História Unisinos
26(2):380-388, Maio/Agosto 2022
Unisinos – doi: 10.4013/hist.2022.262.16

Who, after all, were the citizens of the Empire? On the lists of Brazil's National Guard (19th. Century)

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Abstract: This note presents preliminary results from a research project that draws from the lists of the Brazilian National Guard. It aims to study the group of active citizens of the Brazilian Empire in the mid-nineteenth century. It comprises a quantitative and detailed study of the composition of the National Guard and the documents produced by the institution in the provinces of Ceará, Rio Grande do Sul and Rio de Janeiro. The work reveals major regional differences regarding the distribution of incomes of the free male population who joined the ranks of the *Guarda* and ventures into possible causes of this marked regional inequality. Finally, it points to future possibilities and underlines the urgent need for partnerships that will allow the databases compiled during the project to be fully explored by future historiography.

Keywords: National Guard, Active Citizenship, Population, Inequality

In March 1847, the American traveler Henry V. Weakley, a native of Lancaster, Ohio, docked at the capital of the Brazilian Empire. "The Magnificent Scenery around Rio burst before our eyes," he noted in his diary (Weakley, 1847). After his ship was inspected, his baggage checked, and he had completed the mandatory period of quarantine for new arrivals, the clerk of a bank in Baltimore, Maryland, was finally authorized to disembark on the 25th of the same month, a Thursday. By chance, it was a very special date: the anniversary of the Brazilian constitution. The commemorations marking the twenty-three years of the constitutional charter issued by Dom Pedro I in 1824 occupied the square in front of the Imperial Palace. At the time, these official celebrations served not only as an opportunity to "perpetuate the collective memory of [the] nation's institutional origins," but they also allowed Brazilians to "debate the meaning and nature of the political institutions of the constitutional monarchy" (Kraay, 2013, p. 1-2).

The climax of the public celebration witnessed by Weakley was the military parade of the National Guard, a citizen militia created in 1831 – an institution that embodied the concept of armed citizenship (so extolled by Latin American statesmen during the period) and whose members participated in all public celebrations. Not by chance, it is what most caught the attention of the traveler soon after his arrival in Brazil:

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> *We landed at the palace square, which at the time was filled with troops, going through their various evolutions; that part of the spectacle with which I was most forcibly struck, was the extensive variety in the complexions of both officers and men, from a very fair complexion to the deepest shades of Ethiopian blacking. In several instances, I saw officers of apparently pure African blood commanding troops composed of both whites and blacks. (Weakley, 1847)*

Coming from a country where the militias, rare exceptions aside, were reserved for the white population (Izecksohn, 2015) and citizenship itself was closely connected to race (Tannenbaum, 1947; Berlin, 1998; Kerr-Ritchie, 2005), the foreigner was surprised by the scene he witnessed in Rio (which, incidentally, was not a feeling exclusive to him: Prince Adalbert of Prussia had been left with a similar impression some years earlier; Kraay, 2013, p. 117). Indeed, Weakley may have exaggerated the comments in his diary, given that he considered slavery in the New World to be positive for Africans ("the transition from the state of slavery to another, with a probability that from the new slavery, he [the enslaved worker] may derive benefits which he cannot from the old," Weakley, 1847).

The scene in the Empire's capital, so picturesquely described in the diary, was certainly not just the product of Weakley's fertile imagination: with the creation of the National Guard, Brazil formally abolished color distinctions in its irregular armed forces. In other words, descendants of slaves, free- and freedmen born in Brazil had the right and the duty to take part in the military life of the country (Kraay, 2002; Mugge, 2016). What is even more interesting in Weakley's note is that, at that moment, *all* the soldiers and officers enrolled in the Guard were, by definition and by the letter of the law, Brazilian citizens with political rights: they could vote and stand for office, at least in the primary elections (Castro, 1977; Uricoechea, 1978).

Historians have been working for some decades now to better understand the notion of citizenship designed by Brazilians during the imperial period and to probe how extensive (or restrictive) it was. The initial belief was that active citizenship, as stipulated in the Constitution, was limited to the elites in Brazil's tropical monarchy. Thanks to the enormous intellectual efforts made over the last thirty years, such a conclusion has fallen apart: the country seems to have had a political system relatively open to poor people of all colors and origins, so long as they were born in Brazil – a situation heavily criticized by some segments of the nineteenth-century elites, in fact. Concomitantly and tragically, this same system reproduced a cruel social inequality, based on the institution of slavery (Fragoso & Florentino, 2001; Carvalho, 1988; Graham, 1990; Meznar, 1992).

In these research notes, I explore a source rarely analyzed by Brazilian historiography: the qualification lists of soldiers and officers from the National Guard. Based on these lists, I seek to comprehend who the members of the citizen militia were and, subsequently, present some clues to the demographic composition of Brazilian citizenry in the second half of the nineteenth century. Part of a broader project – which aims to gather as many lists as possible from regional and local archives, organize and analyze them, and finally make them publicly available –, what I present here are reflections that aim to situate the research in a broader debate on the connections between citizenship and the irregular armed forces in the Atlantic world (Davis & Pereira, 2003). I also offer some preliminary findings based on lists from the provinces of Ceará (districts of Santa Quitéria and Barra do Macaco), Rio de Janeiro (districts of Vassouras, Nova Friburgo, Cantagalo, Jacutinga, and Marapicu) and Rio Grande do Sul (districts of Pelotas, Rio Pardo, Soledade, and Cachoeira do Sul) and reflect briefly on regional similarities and differences.

The National Guard

Considered by its architects the fulcrum of the Empire, the Brazilian National Guard was created in 1831 to defend "the constitution, freedom, independence and integrity" of the recently independent country; "to maintain obedience and public tranquility; and assist the Army (*Exército de Linha*) in defending the borders and coasts."[2] As a low-cost organization when compared to regular armed forces, like national armies, the National Guard was seen by the political elites as a viable alternative for promoting national integration, significantly reducing public investments in social control. Wealthy and poor citizens of all colors and origins took part in the institution and shared – supposedly – the values of order and patriotism (Castro, 1977; Kraay, 2019).

In the nineteenth century, the National Guard, a militia-like institution linked to the Ministry of Justice (rather than the Ministry of War, like the Army), enabled Brazilians to take part in the country's civil and military lives at once. All freemen and freedmen, born in Brazil or naturalized, between the age of 18 and 60 with net annual incomes over 100 mil-réis or 200 mil-réis (depending

[2] Law of 18 August 1831. *Coleção das Leis do Império do Brasil*, v. 1, pt 1, p. 49.

on the region and the period) were expected to enlist in the militia once a year. This represented around thirty per cent of the free male population of the Empire in this age group (see Table 1 below). It included freedmen (Matheus, 2021), descendants of European immigrants (Mugge, 2012), indigenous peoples (Moreira, 2010). Cowboys, laborers and poor artisans enrolled in the national guards, alongside tradesmen, landowners, farmers, and cattle breeders (Faria, 1977; Pinto, 2003; Saldanha, 2013; Mugge, 2016).

In the 1850s, thanks to the centralizing reforms implemented by the conservative ministerial cabinets after long years of civil wars and uprisings that had shaken the country (Mattos, 1987; Carvalho, 1988), the provincial presidents began to administer the Guard more directly: elections for officership were abolished and responsibility for appointments was transferred to the local and provincial governments (Goldoni, 2010; Saldanha, 2013). In theory, the militia officers were representatives of the imperial power rooted in local worlds: a centralizing force of the State that internally organized the institution and provided the central government in the provincial capitals and in Rio de Janeiro with information on the country's citizens. In practice, patronage networks heavily influenced the enrollment of guards, officer appointments, and the call ups for ordinary and special services (Uricoechea,

Table 1 - Absolute numbers and percentagem of guards among the adult male population in 1871
Tabela 1 - *Números absolutos e porcentagem de guardas entre a população masculina adulta em 1871*

Province	G-1871	MRGd-1871
Bahia	107,900	30.9%
Ceará	66,320	38%
Amazonas	7,440	39.2%
Alagoas	18,872	23.8%
Espírito Santo	3,506	20.8%
Goiás	19,954	49.5%
Maranhão	46,447	63.7%
Mato Grosso	4,165	26.6%
Minas Gerais	85,874	15%
Pará	36,174	58.7%
Paraná	16,353	46.7%
Piauí	23,877	43.9%
Pernambuco	64,663	30.2%
Rio Grande do Norte	16,950	25.6%
Rio Grande do Sul[3]	23,603	22.3%
Rio de Janeiro	23,431	43.2%
São Paulo	57,303	30%
Santa Catarina	14,072	41.6%
Paraíba	35,343	40%
Sergipe	20,893	54%
Total	726,373	30.8%

G-1871: Guards in 1871 according to the Ministry of Justice report; MRGd-1871: Percentage of guards among free men of adult age in 1871."

[3] Prior to the Paraguayan War, Rio Grande do Sul had 44% of the adult-age free/freed men (of its population) enrolled in the National Guard. The constant calls to arms and the province's high contribution to the war effort strained the relationships between citizens-at-arms and their bosses (and the militia itself), which heavily impacted the total number of guards in the statistics sent to the central government in the early 1870s. On the contribution of the rio-grandenses (in particular the national guards), see: Izecksohn and Mugge, 2016. For a longer-term view, see: Fertig, 2010; Mugge, 2016. The ratio between the free male population and the number of qualified guards was analyzed by Mugge, 2017.

1978; Rodrigues, Falcon, Neves, 1981; Graham, 1990; Fertig, 2010; Mugge, 2016).

Qualifying, hierarchizing

Law n. 602 – of September 19, 1850 – nationally regulated the *qualification* of the national guards. In each parish or district, citizens had to present themselves to a qualification council, formed by a group of three to five officers. After enrolling and having their affiliation to the Guard confirmed by a *review* council, the militiamen had to procure their own uniform and equipment, having their arms (guns, pistols or rifles) handed out by the government. In this way, they provided the State with important services for maintaining order as part of their duties as *active citizens* of the Empire. At least once a year, they were ordered to assemble for training.[4]

Normally, it was left to the companies' captains to summon the adult individuals to appear at the church or the chamber house to enlist, knocking on house doors or putting up public notices in taverns, squares, and public buildings. Once the future guards were gathered, on a set day, the council, with the help of a secretary, recorded the names of the enlisted citizens and other relevant information – such as age, marital status, occupation, income, and residential quarter – on a list. This first list was reviewed by a second council formed by the highest-ranking officer in the municipality, the municipal judge, and the president of the local council chamber. Only then was a final list produced, counting all the citizens capable of serving in the National Guard (both in active service and in the reserves) in each region. Finally, the symbolic insignia of the active citizen was granted.

This process did not always unfold unhindered. Sometimes the Guard officers who announced the compulsory recruitment of young adults resident in their neighborhoods were threatened and faced open resistance from the future guards. At other times, their attempts were simply boycotted. But in most instances resistance was not the rule (Fertig, 2010; Ribeiro, 2013; Mugge, 2016). Consequently, the lists encountered in the archives were the result of multiple factors: qualifying, disqualifying, establishing differences. They also reflect alliances and interests. Being qualified and placed in a hierarchically organized list was also a way of publicly demonstrating what side one was on – with the liberals or the conservatives, under the protection of a powerful figure, on the side of order or disorder (Meznar, 1992).

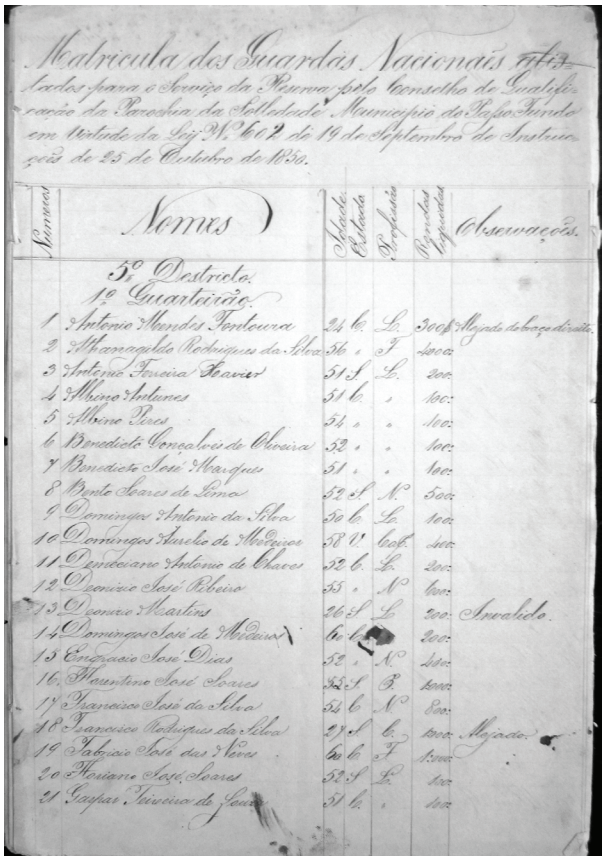
From time to time, National Guard soldiers would act as an improvised police force, capturing criminals, transferring prisoners, safeguarding the small urban centers, and protecting jails and prisons. They also assisted in the destruction of quilombos and the repression of popular movements. During international wars, the guards from the active service were frequently the first to be called up, ordered to join the troops of the national army in military operations (Izecksohn & Mugge, 2016; Araújo, 2009; Rabelo, 2017; Brito, 2011). On a daily level they were the main participants in public festivals, such as celebrations held to commemorate the Emperor's birthday, the anniversary of the constitution – like the one witnessed by Henry Weakley in 1847 – or the country's independence (Kraay, 2013).

Since its creation in 1831, the Guard penetrated Brazilian society deeply, rapidly reaching all corners of the country, from the port cities to the backlands. Francisco Uricoechea considered it "the most systematic and extensive experiment in patrimonial domination in Latin America [at that time]" (Uricoechea, 1978, p. 59). From 1831 to 1873, each hamlet or village in the country was organized into higher commands of the Guard. Localities throughout the territory of the Empire began to be run by higher commanders who led local military bureaucracies and militia forces, totaling around 600,000 citizens in the 1860s. Public officials like councilors, justices of peace, provincial deputies, and police chiefs also became officers of the Guard. This decentralized system represented a landmark in the country's military and infrastructural development – and was only possible due to an audacious project aimed at the militarization and hierarchization of local worlds.

Thanks to the encompassing nature of the Brazilian militia system, whose apex was the existence of the National Guard, combined with its decentralized administration and the attentive work of the commanding officers and their assistants in the maintenance of the institution, records exist with biographical information on the institution's soldiers and officers – that is, the citizens of the Empire – for the entire country. These lists comprise a massive source of reiterative data with a broad geographic coverage.

Rosters like the one shown below should exist for all the districts making up the national territory. The legislation required that the qualifications took place yearly and regulated them strictly (stipulating, for instance, roster models to be followed and punishments for guards and officers who failed to attend). In practice, of course, this did not always happen. In some cases, the Guard qualification councils were schedule to take

[4] See Law n. 602 of 19 September 1850. Coleção das Leis do Império do Brasil, v. 1, pt. 1, 314.



Matrícula dos Guardas Nacionais [illegible]
Sados para o Serviço da Reserva pelo Conselho de Qualificação da Paroquia da Soledade Municipio da Passo Fundo em virtude da Lei N° 602 de 19 de Setembro de Instrucções de 25 de Outubro de 1850.

Numeros	Nomes	Idade	Estado	Profissão	Renda Liquida	Observações
	5° Destricto.					
	1° Quarteirão					
1	Antonio Mendes Fonteura	24	C.	L.	300$	Alferes da Guarda Urbana
2	Manoel da Rodrigues da Silva	56	"	J	400$	
3	Antonio Teixeira Chaves	51	S	L.	200	
4	Albino Antunes	51	C.	"	100$	
5	Albino Pires	54	"	"	100$	
6	Benedicto Gonçalves de Oliveira	52	"	"	100$	
7	Benedicto José Marques	51	"	"	100$	
8	Bento Soares de Lima	53	S	N°	500	
9	Domingos Antonio da Silva	50	C	Le	100$	
10	Domingos Aurelio de Magalhães	58	V	Profe	100$	
11	Domiciano Antonio de Chaves	52	C	L	200$	
12	Dionizio José Ribeiro	55	"	N°	100$	
13	Dionizio Martins	26	S	L	200$	Invalido
14	Domingos José de Moraes	40	C		200$	
15	Eugenio José Dias	52	"	N°	100$	
16	Faustino José Soares	33	S	F	100$	
17	Francisco José da Silva	54	C	N°	200$	
18	Francisco Rodrigues da Silva	21	S	L	100$	Alferes
19	Fabricio José das Neves	40	C	J	100$	
20	Floriano José Soares	52	S	L	100	
21	Gaspar Teixeira de Jesus	51	C	"	100	

Image 1 – National Guard Roster (reserve) of the Parish of Soledade, Municipality of Passo Fundo (Province of Rio Grande do Sul, 1860)

Source: Arquivo Histórico do Rio Grande do Sul. Fundo Guarda Nacional. Maço 86.

place on the same day as electoral enrollment, which normally had priority (Arquivo Nacional, 1863). In other cases, there was an enormous difficulty in forming the qualification council itself due to resistance from authorities and citizens. One of the biggest problems for the survival of the lists, furthermore, was the precarious administrative conditions experienced by the commanding officers: many had to store all documents in their homes, as Luís Manoel de Lima e Silva, commander of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, complained in 1856:

> *For three years now my residence has served as the Secretariat and Archive of the said Command, where all the books and numerous papers of the Qualification Councils are deposited… [which] grow and grow in volume, leaving me already at a loss as to where I should store them, given I have no space left in my home. (Arquivo Nacional, 1856)*

Coincidence or not, as of present I have not encountered complete lists from the higher command of the capital of Rio Grande do Sul for the period. In researching in the state archives and the National Archive in Rio de Janeiro, however, I easily located national guard qualification lists for diverse districts spread across the Brazilian territory. Hence, the archiving of the National Guard documents itself reveals their decentralized operation, which becomes, precisely, the main challenge for a project like the one I am undertaking. In what follows, I report preliminary results comparing lists from Ceará, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul.

Regional similarities and differences

The rosters selected for these research notes (see Image 2 below) present data on the national guards listed on them, including full name, age, marital status, occupation, income and perhaps some observations. However, these lists were produced in different periods: while those from Ceará date from the early 1850s, those from Rio de Janeiro are from the end of that decade; those from Rio Grande do Sul, on the other hand, are all from the 1860s. In all, it was possible to count a total of 9,935 guards for this brief experimente, both in the active service – the soldiers and officers who were ready to provide services to the State – and the reserves – who would only be called up to join the troops in extraordinary circumstances (for an analysis of riograndense guards, see Machado, 2013; Mugge, 2018). This amounts to a small and somewhat varied sample. My aim here is not to extrapolate the preliminary results of the research to the entire national territory, but rather to identify possibilities and paths for future exploration.

The table below contains information on the locality, year, and service to which the accessed lists refer, as well as the total number of guards and their average age and income. In order to conduct a brief exploratory exercise, I also include total income (the sum of the incomes from all the enlisted members) and the portion of the total incomes under the control of the richest 1% of these populations.

Brazilian historiography has long abandoned the notion that Brazil was one large sugar cane or coffee plantation and that its society was divided into masters and slaves alone – an idea that, according to Katia Mattoso, created "in a peremptory and definitive manner […] the poorest of visions, the most imprecise descriptions of a society […] Imprecise because it failed to take into account the immensity of Brazilian lands, the diversity of the regional realities and

Image 2 – Map of Brazil with the localities of the accessed lists
Source: ArcGIS. Adapted by the author.

their respective evolutions" (Mattoso, 1992, p. 579). While the works of Mattoso herself and Bert Barickman (2003) on Bahia and those of Douglas Libby (1988) and Ivan Vellasco (2004) on Minas Gerais have already demolished this gigantic imprecision, in the case of Rio Grande do Sul, Helen Osório (2007), Luís Augusto Farinatti (2010) and an entire new generation of historians have demonstrated that the province was "a mosaic where land holdings of diverse sizes and different legal statuses were not only imbricated but could also overlap" (Farinatti, 2009, p. 158).

The source on which I am working here can assist in the endeavor to explore the Brazilian nineteenth-century social hierarchies in closer detail, especially the categorical differences (created, reproduced, and adapted by the social actors themselves) within the large group formed by citizens of the Empire (Tilly, 1998). Many research projects have been devoted to the study of these same hierarchies and their dynamics using postmortem inventories (a pivotal source for study of the elites, since they are numerically biased in their favor), electoral lists and population maps (for example, Fragoso and Florentino, 2001; Fragoso, 2013; Goyena Soares, 2019). In complementary fashion, the National Guard qualification lists help to provide an even more complete portrait of Brazilian society, since they can capture conjunctural and structural changes: back in the 1970s, Maria Auxiliadora Faria analyzed the incomes declared by members of the active service of the Guard in Minas Gerais between 1851 and 1870 and concluded that "the National Guard was mostly made up of people with modest land holdings" (1977, p. 46) and that, precisely over the course of the 1850s and 1860s, there was a certain "popularization" of the militia ranks (1977, p. 50).

The table above – the result of the exploratory exercise I set out to conduct and that I intend to continue developing – reveals, for example, major regional disparities in terms of income (as would be expected): the localities most closely connected to the Atlantic economy present both higher average incomes and a higher concentration of total incomes in the hands of the wealthiest 1% (between 11% for the reservist group of Vassouras and an incredible 71.9% for the case of the Nova Friburgo reservists). The richest Rio Grande reservists, on the other hand, only possessed slightly less than 10% of the total incomes of the commanding officers where they resided. Finally, the Ceará guards had the lowest average incomes of the sample and the most egalitarian division (but also levelled downwards).

This quantitative evidence in the sources generated in coffee-producing regions resonate with the

Table 2 – National Guards, average age, total incomes, average incomes and incomes under control of the top 1%, by higher command and kind of service (active duty and reserve)
Tabela 2 – *Guardas nacionais, médias de idade, rendas totais, rendas médias e rendas sob o controle do 1% mais rico, por comando superior e tipo de serviço (ativa e reserva)*

Locality, year and service	Guardsmen	Age (average)	Total incomes	Average incomes	Top 1%
Cantagalo (RJ), 1859 – ativa	310	31.0	303:100$000	977$742	36.6% (n=3)
Cantagalo (RJ), 1859 – reserva	68	47.1	83:300$000	1:225$000	*
Marapicu (RJ), 1859 – ativa	311	31.8	97:800$000	314$469	12.3% (n=3)
Jacutinga (RJ), 1859 – ativa	260	29.9	127:100$000	488$846	18.9% (n=3)
N. Friburgo (RJ), 1859 – ativa	707	33.1	233:900$000	330$835	15.2% (n=7)
N. Friburgo (RJ), 1859 – reserva	135	54.1	151:000$000	1:118$519	71.9% (n=14) **
Vassouras (RJ), 1859 – ativa	1180	29.4	525:115$000	288$254	20% (n=18)
Vassouras (RJ), 1859 – reserva	400	47.2	308:300$000	770$750	11% (n=4)
S. Quitéria (CE), 1852 – ativa	473	31.4	96:900$000	209$287	***
Barra do Macaco (CE), 1852 – ativa	780	30.0	169:700$000	217$564	2.42% (n=8)
Cachoeira do Sul (RS), 1863 – ativa	908	29.2	197:500$000	217$511	2.63% (n=9)
Rio Pardo (RS), 1862 – ativa	726	27.6	111:710$000	154$083	7.16% (n=7)
Rio Pardo (RS), 1862 – reserva	425	42.0	118:850$000	262$942	2.86% (n=5)
Soledade (RS), 1860 – ativa	1211	29.6	326:150$000	269$323	6.62% (n=12)
Soledade (RS), 1860 – reserva	395	49.4	114:900$000	290$886	9.60% (n=4)
Pelotas (RS), 1869 – ativa	755	29.1	177:300$000	234$834	6.20% (n=8)
Pelotas (RS), 1869 – reserva	891	42.3	472:600$000	530$415	8.89% (n=9)

* Antônio Ignácio Lemgruber, a naturalized immigrant from Switzerland and farmer, declared that his annual income was 20 contos de réis, or 24% of the total income of the list.
** The Baron of Nova Friburgo, a slave trader and merchant, was listed with annual incomes of 80 contos de réis, or 53% of the total incomes on the list.
*** Only one individual was listed with an income of over 400$000.

results found by João Fragoso and Manolo Florentino in a study using postmortem inventories (excellent sources for studying wealth, but silent about incomes) for the interior of the province of Rio de Janeiro: there was a "very high concentration" of wealth (Fragoso & Florentino, 2001, p. 184) there. Precisely during the period when

the lists that I am compiling were being produced, there was an "increase in concentration" which translated into a "profound increase in the distance between the richest and the intermediary group" in that same region (Fragoso & Florentino, 2001, p. 176).

Beyond the clues offered in terms of economic history, the Guard lists also help map which members of the Brazilian population had the constitutional and legal right to carry arms. My findings suggest that around a third of the male population of the Empire could carry arms, having pistols, rifles and revolvers distributed by the government – something extremely important in a society based on slavery and that lived daily in fear of revolts (Azevedo, 1987; Reis & Gomes, 2021). Just as importantly, the lists also contain precious information on who had a kind of *foro privilegiado,* special judicial privileges, a categorical difference (Tilly, 1998) fundamental in a country jealous of its hierarchies, given that belonging to the citizen militia would confer more favorable treatment from the courts, for example (members of the national guards could not be sent to common jails, were they to commit a crime, and could even "be kept imprisoned in their own homes, if their respective bosses allow it").[5]

Some major challenges remain for this research, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic, which have been greatly affecting the archival work. Moreover, the current evolution of the project also indicates the need to establish partnerships, connecting political, social and economic history in a more effective and plural manner. The lists can help reveal, for example, a panoramic picture of the nineteenth-century labor patterns – the vast majority of the entries in the lists include the occupations of the national guard members, thus providing access to another possible avenue of research. At the same time, we need to be extremely careful when analyzing incomes, since the entire process was exposed to the interpretations and adaptations of the historical actors themselves responsible for producing the records. Finally, there exists the possibility of tracing citizens of the Empire by name, as suggested by Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni (1989).

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[5] Article 116 of Law 602 of 18 September 1850 stipulated that: "The sentence of imprisonment imposed on officers, junior officers, corporals and national guards will only be completed in public jails where there are no fortresses, barracks, Chamber houses or other buildings that could be used for this purpose. Officers may be imprisoned in their own homes if permitted by their respective bosses, observing their conduct and the circumstances of the case." This special privilege was insistently sought by officers. See, for instance, the cases analyzed by Mugge (2016, pp. 212-219) and the resolutions of the State council (*Imperiais resoluções*, 1884, pp. 949-951).

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Acknowledgments

This project is supported by Princeton University's Data Driven Social Sciences Initiative (DDSSI). Writing this paper benefitted immensely from conversations with my colleagues Thomas Fujiwara, João Biehl, Marcelo Medeiros and Pablo Pryluka. My thanks to João Fragoso, Arminio Fraga, Marcelo Matheus, Flavia Macías and Veronique Hébrard for the dialogue on the sources, Latin America's irregular armed forces, and the history of the inequality in Brazil. Access to the primary sources was only possible due to the kind generosity of Licínio Nunes de Miranda and the exceptional dedication of Maicon Lopes dos Santos, Aline Beatriz Coutinho, and Vinicius Furquim de Almeida. I especially thank the anonymous reviewers, David Rodgers (who translated this paper into English) and above all Eliane Fleck, the editor of *Revista História – Unisinos*.

Submetido em: 25/08/2021
Aceito em: 08/11/2021