Pedro had met in Saint Petersburg many statesmen, and intellectuals – even from the Congress of Orientalists - that could have been addressing to him certain optimism from the part of the Russian Empire about the uprisings, and the overall situation in the Ottoman Empire.

Dom Pedro also says that he had already been “looking around the city, and I'm just saying that it's very well situated and it's very characteristic. I intend to visit the Kremlin tomorrow.”¹⁹²

7 o'clock in the morning of September 12 [August 31] – Dom Pedro ascended to the bell tower of Ivan, the Great. During the day I examined the female classical gymnasium of Ms. Fischer, the lyceum of the Tsarevich Nicholas, the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Rumyantsev Museum. There he was accompanied by Count Dmitri Tolstoy, assistant trustee of the Moscow Academic District and Count Gobineau. It is interesting that he is always accompanied by the minister of education, but and not having reported meeting with the minister of foreign affairs (higher up in the ranks), so he was not treated by the press fully as a sovereign, but as a visiting emperor of the constitutional monarchy. On the other hand, Dom Pedro is refereed in the diaries of Milyutin.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 10, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 197.

¹⁹² Ibid. p. 198.

¹⁹³ Vasilenko, A. C. (2003). *Filosof na trone: Rossiyskaya liberal'naya pressa o vizite brazil'skogo imperatora. Latinskaya Amerika*, (8), 61-68.

In the evening he went to Nizhny Novgorod and should return to Moscow on September 2.¹⁹⁴ I did not forget to get a Persian rug at the Nijni-Novgorod fair to give it to you as soon as we meet; what makes me so happy.”¹⁹⁵

Approximately from 10 to 12 hours - Female classical gymnasium S.N. Fisher. He attended various lessons, listened to the answers of the students, offered special questions and helped with the answers, the conversation was conducted in French. Was accompanied by Count DA.Tolstoy, assistant trustee of the Moscow Academic District and Count Gobineau. There he communicated with the inspector Konanov and Professor Emin.¹⁹⁶

In the Children's Hospital I talked with the trustee her prince Alexander A. Shcherbatov (1829-1902), philanthropist, that opened the hospital, founded in the same ir, he was already mayor of Moscow in the past, and at the time he administrated the hospital, “Detskaya gorodskaya klinicheskaya bol'nitsaim. Svyatogo ravnoapostol'nogo knyazya Vladimira”.¹⁹⁷ He also visit the main Archive of the Ministry of Foreigner Affairs.

In Moscow was presented to the emperor a recently released from a workshop called *Russian Lighting*. There was collection of copies of photographs of the ancient Kōer manuscript, entitled *Alphabet*, and contained the image of 137 alphabets of various adverbs and inscriptions.¹⁹⁸ Dom Pedro was fascinated by the advances in depiction by the new machines called daguerreotype. He was the first to acquire it in Brazil, and in the 1870's he created a studio of photography in his palace.

On September 14 [2] he had a long tour accompanied by the Count Dimitri Tolstoy, the director of the Moscow Academic District S. S. Ivanov, and by the Count of Gobuneau. In that day they were in the Lazarevsky Institute of Oriental Languages, where he spoke with the inspector of the institute Kananov and Professor Emin. Then went to the Imperial Technical School, and to the St. Vladimir Children's Hospital, the second city three-year school at the Red Gates, the primary women's school at Meshchanskaya and the Imperial Catherine's Hospital. In the hospital, he talked with her trustee, Prince A. A. Shcherbatov.¹⁹⁹ On the next day, at early morning, Dom Pedro visited the Moscow Observatory together with Dimitri Tolstoi, There he found the astronomer-observer Gromadzky and supernumerary astronomer

¹⁹⁴ Современные известия, №241 (со ссылкой на Моск. Вед.)

¹⁹⁵ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 15, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 198.

¹⁹⁶ Armenist and secret counselor.(1815-1890), Mkrtich.

¹⁹⁷ Современные известия, №243, с?)

¹⁹⁸ *Moskovskie vedomosti*, №230, стр. 4.

¹⁹⁹ *Moskovskie vedomosti*, №224, стр. 3

Tserasky.²⁰⁰ Then during the day he attended a meeting of the *Society of Naturalists and Lovers of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography* [Moscow Society of Naturalists]. Presented in the meeting: Mr. Bredikhin²⁰¹, Mr. Bogdanov, Mr. Zograf, Mr. Timiryazev²⁰², Mr. Traudshold. The president of the society Mr. Fischer von Waldheim²⁰³ gave a speech for thanking the emperor for his presence at the meeting.

It is still reported that Emperor also visited the Rumyantsev Museum accompanied by the Count Tolstoi, by Gobineau, and by a lady. It is noted that the Emperor's special attention was drawn to the painting "The Appearance of Christ to the People" and the portraits of Countess Vorontsova, and Krylov. Nevertheless, in that place, Dom Pedro appeared to me more interested in the Dashkov Ethnographic Museum.

In the Slavic branch of this Museum, the Count of Tolstoy, the Minister of Education, who accompanied the Emperor, drew his attention to the Serbian group of mannequins. The emperor long admired this group, finally, wanting to share his impressions with the lady accompanying him, who at that time sat and rested aside, he approached to her, conducted her to the Serbian group of mannequins, and together with his fellows they admired her for a long time, openly expressing delight.²⁰⁴

In the group of mannequins is a guslar-blind man, surrounded by children, old men and old women in different positions and listening with deep attention to his song-epic about the struggle for the Holy Cross and the freedom of Zlata.²⁰⁵

On September 16 [4], at 7 o'clock I went to the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra, where I arrived at 4 pm. In the late afternoon he received a deputation from the University, and from the Society of Lovers of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography. The deputations presented him with diploma of the university, and the title of an honorary member, giving him

²⁰⁰Vitold Karlovich Tserasky (1849-1925), at the time a young astronomer assistant in the observatory that became later an important astronomer and professor in the late Russian empire and in the Soviet Union.

²⁰¹Fyodor Alexandrovich Bredikhin (1831-1904), Russian astronomer, and professor of the University of Moscow. At the time of the visit of Dom Pedro he was the director of the astronomic observatory in Moscow.

²⁰²Kliment Timiryazev (1843-1920) was a Russian botanist, historian of science, and professor at the University of Moscow. He was famous as a defender of Darwin's ideas.

²⁰³Alexander Alexandrovich Fischer von Waldheim. Nineteenth century Russian professor and botanist.

²⁰⁴*Moskovskie vedomosti*, №226, стр. 5

²⁰⁵*Moskovskie vedomosti*, №226, стр. 5

severous copies of academic publications. It is related that the society have him up to 20 book."²⁰⁶

Dom Pedro found in Moscow experiences that made Moscow his favorite place in the Russian Empire: the preservation of the past, the oriental flavor of the region, its multiethnic composition, the historical importance of the city, and its distance from the formalities and ceremonies of the imperial capital. It could give him more exotic and cultural experiences, and many, many books that even concerned him of how he could carry to and stock in his small palace that he reported, when was about to leave Moscow "at 9 o'clock in the morning the train departs. I'll still get some books. They have filled me with printed works in Russia, manuscripts of how much there is. I do not know where I'll find space in São Cristovão to store everything."²⁰⁷ Likewise, as example of his musical experiences, in one day he visited the Moscow Conservatoire.²⁰⁸ In the very next, he listened to gypsy singings at Prince Dolgorukov's, reporting to: "the gypsies (men) sang with originality just as they wore the gypsies (women); but sometimes there were screams that pierced the ears." In addition he said that "the concert of Rubinstein that I come back to at this moment was what pleased me a lot."²⁰⁹

I have been listening good music in Russia, and I did not expect Moscow to be so well placed. The visits from the top of the tower of Ivan the Terrible; from the terrace of the Kremlin, and from the sparrows' hill where Napoleon saw Moscow for the first time are splendid. I can even understand the contrast of the fire.²¹⁰

On September 17 [5] at he went early morning to the Art and Industry Museum. Then, accompanied by the director went to the Stroganov School. After, joined V. I. Butovsky family for a breakfast. At 15 o'clock I visited the ex-shop. Afterward he went to the Moscow chief policeman N. I. Arapov, where he would face more music. There a musical morning was organized. In the evening I visited the Bolshoi Theater.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ *Moskovskie vedomosti*, №229, стр. 4

²⁰⁷ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 22, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 199.

²⁰⁸ *Moskovskie vedomosti*, №227, стр. 2

²⁰⁹ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 16, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira, 1956), p. 198.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ *Современные известия*, №244, с?

After 14 visited Exetercigauz, where at that time there was a spiritual concert. After was at the evening at the chief policeman N. I. Arapov, where he stayed more than two hours, where he related to have listened into good music sang by different persons, including Arapov himself. In the evening I visited the Bolshoi Theater.²¹²

Dom Pedro left Moscow for a day to visit Tula on September 18 [6].²¹³ This visit was probably an invitation from him most regular companion in Moscow, the Count Tolstoi. From Tula, Dom Pedro went to Kiev.

3.4. Kiev, and Odessa

On September 19 [7] he arrived in Kiev on September 7 with an evening train that arrived in the evening, stopped at the Grand Hotel, and at the same day visited *Château de Flers* in the Royal Garden.²¹⁴ The beauties of the European style of the Grand Hotel Russia were not enough strong anymore to keep him able to wait for his travel through Greece and the Ottoman Empire.

On September [20] 8th the Emperor of Brazil was at 6 o'clock in the morning already strolling along Khreschatyk, street that represented the main commercial place in that part of the Russian Empire, and along the way Dom Pedro was present at a fire in the Lavra Veliko Rossiyskaya Hotel. There he directed himself to the Kiev Pechersk Lavra, that after having already visited the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius in Moscow, appeared to be a curious but not essential place to go. In these walk he found Kiev “beautifully posed over the hills, and the view of the Dnieper from the above of St. Andrew’s Church is magnificent.” He was reminded of St. Mark’s Basilica in Venice, when he faced the interior of St. Mikhail’s Golden-Domed Monastery. Nevertheless, in the later, he was impressed by the “remarkable scenes of superstition,” donot believing “how someone should carry so exaggerated devotion.”²¹⁵

Then he visited the Local College, and to St. Vladimir Royal University of Kiev - there he examined the library, and the mineralogical cabinet. At the University he has met by

²¹²*Moskovskie vedomosti*, №227, стр. 2

²¹³(Современные известия, №246, с?)

²¹⁴(Современные известия, №252 (с ссылкой на Киевлянин)), (Правительственный вестник, №203, с 1), (Московские ведомости, №234, стр. 2. (По сообщению газеты «Киевлянин»)).

²¹⁵ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 22, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 199.

the rector and professors. In the evening I was at the theater to watch *la Traviata*.²¹⁶²¹⁷²¹⁸ Kiev's Opera is amazing and there sang middling *La Triviata* ²¹⁹ in Russian language. The University buildings and some collections delighted me.²²⁰

On the [21] 9th of September an early morning inspection of university observatories was scheduled, and a university deputation was received from the Emperor to present him with a diploma for the title of an honorary member of the University. The departure from Kiev was scheduled for 10 o'clock in the morning.²²¹²²² "I liked Kiev, but Moscow is still the city that pleased me most of all among those ones that I have seen in Russia."²²³

In the very next day he arrived in Odessa by the morning train. There he was greeted by the mayor of Odessa, many members of the military department, the Brazilian consul, and other people.²²⁴ At the time an important resort for the Russian nobility, the multiethnic Odessa would welcome Dom Pedro with a time for rest during his long and busy trip, but without giving up of giving him doses of culture.

After the reception Dom Pedro went to the Londonskaya Hotel, a building projected in the Renaissance style in the center of the city, where he had time to write relatively long impressions of his trip. Nevertheless, the impression were directed to the Countess of Barral, and he could not stop himself of express how much he was missing her, and that we was literally counting the days [ten long days from September 22] to be with her in Constantinople. ²²⁵ Thus, his plans were to stay in Odessa for a short time, and the go by boat to Livadia, where he would be just for one day to meet the Russian Emperor, and then go back to Odessa to return to his journey in direction to Constantinople.²²⁶

As we can see by the impressions left by Dom Pedro, his gaze was very much turned to how places where structures, and situated. He often makes comparisons with European places that he had already encountered. The south west of Russia reminded him of Italian

²¹⁶(Правительственный вестник, №203, с 1).

²¹⁷(Современные известия, №252 (с ссылкой на Киевлянин)).

²¹⁸(Московские ведомости, №234, стр. 2. (По сообщению газеты «Киевлянин»)).

²¹⁹*La Triviata*, or *The Fallen Woman* is an opera in three acts from Giuseppe Verdi from 1853.

²²⁰Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 22, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 200.

²²¹(Московские ведомости, №234, стр. 2. (По сообщению газеты «Киевлянин»))

²²²(Современные известия, №252 (с ссылкой на Киевлянин))

²²³Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 22, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p.199.

²²⁴(Московские ведомости, №236, стр. 3. (По сообщению «Одесского Вестника»)).

²²⁵Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 22, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 200.

²²⁶(Московские ведомости, №236, стр. 3. (По сообщению «Одесского Вестника»)).

constructions. After his first walk in Odessa, he had already concluded that to him the city had.

nothing of special. The views direct our gaze to the Euxine Sea which, by the way, is already screwed up. The weather is windy and rainy; but before had sun. In front of the hotel is located a beautiful path with threes; with in its center magnificent stairs with terraces directing to a less than mediocre statue of Duke of Richelieu.²²⁷

From this first sights of Odessa D. Pedro refers to the statue of Armand-Emmanuel de Vignerot du Plessis, Duck de Richelieu²²⁸ made by the Russian sculptor Ivan Petrovich Martos. This monument is located at the top of the giant Potemkin Stairs. In addition, he states that the city “is almost entirely commercial, and the square of commerce seems, by its column style, to deserve more attention in its interior, what I did not recognize when was there.” He thought that could be a good idea to redime himself from the time wasting in Odessa to visit the synagogue in the late afternoon, where he was “informed as having good music”, and the go the Russian Theater to watch Sergei Shumsky. In the end of the day he noted “The big and small Jews sang very well, and after I went to the theater that is amazing and where sounded to me that was well performed in Russian language.”²²⁹

Dom Pedro was very close with the Jewish religion. He had been studying Hebrew, and translated works in that language – Camões to Hebrew, and Old Testament to Latin. In every opportunity during both journeys of 1871 and 1876 Dom Pedro visited synagogues, and tried to speak Hebrew with Jewish persons. In 1873, even the Brazilian Empire having its majority of population, and being officially catholic, the emperor once again displeased the Church authorities, legally accepting the existence of Jewish communities and synagogues in the Empire. Much of it is believed being influence of his travels, and encounters with the European context.²³⁰

By the middle of the day he had already inspected the overpass railway, country cottages, water supply, was in the museum, and different educational institutions.²³¹ In the

²²⁷ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September 22, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira, 1956), p. 200.

²²⁸ Duck de Richeleu was named governor of Odessa in the years of Catarine II due his military importance during the war against the Turks.

²²⁹ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p. 199.

²³⁰ Sonia Sales, *Dom Pedro II e seus amigos judeus*, (São Paulo: Sêfer, 2011).

²³¹ (Московские ведомости, №236, стр. 5)

Novorossiysk University he received the title of Honorary Member.²³² Despite his joy of eating Rodocanachi's²³³ grapes and fruits, in the beautiful gardens of the city he found himself tired. By the end of the day he decided to confine himself in the hotel to rest, and only write and read. He wrote that he was looking forward to depart to Crimea, "Odessa has been annoying me a lot, it is true that it increasingly delay me Constantinople."²³⁴

Lasting in Odessa for some days he seemed to have more time to write than in the rest of his Russian journey. Ukraine was not pleasing him after all, leaving the intellectual niches of St. Petersburg, and his beloved Moscow. It gave him comfort there was its attributes of a resort, the contact with the nature. On September 24 [12] he wrote about his morning walk on the edge of the Euxine Point, and in the way "back to the hotel, I went up the stairs that I told you. There are 200 steps. The day is beautiful, and the sea as I ascended it grew even more enchanting before my eyes," and once again complained "Poor Richelieu! What a sad and mean figure we see at the top of the stairs!" In Odessa he would just rest, "and maybe even go to a concert of religious music in the Commerce Square at 8p.m."²³⁵

He left Odessa at 15 o'clock, went on a steamer to Sevastopol.

²³² *Moscovskie vedomosti*, №236, p. 5

²³³ Michel-Emmanuel Rodocanachi (1821-1901) was na importante Greek banker and trader that worked in the London market, Russia, Ukraine, Italy, and France.

²³⁴ Letter of Dom Pedro II to Countess of Barral, September, 1876. In: Magalhães Jr. *Dom Pedro II e a Condessa de Barral*, p.199.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 200.

CONCLUSION:

It was in Yalta, at the Livadia Palace that, on September 28 [16], occurred the meeting of Dom Pedro II of Brazil with Alexander II.²³⁶ The month of August was the usual vacation time for the imperial family hoping to escape from St. Petersburg's unpleasant autumn. Dom Pedro was then in Crimea, regions where multiple conflicts between the Russian and Ottoman empires took place.²³⁷

In the later years of the 1870s, Alexander II used to spend the end of the summer, and the autumn his southern Palace not only because of the weather, but to hide from public sight and from his ceremonial duties as a ruler. To the Russian nobility "an invitation to Livadia was a sign of imperial grace."²³⁸ Receiving another monarch that wanted to disconnect himself from the ceremonial and political responsibilities of kingship seemed to be of interest.

In this unofficial encounter by two monarchs that, at the moment did not want to by the ceremonials with "conflated potence during the state visits they paid one another,"²³⁹ It is worth highlighting here that their respective situations of both Emperors carried some similarities: both were far from their courts because of crisis in their empires and both moved to a location closer to their mistresses (Countess of Barral, and Princess Dolgorukova). These monarchs faced the needs of reformation from above, and at the same time the needs for nationalization of their multiethnic empires. Dom Pedro's drove for the unity of his new empire without history. Alexander allowed the blooming of national yells in different parts of his territory. Both emperors with high stature, and massive bodies, had been seen as carrying in their blue eyes an empty and lifeless gaze when to them is imposed their administrative duties.²⁴⁰ Additionally, both of them by the end of their rule would not be successful in the perpetuation of their own power in their scenarios. Dom Pedro, that transiting from being the sacred boy-king, a citizen defender of the nation, to the erudite and progressive monarch, would be in 1889 deposed by republicans in a military coup and exiled to his beloved Europe. Alexander would have a more tragic end. When his scenario of power – a scenario of love - was weakened, he decided to withdraw it for the proposal of a new beginning, but ended up with his murder in 1881.

²³⁶ *Moscovskie Vedomosti*, №239, p. 1.

²³⁷ Sochaczewski, *Do Rio de Janeiro a Istambul*.

²³⁸ Wortman, Richard. *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*. Vol. II From Alexander II to the Abdication of Nicholas II, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000): 199.

²³⁹ Mayer. *The persistence of the old regime*, p. 137.

²⁴⁰ See: Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, v. II, and Schwarcz, *As Barbas do Imperador*.

Nevertheless, the emperors knew their ceremonial wholes, and when necessary Alexander's "imperial gaze" could take "everyone and everything in with his imperial gaze"

²⁴¹ To Dom Pedro, during the journey of 1876, the imperial gaze appeared in another form, but still had the same power. Envisioning capturing every new institutional organization of the empires that he visited, his imperial gaze was his tool for surviving in to the modern world. Here it is important to understand that the manners of "how knowledge is organized and conceived is central. Imperial projects are predicated on and produce epistemological claims and epistemic communities that are powerful political ones."²⁴²

From the Brazilian side, Dom Pedro's visit to the Russian Empire can show that whilst the empires had differences in their situations, they still had monarchs that should deal with the symbolical duties of ruling taking into account the changes in the Eurocentric progress of the nineteenth century. These situations were both part of a process of imperial ruination,²⁴³ what in the second half of the nineteenth century meant to adapt to the new trends, trends that where less modern than its own modern conscious thought to be.²⁴⁴

As already discussed, the solution of Dom Pedro was to invest in his own identity. The negative moments that occurred on his Russian journey revealed to us a good example. Dom Pedro, while facing a new imperial environment, tried to get acquainted not only with highly-educated statesmen, but also with scholars, and scientists. The specificity of the Russian journey was that there he could test and prove himself as an Orientalist educated in the periphery of the Western World. He was not in the Orient, but he felt the presence of the Orient in the Russian empire, being from the architecture, expositions, or scholarly institutions. Between his visit to Scandinavia, and to Ottoman lands, Dom Pedro experienced in the Russian Empire in a moment of convergence with the European civilization. Russia as a nation, under the enlightened despotism of Alexander II, was also looking toward the West to be part of it. Nevertheless, it carried the contradiction of being also an Asiatic power.²⁴⁵ With similar will and contradictions was D. Pedro d'Alcântara. The monarch found in the Russian Empire a different modernity to shape with his identity, a very peculiar imperial situation, as peculiar as the place where he came from.

²⁴¹ Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, p. 155

²⁴² Stoler, Ann Laura. Considerations on Imperial Comparisons. In: Edited by Ilya Gerasimov, Jan Kusber & Alexander Semyonov. *Empire Speaks Out: Languages of Rationalization and Self-Description in the Russian Empire*. Brill. Leiden, Boston, 2009. p. 3-26.

²⁴³ Ann Laura Stoler. *Imperial Debris*.

²⁴⁴ Mayer. *The persistence of the old regime*.

²⁴⁵ Malia, Martin. *Russia under western eyes: from the bronze horseman to the Lenin mausoleum*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1999.

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