Journal of Research in Philosophy and History
Vol. 8, No. 2, 2025
www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/jrph
ISSN 2576-2451 (Print) ISSN 2576-2435 (Online)

Original Paper

The 1878 Fluminense Agricultural Congress: The Coffee Crisis in Brazil during the Second Empire

José Maurício Saldanha Álvarez[1]

[1] Universidade Federal Fluminense, Media and Cultural Studies Department. Niteroi, RJ, Brazil

Received: August 20, 2025 Accepted: September 7, 2025 Online Published: September 27, 2025

doi:10.22158/jrph.v8n2p45 URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/jrph.v8n2p45

Abstract

This study aims to demonstrate that the coffee production in Rio de Janeiro during the Second Brazilian Empire, based on large estates and enslaved people, maintained the old production structures inherited from early modernity and the Old Iberian colonial system until its crisis in 1870. The study will demonstrate that, after Brazil's independence in 1822, the dynamic sector of its economy, coffee, linked to the new international division of industrial labor, led world production. The coffee production in Rio de Janeiro, managed by archaic street planters and aristocrats, was fiercely opposed to the abolition of slavery and free labor. This archaic system collapsed when successive impediments to the import of enslaved Africans, an archaism inherited from the first globalization. The study finally suggests that the sedimentation in Brazil of modern capitalism with urbanization, immigration, free labor, wage labor, and import substitution industry determined the end of coffee production in Rio de Janeiro, paving the way for coffee production in the provincial dynamics of São Paulo.

Keywords

Coffee, slavery, archaism, modernization, agrarian aristocracy

1. Introduction

In 1875, the Paraguayan War, or the Triple Alliance (1864-1870), ended, pitting the republic governed by Solano Lopez against Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and the Eastern Republic of Uruguay. The Brazilian Second Empire (1841-1889) won the conflict by taking on a considerable debt, aggravated by the decline in the production of its main export commodity, coffee. Grown in the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo, its production peaked between 1830-1837. In the 1870s, it declined abruptly as a result of the systemic crisis of production in Rio de Janeiro under the slave regime.

The Ministry of Agriculture, the Marquis of Sinimbu, João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbu (1810-1906), alarmed, published a proceeding in 1872 analyzing the critical situation of Brazilian

agriculture, pointing out the use of inadequate cultivation methods and the acute shortage of slave labor as the leading causes. The report established institutes to support agriculture and called on planters to debate the matter at the Fluminense Agricultural Congress. (BNRJ, 0001)

Figure 1. The Marquis of Sinimbu. João_Lins_Vieira_Cansansão_de_Sinimbu_AuthorSébastien Auguste Sisson. httpscommons.wikimedia.

A later *compte rendu*, published in 1877, suggests that the inspections carried out ignored the important region of Rio de Janeiro, considered in a state of abyss, and concentrated his focus on the dynamic new area, the Province of São Paulo. The major obstacle to the systemic crisis in Rio de Janeiro was the difficulty in renewing enslaved Africans. The planters of Rio de Janeiro stubbornly refused to employ free workers, suggesting the unsuccessful idea of importing Chinese agricultural workers.

1.1 The Elites' Project Is not a Nation, but a Slave Plantation

This study suggests that, after Brazil's independence in 1822, the colonial elites secured their privileges by adapting the codes of European political liberalism to their needs. They suppressed the ideas of the republic, social inclusion, democracy, and economic liberalism. They prevented industrialization and the expansion of the middle classes (Slemian & Pimenta, 2003). Without a national project, the country maintained the premises inherited from the colonization of Portuguese America. Based on African slavery, the Brazilian elites grouped political power, keeping the provinces united in the centralizing monarchical structure in a country whose economy and society (Alencastro, 1998). The growing debates that occurred in the Brazilian press and public opinion at the time, suggesting the abolition of slavery, reflected the prevailing opinion in the North American abolitionist currents that slavery was morally corrupt and economically inefficient (Bayly, 2004).

2. Resisting Liberalism and Social Progress: Without Slavery, There Is no Coffee

In 1807, Great Britain banned the slave trade, which meant that, since 1810, treaties signed between the British and Portuguese-Brazilian authorities progressively weakened slavery. In 1831, His Majesty's government pressured the Empire of Brazil to sign the "Feijó" law, freeing the enslaved people who had disembarked in the country. The measure, fiercely contested by the planters, was soon repealed once enacted, giving rise to the popular saying, "a law just for the English to see."

The Brazilian plantations encouraged the slave trade by employing subterfuge and maneuvers. British Rear Admiral Graham Hamond, Commander of the English naval squadron in the South Atlantic, overseeing the repression of the slave trade, confirmed the numerous clandestine arrivals. In 1836, he complained about the authorities' fraud and the chicanery in Brazilian courts despite recording cases of arrests. At the time, he received "Mr. Stevenson, the prosecutor in the case of the slave brig *Vencedora*, who came to give me his report. I know of nothing more infamous than that case. The court recognized that the seized ship was trafficking Africans but decided to release it because Lieutenant Coghlan, who had imprisoned it, had no instructions from the government to capture ships belonging to Brazil. I suspect that the English accept bribes, as do the Brazilians. It is said that a large sum of money changed hands during the trial" (Hammond, 1984). Around 1838, enslaved people seized on slave ships under the protection of the Brazilian imperial authorities were hidden away. The English admiral complained about local authorities' conduct in the North American schooner *Olive Branch* case. Intercepted in flagrant crime, the ship remained "under the guard of the (Brazilian) police. Only so that it could receive a reward! This is the first American ship that boldly began the slave trade, flying the American flag" (Hammond, 1984).

During the 1840s, such a large number of slavizads disembarked in Brazil that journalist and politician Evaristo da Veiga accused the slave traders of Africanizing Brazil. For Filipe de Alencastro, Rio de Janeiro was an "almost black city (…) Of a total of 260,000 inhabitants, 79,000 were slaves" (Alencastro, 1998).

In 1845, the British government enacted the Aberdeen Bill, authorizing the seizure of slave ships by the Royal Navy, a total of 368 (Leite, 1998). In the same year, in Brazil, the enactment of the Land Law on September 18, 1850, reflected a complex struggle over land ownership in Brazil (Motta). For other thinkers, it struck a blow to small-scale farming carried out by free men, producing food under planters' dependence (Costa, 1987, p. 146). On September 4, 1850, the Eusébio de Queirós Law officially prohibited the slave trade in the country, increasing interprovincial trade. Northeastern provinces whose declining crops sold enslaved people to southern provinces, earning large profits (Conrad, 1985).

For his part, Thereza Edwards claims that between the years 1872 and 1881, about 100,000 enslaved individuals were sold to plantations in Southwest Brazil. (Edwards, 2023) Significantly, Mamigonian argues that the law intensified the debate between abolition or enslavement, involving the monarch, parliament, and planters (Mamigonian, 2017). The farmers, routinely and socially accustomed to using

enslaved people, rejected white or free labor, claiming that only African labor was effective in coffee farming.

The slow and relentless difficulty in replacing Africans led to a crisis of serious proportions. The shortage increased the price of those available on the market, worsening the financial situation of the planters who, decapitalized and desperate, mortgaged their lands to acquire them, handing them over to speculators and financiers. The urgent need for replacement also arose from the shocking mortality rates of Enslaved people.

3. Coffee, from Its Beginning to Its Peak

The commodity was initially planted randomly in the forests on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro. These properties were owned by Europeans (Ferrez) and bureaucrats linked to the Portuguese court of D. João VI. The uncontrolled cutting of the forests reduced the capillarity and humidity of the soil, drying up the water sources that supplied the city. Alarmed, the authorities focused on the urgent reforestation of the region (Soffiati, 1979).

Figure 2. J.M. Rugendas. Coffee plantation in the Tijuca forest, Rio de Janeiro.httpenciclopedia.itaucultural.org.brobras,96201.

In 1844, the imperial government prohibited the planting of coffee in the city and surrounding areas. (Neves, Machado). However, given the growing international demand, between 1820 and 1829, the authorities moved coffee production from Rio de Janeiro to the Paraíba River Valley (Pinto, 134). In this pioneering region, planters from various declining regions settled (Novais, 1999). In 1840, the government claimed no “information regarding the state of our agriculture in the various provinces.” The minister only knew that in the province of Minas Gerais, “they were leaving the risky gold mining companies to dedicate themselves to it (coffee); and that in the province of Ceará, coffee cultivation was beginning to develop, already practiced in some municipalities. (Viana, 1841)

For Souza Lima, these planters came from the north of São Paulo, from declining areas of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais, and Campos dos Goytacazes. They went up through “São Gonçalo, reaching the Paraíba do Sul River,” Cantagalo and Madalena (Souza Lima, 2007). The coffee region encompassed the municipalities of Resende, Barra Mansa, Valença, Piraí, São João Marcos, Paraíba do Sul, and Cantagalo in the state of Rio de Janeiro. Vassouras was the most important and prosperous producer (Stein, 1999).

Figure 3. City of Vassouras_1859_Victor Frond. Wikipedia

4. Planting and Harvesting Coffee without Looking for the Future

When planting coffee plantations in the Paraiba do Sul Valley, Rio de Janeiro Province, farmers cut down the dense forests in the region, using inadequate soil management techniques (Luciano Simão, 2004). They planted the coffee trees in “straight lines from top to bottom”, “rather than contour lines”. This left the coffee trees’ roots washed and exposed to the air, sun, and rainwater, allowing the floods to remove the fertile soil layer from the soil (Souza Lima, 2007).

Figure 4. J.M.Rugendas. Forest Felling for Coffee Plantations. The resource can be accessed at: http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/obras/96201-

While visiting Brazil, the Frenchman Charles Ribeyrolles wrote, “The Province of Rio de Janeiro, which is extremely opulent today, owes almost all of its wealth to coffee. If the hills are plundered, if the land beneath the absorbent plant is exhausted, all that will remain are beans, grass, and a few sugarcane fields. By devastating the land this way, the farmers rob each other. They should understand that there is every interest in not losing anything and preparing the quickly exhausting land” (Ribeyrolles, 1859).

Coffee transportation from the producing region to the Rio de Janeiro port, used to be carried by river and mule troops, a rudimentary system replaced in the 1850s by the railroad (Souza Lima, 2007). The railroad’s capillarity, although reduced by European and North American standards, increased the value of the land, shipping the production to the port of Rio de Janeiro and opening up new regions for coffee farming (Graham, Richard, 1968).

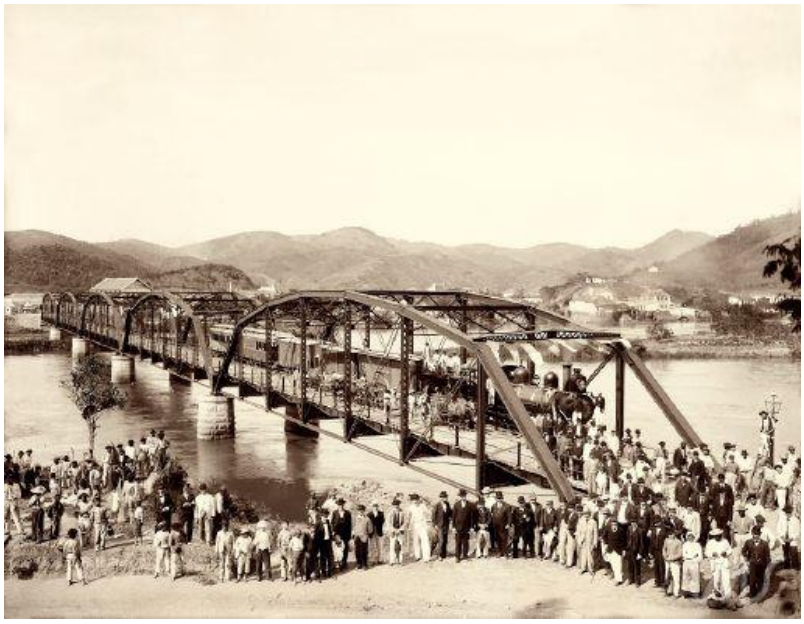

Figure 5. City of Barra do Pirai, with the Coffee Transport Railway. Marc Ferrez, Instituto Moreira Salles.

For Ribeyrolles, “The Brazilian farm, a breeding ground for enslaved people (sic), is a fatal institution. Its workshop cannot be renewed, and science, the mother of all forces, will flee from it as long as ignorance and servitude prevail. The dilemma is thus: transform or die” (Ribeyrolles, 1859). The large estates concentrated on huge contingents of costly enslaved people. In the 1870s, the planters saw the costs of production rise, but they stubbornly refused to change the labor system and did not fertilize their lands, investing scant amounts in equipment. Acemoglu and Robinson argue that in the 19th-century United States, the Northern states actively participated in the Industrial Revolution, not the South. Slavery and servitude generated wealth locally only for the masters who controlled enslaved people and servants. In ancient and modern worlds, forced labor hampers technological innovation and social wealth (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013).

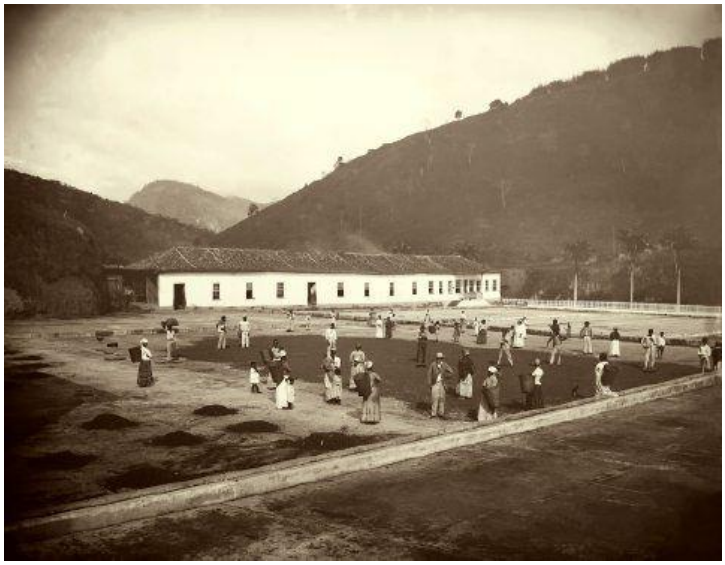

Figure 6. Coffee Plantation with Enslaved People. Marc Ferrez Collection. Instituto Moreira Salles

In 1879, a journalist of Rio News, an American newspaper in Brazil, strongly criticized Brazilian land ownership, arguing that if the Brazilian government sought productive farming, it was using the wrong system. However, "If Brazil seeks a landed aristocracy, this system will accomplish its purpose" (Rio News, BNRJ, 1879,00008).

5. Brazil Is Coffee and Coffee Is Brazil

Two legal shocks shook up the use of slave labor, disturbing slave planters. The first was the Eusébio de Queiros Law of 1850, which diverted capital from trade to diversified productive activities, providing an initial boost to modern Brazilian capitalism. The second was the enactment of the free womb law of September 28, 1871, freeing the children of enslaved people at birth. In June of the same year, under the initiative of alarmed farmers and politicians associated with the Rio de Janeiro coffee industry, the Clube da Lavoura was founded in Rio de Janeiro. They planned to prevent the imperial government's legislative advance on slavery, opposing the free womb law and manumissions.

In the Rio de Janeiro plantation industry during the Second Empire, the reduction in enslaved people occurred not only due to legal restrictions. The number of deaths was shockingly high, aggravated by the harsh living conditions. The planter and senator of the Empire, Benedito Christiano Ottoni (1811-1896), from Minas Gerais, argued that the slave population, with the "cessation of the slave trade between 1851 and 1871, was reduced from 2 million to 1.5 million." (Ottoni, p. 34) The inaccuracy of the figures hampered the number of deaths due to the occurrence of burials carried out inside the properties "without any supervision by the authorities." For Ottoni, with the Free Womb Law, "the state would gradually emancipate slavery." However, death quickly surpassed philanthropy: "By this commitment, we emancipated 13,000 and death freed 431,000. I consider this a national shame"

(Ottoni, p. 39). In the once-prosperous province of Rio de Janeiro, coffee production entered a crisis. The acute shortage of slave labor and the limited experience of planters who were skeptical of science produced a disaster. With the initial easy profits from production, deceptively carried out on temporarily fertile soils, gone, harvests collapsed (Stein, 1985). Alarmed, the Minister of Agriculture, Viscount Sinimbu, decided to hear the planters' opinions at a congress held in Rio de Janeiro in 1878.

6. Remeding the Agricultural Crisis: Listening the Planters Suggestions

In 1878, the Imperial Government inaugurated the Fluminense Agricultural Congress in the city of Rio de Janeiro, generating intense debates. As Ângela B. Lima points out, Brazil was huge and diverse. The solutions of the Fluminense Congress would only be of interest to the decadent province of Rio de Janeiro. Meanwhile, the planters from the Northeast, who had left the debate, held a similar meeting in Recife (Lima, 2016). Maria Isabel and Manuel Nelito Nascimento consider that the discussions at the Fluminense Congress were broad, emphasizing that several members of Congress wanted to promote the education of the people for agricultural work. Others considered the free poor hopelessly indolent, content with a piece of brown sugar and a sip of coffee (Nascimento, 2013). Opinions advocated the mechanical improvement of production. After the end of Congress, the following year, 1879, the imperial government reformed public education, including teaching agricultural practices in the curriculum of secondary schools. However, it failed to implement them (Nascimento, 2013).

Figure 7. Enslaved People Going to Harvest Coffee. Marc Ferrez. Instituto Moreira Salles.

For the coffee planters of the Fluminense Province, the central issue of the crisis lay in the lack of enslaved people, and they experimented with substitutes and alternatives. One suggested educating free

Africans for farming, while the other suggested that the children of enslaved people who were already accustomed to farming should remain in the country. However, the Frenchman Ribeyrolles witnessed the attachment of the Fluminense planters to the enslaved Africans, who were now in short supply. Faced with this insoluble situation, Ribeyrolles exclaimed, perplexed: “There is a lack of hands for cultivation, harvesting, transportation, and they do not want settlers!” (Ribeyrolles, 1859). They despised the immigration of European wage workers who, in the absence of forced labor, would become property owners.

The periodical press suggested that the causes of the decline in coffee production were the stagnation of business, high railroad fares, and farmers’ primitive agricultural processes. They also pointed to the impoverishment of the soil, the lack of care for the plants, and the excessive number of intermediaries buying the coffee and advancing capital to the grower (Gazeta de Noticias, 1880, 00032).

6.1 The Farmer Manuel Ribeiro do Val, a Dissonant Voice Fighting against Secular Routine

The Rio de Janeiro Congress of Agriculture was the scene of heated debates, demanding resources to finance coffee plantations. Conservative planters stubbornly defended the continuation of slavery and archaic methods. Charles Ribeyrolles warned that “the province of Rio de Janeiro was prosperous, owing almost all of its wealth to coffee, but it will soon decline. When the last hills are denuded of forest, and the soil under the absorbent crops is exhausted, all that will remain will be cereals, grass and some sugarcane fields” (Ribeyrolles, 1859). One of the spokespeople for the employment of Africans, the farmer from the province of São Paulo, Manoel P. de Souza Arouca, thanked Minister Sinimbu for accepting opinions from the interior of the country instead of those from the city of Rio de Janeiro, which he considered too bold and inconsequential: “No wise men, no theories (Supported, very good). The country is about practice; it is about action and not inaction and phrases (Very good). The country needs men and not ideas (Supported, applause). The country needs reality and not fantasies” (Lima, 2016).

On the other hand, the coffee farmer from Paraíba do Sul, Mister Manoel Ribeiro do Val, presented a surprisingly accurate environmental diagnosis. He accused traditional coffee farming techniques of being environmentally destructive. In his justification, he demonstrated that the rains in the region were abundant and regular before the establishnebt of coffee plantations. In the careful opinion of some foreigners, after the deforestation, the soil was usable for a few years and then quickly depleted (Graham, 1968). He accused deforestation of causing prolonged droughts and irregular rainfall (Minutes of Congress, 1878). He concluded by attacking slavery and outdated techniques, “which, due to their origin and direction, and exploitation, must disappear.” He advocated employing “European workers to form family farms among the coffee plantations, serving as practical schools (for) our routine farmers.” Small-scale farming is the “ready and safe remedy that offers the greatest guarantee of stability.”

Val also points out that Vassouras was “the richest municipality and producer of coffee, but today it is in decline, due solely to the exhaustion of the land and the lack of labor or capital.” He suggested

preserving the original forests, a primary solution to maintaining soil fertility and the productivity of large-scale agriculture (Proceedings of the Congress, 1878).

He listed cities in the region where forests and coffee plantations were disappearing, such as "Vassouras, Valença, Barra do Piraí, S. João do Príncipe, Paraíba do Sul." The accuracy of his list was confirmed by the article published in 1879 by the North American newspaper Rio News, which listed: "the districts of Rezende, Barra Mansa, Piraí, Vassouras, Valença, Mar de Hespanha (...) We expect in these districts those zones in which the forests have been destroyed in a lesser degree and in which some of the plantations are still new" (Rio News, 1879, 00007) (1).

In 1884, Mr. Nicolau Moreira warned the defenders of slave farming that their activity, which had existed since the country's discovery in 1500, would soon disappear. "And just as the slave (sic) must disappear from Brazilian farming to make way for free labor, felling, fire, and slashing must be replaced by the plow and the harrow; incineration resulting from burning by other means of manuring the land; extensive farming by intensive; the large by the small property" (Nicolau Moreira, 1884).

7. A Bizarre Alternative: Chinese Immigration

In 1809, there was a brief experiment with planting in Rio de Janeiro. Around 245 Chinese immigrants arrived in Brazil between 1809 and 1815, leaving Macau, China, and settling in Bananal, in the Paraíba Valley, São Paulo Province (Santos, 2020). At the 1878 conference, the farmers discussed Chinese emigration as a substitute for African slavery. Brazilian planters produced a private inquiry detailing how the Spanish on the island of Cuba employed Chinese. Cuban plantations depended on Africans employed by Chinese workers, who were given Portuguese passports from Macau, a Portuguese possession in China. They were under the protection of the Portuguese consul in Havana, who defended them from the exploitation they suffered (Queirós, 1942). In his consular duties, Eça de Queirós met Chinese subjects in Macau, a Portuguese Colony, and supported them in Havana until the Chinese authorities took over their defense. Eça learned about Chinese culture and its ethical and moral values through them. At the time, rumors circulated in the Rio de Janeiro press that Minister Sinimbu was so fond of the "Chinese race that he hired a Chinese cook for his services" (Gazeta de Notícias, 1880, issue 00028).

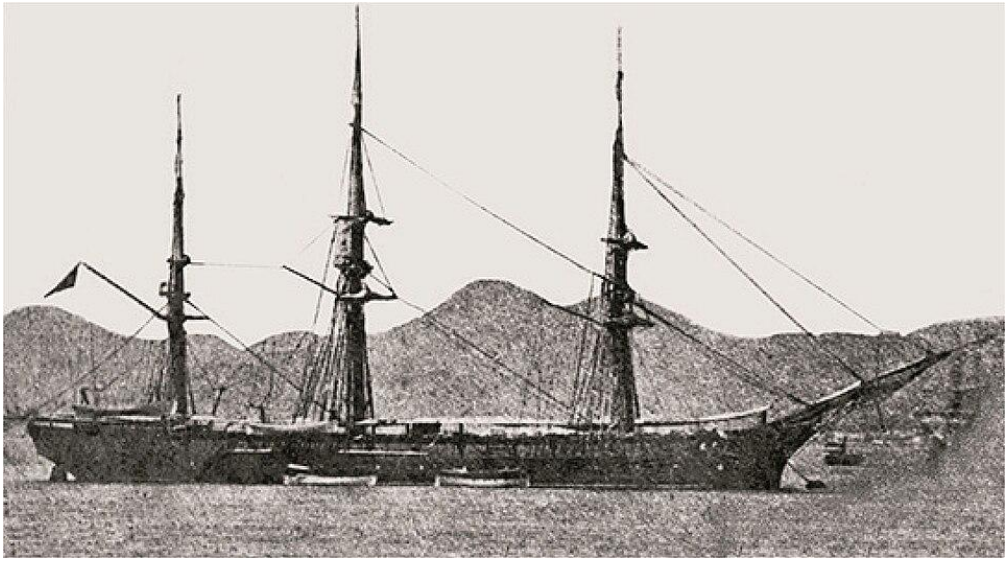

Figure 8. Corvette_Vital_de_Oliveira_Image credit Acervo iconográfico da Diretoria do Patrimônio Histórico e Documentação da Marinha do Brasil

8. Eça de Queiros, a Renowned Writer and Consul, Praised the Chinese Worker'S Ability and High Moral Qualities

The most important Portuguese writer of the 19th century, Eça de Queirós, was a Consul of Portugal in La Habana, Cuba, then a Spanish possession, defending the chinese « celestial » workers, holders of Portuguese passports, who had come from Macau. Eça de Queirós, praised their capacity for work and moral qualities. He explained that they were men from "rich provinces in the south of China, belonging to an educated middle class with resources and associates in organizations that took their cultural apparatus abroad" (Queirós, Letters). They were frugal and were content to receive low wages as payment for endless working hours. Eça warns that if Brazilians wanted Chinese people to plant and harvest coffee, emigration would quickly flood Brazil. In addition to signs written in Mandarin and services performed impeccably, "in twenty years, the country will be China." Brazil would obtain moral benefits "because the salutary environmental influence of Confucianism finally infiltrates and spreads throughout the country the principles of the perfect doctrine - love, discipline, respect, tolerance, order, and laborious peace" (Queirós, Letters).

9. Coffee Planted according to Modern Techniques in São Paulo Province

The Brazilian imperial government learned two important lessons from the Rio de Janeiro Congress: it obtained accurate reviews and reports on the state of the art of coffee farming, founding a chair of industrial biology at the Polytechnic School (created following French standards of excellence), supporting coffee enterprises, overcoming the decline of the coffee industry in Rio de Janeiro and allowing the province of São Paulo to raise national coffee production to advanced agricultural

standards. Created along the lines of European and North American studies, it allowed students to acquire a wide range of scientific knowledge, multiplying its application throughout the country.

9.1 A Brazilian Engineer in Tune with the State of the Art in Industrial Countries

The Brazilian engineer responsible for the 1877 report inspected the crops in the provinces of São Paulo, which he found to be advanced and attractive. He considered the slave-based agriculture of the province of Rio de Janeiro a lost cause. It was not worth the effort to inspect it. São Paulo, on the other hand, was rising like a meteor. In it, the engineer attested to the constant use of fertilizers, explaining that, in Europe, this resource is cheap and easy to obtain, unlike Brazil, whose small industry did not meet the needs.

Coffee growers in São Paulo fertilized their crops using manure from the barnyard, sugarcane bagasse, and coffee stubble. Furthermore, “The use of machinery is becoming more widespread in that province in a comforting way, and all farmers recognize the superiority of this method of farming over the old ones on the purple soil, which boasts of its physical qualities” (BNRJ, Report, 1877).

He applauded the employment of settlers in the establishment he visited, whose results “are superior to those of slave labor.” These were European immigrants, knowledgeable in handling robust industrial agricultural equipment. He also emphasized that, despite the presence of enslaved people reaching almost 100 individuals, the colonization “is very well organized and has prospered greatly.” The writer concluded enthusiastically that advanced agriculture makes the province of São Paulo “the most American of provinces” due to its dizzying and stimulating progress and the preservation of forests (BNRJ, Report, 1887).

10. Conclusion

In conclusion, this essay has demonstrated how Brazilian coffee production in the 19th century went from an archaic, slave-based production system inherited from the first globalization to a modern system updated with technological standards and wage labor relations. Based on enslaved people, the powerful elite of the province of Rio de Janeiro clashed with anti-slavery legal measures that prevented the renewal of enslaved people. Thus, their unscientific and backward agricultural techniques damaged the soil, making new plantations difficult. The concerned imperial government created a Rio de Janeiro Congress to debate the crisis in coffee agriculture, the country’s economic pillar, and to debate different points of view. The event suggested the creation of a specialized agricultural school and a report highlighting the irremediable decline of slave-based agriculture in Rio de Janeiro province, emphasizing the modern, technological, business, labor, and environmental dynamism of São Paulo’s coffee growers.

References

Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. D. (2013). *Why nations fail. The origins of power, prosperity and poverty*. London, Profile Books. https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12048

Alencastro, L. F. (2001) *Vida privada e ordem privada no Império*. In Novais Fernando A. e Alencastro. L. F.(org.) História da Vida Privada no Brasil. São Paulo, Editora Schwarcz.

Bayly, C. A. (2004). *The birth of the modern world. 1780-1914*. Malden, Blackwell Publishing.

Conrad, R. (1985). *Tumbeiros: o tráfico escravista para o Brasil*. São Paulo: Brasiliense.

Edwards, T. (2024). *The Valley of Coffee and Slavery: Heritage Tourism and the Memory of Slavery at two plantations in Vassouras, Rio de Janeiro*. Advisor, Bell Stephen..UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations.

Esselin, P. M., & Marins Junior, C.(2017) *Guerra Grande. A Tríplice Aliança contra o Paraguai. – Visões e Revisões.* Clube de Autores.

Ferrez, G. (1972). *Pioneiros da cultura do café na Era da Independência*. IHGB, Rio de Janeiro.

Gerson, Brasil. (1975). *A escravidão e o império*. Rio de Janeiro, Pallas.

Gomes, L. (2021). *1822.Como um homem sábio, uma princesa triste, e um escocês louco por dinheiro ajudaram dom Pedro a criar o Brasil – um país que tinha tudo por dar errado*. 2ª edição. Rio de Janeiro.

Graham, R. (1968). *Britain &the onset of modernization in Brazil. 1850-1914*. London, Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511563133

Hamomd, Graham, Eden. (1984) *Os diários do Almirante Graham Eden Hamond*. Tradução de Geyr, Paulo F. Rio de Janeiro, Editora JB.

Leite, A. C. T. (1998). *O tráfico negreiro e a diplomacia britânica.* EDUCS ISBN 857061196. Portuguese.

Lima R. G. de S., Monteiro de Barros, H. H., & Araújo, J. H. P. (2007). *Fazenda Três Poços do café à Universidade*. Volta Redonda, Editora FOA. Portuguese.

Lima, A. B. (2026). *(PPGH-UFSC/CAPES).* "Entre a tradição e o conhecimento científico": Os Congressos agrícolas e a Sociedade Central de Imigração nos debates e propostas acerca da situação da agricultura brasileira no final do XIX. Procedeengs, of Annals from 15º Seminário Nacional de História da Ciência e da Tecnologia. Florianópolis, Santa Catarina, 16 a 18 de novembro de 2016.

Machado, H. N., & Pereira, L. M. B. (1999). *O Império do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, Editora Nova Fronteira.

Mamigonian, B. (2017) *Africanos livres. A abolição do trafico de escravos no Brasil*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras.

Motta. Márcia Maria Fernandes. (1998). *Nas fronteiras do poder: Conflito e direito à terra no Brasil do Século XIX.* Rio de Janeiro, Vício de Leitura e Arquivo Público.

Nascimento, M. I. M., & Nascimento. M. N. M. (1878). *Os congressos agrícolas do Rio de Janeiro e de Pernambuco e a educação* (nº 52, pp.54-74,). Revista HISTEDBR On-line Artigo, Campinas. https://doi.org/10.20396/rho.v13i52.8640229

Pádua, J. A. *Um sopro de destruição. Pensamento político e crítica ambiental no Brasil escravista (1786-1888).* Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 2002.

Pádua, J. A. (1998). *"Cultura esgotadora": Agricultura e destruição ambiental nas últimas décadas do Brasil Império* (n. 11, pp. 134-163, outubro). Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura. Rio de Janeiro: Ufrrj/Cpda.

Queirós, E. (1942). *Chineses e japoneses*. Cartas Familiares e bilhetes de Paris. Porto, Lello e Irmão.

Ribeyrolles, C. (1859). *Brasil Pitoresco*. Rio de Janeiro: Tipografia Nacional.

Santos, M. A. (2020). *Chineses no Vale do Paraíba cafeeiro: projetos, perspectivas transições e fracassos- século XIX* (n. 25, pp. 1-41, ea04818). Almanack, Guarulhos. https://doi.org/10.1590/2236-463325ea04818

Scomazzon, M. C., & Franco, J. (1879). *Primeira Circum-navegação brasileira e primeira missão do Brasil à China*. Dois por Quatro Editora.

Soffiati, A. (1997). Destruição e proteção da Mata Atlântica no Rio de Janeiro: ensaio bibliográfico acerca da eco-história. *História das Ciências da Saúde*, *IV*(2), Jul.- Out. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-59701997000200007

Stein, S. (1985). *Vassouras, a Brasilian/coffee County, 1850. The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Plantation Society*. *P*rinceton, Princeton University Press.

Primary Sources

BNRJ. Fala do trono na câmara dos deputados em 5 de maio de 1874.

BNRJ. Almanack administrativo, mercantil e industrial do Rio de Janeiro.

Brasil. Ministério do Império: Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios do Império. (RJ) - 1832 a 1888, ano 1877, (00001)

Ottoni, Cristiano Benedicto. *A emancipação dos escravos: paracer*. Rio de Janeiro Typographia Perseverança, 1871.

Congresso Agrícola do Rio de Janeiro: collecção de documentos. Rio de Janeiro: Tipografia Nacional, 1878.

Candido José de Araújo Vianna, Ministro de secretários dos negócios do império, 1841Assembleia geral legislativa. Hemeroteca da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro

Relatório do Ministério da Agricultura, Comércio e obras públicas. Rio de Janeiro, 1870-1880.

Moreira, Dr. Nicolau Joaquim. Breves considerações sobre a História e cultura do Cafeeiro e consumo do seu produto. Rio de Janeiro, Tipografia do Imperial Instituto Artístico, 1873.

Periodical Press

Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Seção de periódicos,

Rio News, 1879,00008.

Gazeta de Notícias, 1880, 00032(1).

Gazeta de Notícias, 1880, edição 00028.