

SYMBOLS OF AFFECTION, NOT AFFLICTION:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE
BRAGANÇAS AND BRAZIL

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council
of Texas State University-San Marcos
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of ARTS

by

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San Marcos, Texas
May 2005

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2005

For Mom-o

I wish I could have had the chance to tell you all about Rio.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of an extraordinary group of people. I would like to first thank my mother, Jodie Law, and sister Karen for their never ending support, love, and friendship. Each gives me the strength and courage to chase my dreams. I would also like to thank my teaching colleague Jill Green, who by her own example inspired me to head back to school and strive for something more.

I owe a debt to the faculty of the history department of Texas State University-San Marcos in general and the members of my thesis committee in particular. Dr. Lydia Garner has profoundly shaped the student and scholar I have become. She introduced me to the history of Latin America and Brazil, shared with me the drama and wonder of Brazilian independence, and laid the foundation for my evolving vision of world history. I am also grateful to Dr. Paul Hart for his patient feedback on my writing and all that I have learned as his instructional assistant. Sincere appreciation goes to Dr. James McWilliams as well. I would like to thank him for his assistance in the completion of this thesis and for the inspiration to extend this study beyond Brazil for my doctoral dissertation.

Finally, I would like to thank Elisabeth Xavier de Araújo for giving me safe harbor during my first trip abroad. Her linguistic help, friendship, and kindness helped me to understand the language and people of Rio. Without her, I would not have been able to accomplish the archival research that was so vital to this study.

This manuscript was submitted on March 23, 2005.

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INTRODUCTION

The transfer of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil in 1808 stands as a singular event in history. No other sovereign has ever relocated the seat of royal—much less imperial—power across vast continents and oceans. João VI's decision to flee Napoleonic conquest by escaping to his American colony set into motion a chain of events and circumstances that profoundly affected both Portugal and Brazil alike. The presence of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil catapulted the colony onto the world stage and set it on a unique trajectory towards national independence. Members of the Bragança dynasty were primary actors in the periods leading up to, during, and following Brazilian independence, and their places in that country's national myth are undeniable. While Brazilian ascendance within the Portuguese Empire was validated and spurred on even more by the royal presence, the repercussions of the move on Portugal itself were quite opposite in nature. By 1808 Brazil, for all practical purposes, *was* the Portuguese Empire. Once Lisbon ceased to function as the center of royal and administrative authority, Brazil would never again be beholden to it. The initial chapter of Brazilian national history marked what would be the beginning of the final chapter of the Portuguese Empire.

Naturally the histories of Portugal and Brazil are intertwined and bound by their colonial ties. However, the presence of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil created an intimacy between a ruling monarch and his colonial subjects unparalleled in imperial

history. The period of new colonial negotiations between the rulers and the ruled during the eighteenth-century eventually culminated for all but one American colony in the total separation from and renunciation of their imperial sovereign and the institution of monarchy in general. Only Brazilians rallied in independence around the symbol of their sovereign, vowing perpetual allegiance to a Portuguese dynasty that had ruled in Europe for almost two centuries. Only Brazilians became separated from their mother country without a battle and without great political and social upheaval. What accounts for this enduring affection and loyalty? Why would the course of Brazilian independence be so unique, turning every analytical model for studying empire and independence in the Americas on its ear? The answers lie in the pivotal period between 1808 and 1822 during which a colony became a metropolis and a Portuguese prince became the Emperor of Brazil.

The landing in Guanabara Bay in the Rio harbor of the royal house of Bragança and its court in 1808 represented a direct grafting of Portuguese society and institutions onto a rich Brazilian foundation. The busy harbor also symbolized the teeming intersection of European concepts and American realities. The arrival of the Braganças involved much more than the mere physical presence of royalty. Left in the ships' wakes were traditional notions of the transatlantic relationships between empire, the institution of monarchy, and colonial identity.

Before 1808, the story of Portuguese America was in no significant manner dissimilar to the general colonial experience of Europe's other imperial powers in the New World. Discovery, development, and colonial administration directed from the

metropolis to benefit the metropolis characterized all European endeavors in America.¹ Certainly the methodology of each empire differed, at times dramatically, according to the specific political, economic, and social realities of both the homeland and their transatlantic possessions. Nevertheless, the parameters of rule and benefit remained basically the same, leading up to and even amidst the changing landscape of the eighteenth century. That concept of rule and benefit functioned on two different levels. Internally, the colony was expected to serve the needs of the metropolis directly as part of that power's discrete imperial system. As with all of the other European powers in America, Portugal's goal was to extract as much wealth and gain as many resources from Brazil as possible to benefit the homeland. Timber, sugar, and then gold elevated Brazil to economic prominence in the empire as an agricultural producer and extractive asset by the end of the seventeenth century. As the colony developed internally, so did its value to Portugal as a balancing mechanism against external European competition in the Americas. Colonial development not only served to safeguard the territory held at that time but also served the dual function of preventing the expansion and encroachment of rival powers at Portugal's expense (see Figure 1). This geopolitical aspect of colonial rule and benefit represents that concept's external application. The longstanding rivalry between Spain and Portugal on the Iberian Peninsula found a new stage where the competition was just as intense. Precious metals, agricultural resources, manufacturing and commodities trade (whether legal or not), and the slave trade made the stakes high, and those stakes drove the policies and activities of the imperial governments in Lisbon, Madrid, London, Paris, and Amsterdam. The colonies directed from those cities were

¹ G V Scammell, *The First Imperial Age* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Chapter 4 entitled "Exploitation" discusses the European perspectives on the role of colonial possessions in the imperial context, namely that Europeans viewed colonies as vehicles for the expansion of power and riches.

The World After 1763

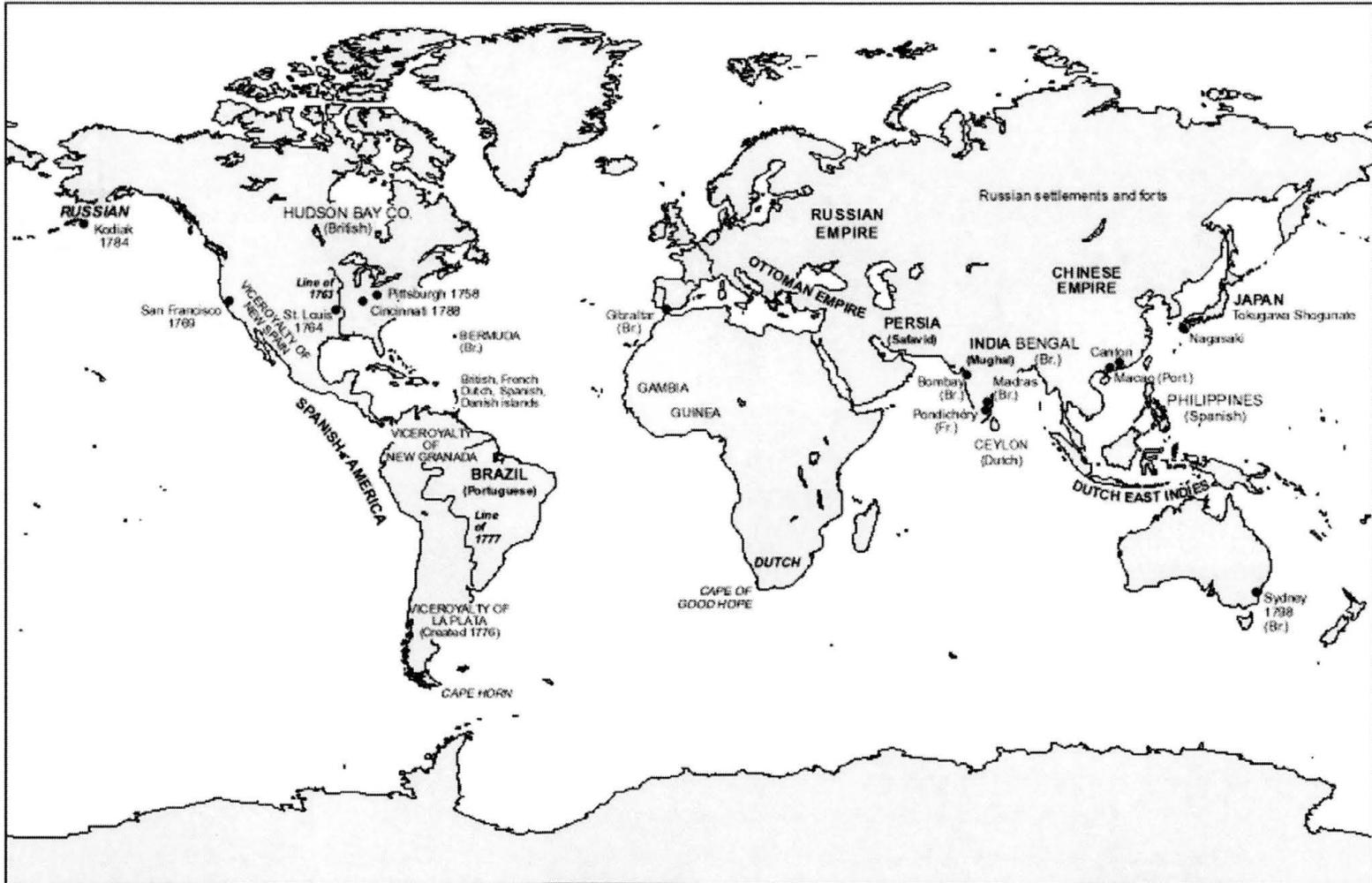


Figure 1. The imperial context.

touched by all of those decisions. Portuguese decisions regarding Brazil were not made in a vacuum. They were the results of trade negotiations, political alliances, political rivalries, the colonial policies of the other powers, and colony-to-colony interactions. The Americas during the imperial age were the ultimate chessboard that seated five different players. Each policy decision initiated a cascade of moves and countermoves on the part of all players. Periodic shifts in the balance of power triggered occasional conflicts: sometimes outright war or machinations, sometimes subtle land aggrandizement or under-the-table agreements.² Up until the turn of the nineteenth century, all imperial players understood and accepted the basic rules and parameters of that game.

Napoleon Bonaparte wreaked havoc on the balance of power within Europe, however, and that upheaval reached across the Atlantic as well with equally profound global and imperial implications. By attacking and displacing European monarchs, Napoleon completely disrupted the imperial administrative system that directed the colonies. The situation put into question the very nature of the colonial relationship. The metropolis was such because it housed the center of the empire's political administrative structure. For the three centuries of Brazil's colonial existence, Lisbon had controlled the colony's political, social, and economic direction. Imperial policies functioned to further Portuguese—not Brazilian—interests of power and wealth. That Brazilians benefited from those policies was an indirect result of the pursuit of the aims of the metropolis. Certainly before 1808 there had been periodic alignments of both Portuguese and Brazilian interests, especially during the periods that foreign powers wrangled directly over territories and boundaries, but more often the Portuguese Crown and elite benefited

² Peggy K. Liss, *Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution, 1713-1826* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983): 2-6, 26-32.

at the expense of Brazilian creoles. The move of the royal court, though, completely changed the metropolitan orientation of the Portuguese Empire. Rio de Janeiro replaced Lisbon as the economic, political, and social center of the empire, and as such, imperial policies originating in Rio reflected the pursuit of Brazilian interests directly instead of being filtered through the primary concerns of Portugal. While the American colony had always been important to the imperial system, its needs and wants had never been preeminent. As the seat of imperial power, though, its well-being was of the utmost concern of the Crown, and the royal family systematically transformed their surroundings from colony to metropolis. Some changes were deliberate, such as the unshackling of Brazil's economy through the abolition of previous imperial mercantilist restrictions and the political elevation of Brazil from the status of colony to that of kingdom. Such changes were both pragmatic and symbolic to accommodate the presence of the Portuguese sovereign and to make Brazil a viable base from which he could rule. Other changes were more indirect social and cultural consequences of the physical presence of the royal court. The Braganças brought with them all of the trappings of royal society: art, education, information, and all of the day-to-day accoutrements of the highest echelon of European society.³

These necessary logistical changes formalized the new orientation of the Portuguese Empire. The Crown's direct association with the impressive size, resources, and security of Brazil reinvigorated what had been a diminishing Portuguese perception of themselves as a viable empire. Brazil was an empire within itself, and now João VI

³ For more detailed discussions of what those accoutrements were, see Anita Marchant, "Dom João's Botanical Garden" in *The Hispanic American Review*, 41:2 (May 1961): 259-274; and Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

ruled from that base of power.⁴ By relocating his European center of power to Rio de Janeiro, the king of Portugal inserted himself directly onto the American stage and profoundly changed the parameters of empire and colonial rule in the Americas. Brazil participated directly in the world economic and political system. The new kingdom functioned as a sovereign state and pursued what were simultaneously national and imperial interests. The Iberian monarch's presence on American soil also heightened the vulnerability of Spanish America, putting borders and the balance of power into play. That royal presence also united former Brazilian colonial factions behind the Crown. In an ironic twist, the very elements of the Portuguese Empire's reconstitution in Brazil also led to its destruction. The experiences of Lisbon and Rio demonstrate that there is no going back from having been a metropolis. Lisbon's attempts to reclaim its status and power once the continent was safe from Napoleon met equal force in Rio's own efforts to maintain theirs. What had so intimately linked the two societies—the direct connection to the royal family—also hastened their separation since it was not possible for both Portugal and Brazil to share their sovereign and the power that accompanied him equally. The complex relationship between the Portuguese, Braganças, and Brazilians created a unique model of empire in the Americas. Nowhere else had imperial society, with all of its European heritage, been physically transplanted across the Atlantic onto the dynamic American soil. The result was an American-based empire in which the American

⁴ In referring to João VI, King of Portugal, it is important to note that while João had been ruling the empire since 1792 due to his mother's infirmity, he had been doing so with the official title of Prince Regent. Queen Maria I died in 1816, though, during the royal family's stay in Brazil, and João thus became officially king. In using João's titles, I will attempt to match the exact chronology with his title at that time. However, for all practical purposes, D. João—from the moment he set foot on Brazilian soil—possessed the status and power of the king.

constituent transformed from a subordinate to the equal of its European mother country. It would be difficult for that empire to reconcile its union of equals.

Intertwined and embedded in this discussion of empire is the looming presence of the European monarchies over the image and administration of their American possessions. The monarch, whether with absolute or constitutional powers, was the undeniable symbol of the empire's metropolis. The fact that historians often use Lisbon, the Crown, and imperial administration interchangeably to represent Portuguese imperial authority shows how the three elements blended together to form the center of the empire. Those empires were, after all, the outward expressions of the power and hierarchical systems that existed within the mother countries long before expansion occurred. The Imperial Age merely represented a new phase in the evolution of European medieval kingship as it evolved and adapted to the extension of its sovereignty beyond its traditional borders.

The Braganças of Portugal represented the typical European monarchy. Having risen to power amidst the Portuguese struggle to free itself from Spain and the Crown Union in the seventeenth century, the House of Bragança took the throne of an institution backed by over five centuries of tradition and rule. The Braganças inherited a base of institutionalized acceptance and authority that drew its sweeping powers from the blending of politics and religion. The notion of divine sanction was powerfully cultivated by Iberian monarchs who ruled a people deeply committed to the Catholic faith, and over time those societies internalized the proposed link between ruler and God. Since Catholicism formed the cornerstone of Portuguese culture and society, the monarchy—due to its fusion with church hierarchy and mandate—was an integral component of that

foundation. The fusion of religion and politics also meant that the two necessarily had to share similar qualities. Believers perceived Catholicism as an institution infallible and transcendent of time and space. The people expected no less from their ruler on earth. The mystical and immortal symbolism inherent in the practice of their faith filtered onto the institution of the monarchy as well. While the king was innately imbued with religious legitimacy due to this reality, the sovereign nevertheless felt the need to actively reinforce and make visible his sacrosanct station. Symbolic ceremonies and rituals served the monarch and society in this capacity.⁵ In fact, the relationship between a sovereign and his subjects centered on royal life being played out in the public arena. What the people perceived as participation in the life cycle of the king—his birth, childhood, marriage, and death—was more observation of carefully orchestrated rites and rituals. However, the normally passive nature of observation periodically was energized into active celebrations or lamentations according to the particular milestone in the king's life. Aside from their observance of momentous royal occasions, typical European subjects also reflected the social and hierarchical structure in everyday ways. Dress, communications protocol, and gestures of deference on the part of the lower classes all combined with those rituals and customs to reinforce and maintain the parameters of social interaction and fealty to the monarch.⁶ Ultimately through such ostentations and societal norms, the connection between the people and their king was both powerful and intimate, and it defined a large part of the national culture and identity.

⁵ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957). For an analysis of the transfer of symbolism from the religious to the secular, see 138, n. 159; for a detailed discussion of the transcendental nature of the monarchy, see Chapter VII, "The King Never Dies," 314-450.

⁶ Roderick J. Barman, *Citizen Emperor* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999): 9-10.

The settlement of foreign lands by European colonists changed the geographical backdrop of this relationship but not its psychological or emotional components. Notions of religious and monarchical loyalties were merely dispersed across the seas and transplanted into new surroundings. In the Americas, the colonists' perceptions of their place within the imperial system corresponded directly to their experiences in the New World as well as their treatment by the colonial administration. The strict hierarchical society that existed in the mother country followed those who settled in the Americas, and inevitably the reality of American-born citizens created a new stratification level within that hierarchy. Some administrations left the citizenship distinction between metropolis and colony informal while others defined the relationship through formal policy.⁷ Portugal did formally address the issue of the legal status of foreign-born subjects. The Marquês of Pombal, ruling in the name of King José I in the second half of the eighteenth century, equalized the rank of all of the king's subjects—even indigenous peoples who Europeanized themselves—across the empire in order to facilitate increased settlement of colonial regions.⁸ The rationale was to bolster Portuguese claims to the land through *uti possidetis*. In theory Portugal's colonial citizens had equal rights under the law, but in practice the economic exploitation of Brazil by Portugal through the mercantilist system created an inherent subordination on the part of the colonies.⁹ The practical considerations of a metropolis-dominated system dictated that Brazilians serve Portugal's interests.

⁷ For example, the British government never officially dealt with the issue either in constitutional or legislative form prior to the American Revolution. That ambiguity led to differences in interpretation by both the colonies and metropolis over the status and rights of colonial subjects. See Liss, 24, 36.

⁸ E. Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 41.

⁹ Liss draws this distinction between what she calls the “working imperial constitution” and the formal constitution in her discussion of British colonial rights, see page 24.

New studies have aptly challenged the notion of a single population group as the base-stock of any American society, so it is necessary to define the “Brazilian people” as they pertain to the study. This analysis of colonial identity is admittedly elite in focus. The absence of comparable—in power and worth in European eyes—societies in the Americas translated into a *tabula rasa* notion of the land on the part of the Portuguese administrators and settlers. With no militarily or demographically formidable native populations to confront, the Portuguese possessed the ability to simply brush aside the indigenous settlements and their culture. This situation corresponded with an attempt to transplant European society and practices onto American soil. Creole elites initially fashioned themselves Europeans—specifically Portuguese—who lived and worked in the Americas.¹⁰ For them, their European ancestry dominated their identity. For those back in Portugal, though, Brazil’s landed elites’ increasing American-ness began to overwhelm their identity to the point that it functioned as a reminder of their separation by time and space from Europe. The Creole dilemma was the question of to which degree Brazilian colonists would embrace or distance themselves from their two vying orientations: Europe or America.¹¹ What in fact was occurring was more of a blending of those European notions with a growing sense of dynamism regarding Brazil’s innate potential. If the size and wealth of the empire was a measurement of the potency of the monarch who ruled over it, then the size and vitality of a colony was equally important to the self-image and identity of those living in it. Brazil’s resources and growing prominence

¹⁰ It should be noted that the term “creole” is borrowed from Spanish American terminology (and Americanized from *criollo*), designating someone as American born but of Spanish descent from someone born in Spain itself who was referred to as a *peninsular*. The Spanish American terminology is more widely recognized than the actual Portuguese terminology of *mazombo* vs. *reinol*.

¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983): 47-48, 58.

instilled pride for both Brazilians and Portuguese alike, but it also created friction between the two interests. Brazilian colonial identity reflected that ongoing negotiation. The moderating factor remained the unifying acceptance of Crown rule. When Napoleon threatened the Iberian sovereigns and homelands, however, he also put into question that unity and opened the door for colonial separation.

The question of independence in the Americas had been first answered by the British colonies, but such an independent revolution against the mother country was more an aberration than a model for the remaining American colonies. The level of imperial oversight under the strictures of the Crown and its administrative organization in Spanish and Portuguese America stunted and postponed major nationalistic movements. While the Bourbon and Habsburg reforms coming out of Iberia in the latter eighteenth century did inspire resentment in the colonies because of their restrictive nature, they did not foment outright rebellion. In the period between the American Revolution and the upheavals wrought by Napoleon, there were intrigues and uprisings, but in the end, the political, social, and religious legitimacy of Iberian imperial rule in the Americas remained sufficient to prevent the type of schism that separated the United States from Great Britain. The imperial world order changed, though, with Napoleon. By replacing the Bourbons in Spain with his own family dynasty, Napoleon destroyed the royal fabric that bound the Spanish colonies to their motherland. Caught between its economic alliance with Great Britain and continental vulnerability to France, Portugal found itself in an impossible situation. With the cautionary tale of the Spanish monarchy in front of him, João chose to flee Europe to avoid the imperial destabilization that accompanied monarchical deposition in the homeland.

When Rio replaced Lisbon as the center of royal rule, the Braganças validated the dual identities of the Brazilians as simultaneously Portuguese and Americans. The Brazilians' new proximity to their sovereign wiped away any degree of separation they had felt for their monarch and his government. A people who had only known of the Braganças through royal announcements and through the lens of the local colonial administrative apparatuses that served them instantly had direct contact with D. João and his court. Brazilians witnessed firsthand the pomp and circumstance of royal death and acclamation, marriage and births, and everyday comings and goings. They also benefited immensely from their new status as imperial metropolis. The material gains for the colony that accompanied the transfer of the monarchy translated into an association of prosperity and opportunity with that arrival. At the same time, the very reasons for which João VI chose to relocate his throne across the Atlantic were the same reasons Brazilians felt a profound sense of distinction and worth for the progress they had made and the potential they yet possessed. That the Braganças flourished and openly showed their appreciation for their new surroundings only deepened the relationship between their American subjects and them. In fact, João VI continued to ally himself and his dynasty with Brazil even after the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815. Not until 1821 did João leave Brazil, and that was only after being threatened with deposition by the revolutionary *Côrtés* in Lisbon. The king's obvious reluctance to return and his unwillingness to declare hostilities against the son he left behind in the Americas to rule Brazil in his stead perpetuated the intimate link between the House of Bragança and the people of Brazil. It also created one final and unique imperial reality. The introduction of the *Côrtés* onto the political scene and its efforts to return metropolitan status to Lisbon made it possible for

the Brazilian people to distinguish Portuguese attempts to resubordinate Brazil from the actions and intentions of the Bragança Dynasty. The showdown between the two competing metropolises and the schism that resulted involved the rupture of Portugal and Brazil, not the Braganças and their former colony. The continuity that this situation afforded set Brazil apart, giving it a unique experience with empire and independence. The people of Brazil would remain loyal to the Portuguese king even after his son had led them to political separation and independence. While that son, Pedro, would establish Brazil as an independent empire and constitutional monarchy, João's grandson, Pedro II, would oversee the process of Brazilian national political consolidation and cultural cohesion. In the end, these three Bragançan rulers defined the Brazilian transformation "from colony to nation" (see Figure 2).¹²

The lone monarchy in the Americas, Brazil represented the promise of the New World alongside the stability and order of the Old World institution. The complexity and profundity of the interplay amongst these three components of transatlantic empire, the institution of monarchy, and colonial identity shaped the relationship between Portugal and Brazil and stamped the Bragança seal on Brazilian independence and the nation it would become. From an historiographical standpoint, that complexity has also made it difficult to trace those relationships through the turbulent first few decades of the nineteenth century. The results have been somewhat isolated studies of the individual components or, to the other extreme, far-ranging discussions that touch on many of the aforementioned variables but do so in a superficial way. This thesis attempts to fill that void of a focused study that brings all of those topical components together through the

¹² A. J. R. Russell-Wood has already coined this phrase: see *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975)



(a)



(b)



(c)

(Time Inc. Picture Collection)

Figure 2. The Bragança Portuguese and Brazilian Rulers.

(a) João VI, King of Portugal

(Source: http://www.fundacaooscaramericano.org.br/eng/Program/Cultural_Visits/Dom_Jo_o_VIa.JPG)

(b) Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil

(Source: <http://www.inforegenten.de/regent/regentd/pictures/brazil-pedro1.jpg>)

(c) Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil

(Source: <http://thumb2.image.altavista.com/image/193574810>)

lens of the royal family's impact on the course of Brazilian independence and the evolution of the relationship between the Braganças and the Brazilians.

The foundation of this study involves a new analysis and interpretation of some of the traditional primary sources of this time period. The Brazilian government has facilitated scholarly access to many records through the publication of archival document collections. Two such publications proved vital for this thesis. *As Câmaras Municipais e a Independência* is a collection of letters from municipal councils—the local governing apparatus—throughout Brazil to both João VI and Pedro I. The letters, ranging in date from 1808 to 1824, discuss various topics concerning the royal family as well as the imperial administration and lend considerable insight into the relationships between the three groups. They provide snapshots into the needs and feelings of the people. Because the members of the council did represent the local elite and their formal communication with the Crown, as a source the collection does have a decidedly elite and deferential slant to it. Nevertheless, in their communications, the councils address every significant event that transpired in Brazil during the period and relate the formal and informal responses of the people to them. From these writings, it is possible to trace the evolution of Brazilian identity and rhetoric. Whether the information in the letters is in fact truth or the projection of an image the local elite thought were expected of them, Brazilian society was as much a product of the truth as it was that image. *As Juntas Governativas e a Independência* is a similar collection of the correspondence between the provisional governing juntas from each province in Brazil to D. Pedro in the period immediately leading up to and following independence. The records of the juntas, like those of the câmaras, are a good source on many levels. They represent a varied geography of

provinces and thus give insight into both the differences and similarities in the perspectives of Brazil's diverse regions. Also, part of the protocol of the correspondence was to confirm the receipt and carrying out of governmental orders and decrees received. This fact provides primary source access to both sides, then, of royal administration: the mandate and the response. One element that does distinguish the juntas' correspondence from that of the câmaras and that makes it a valuable source is the added complexity of the juntas being called into creation by the revolutionary Côrtes in Lisbon. The added Portuguese allegiance and responsibility complicated the juntas' relationship to Pedro and shed insight on the interplay of local, colonial, and imperial interests.¹³

Another primary source collection that is vital to this study is the *Correio Braziliense*, a Portuguese language monthly journal written and edited by Brazilian raised, Coimbra educated Hipólito José da Costa. While the *Correio* was published in London, da Costa's intention was to keep Brazilians and Portuguese abreast of the key events throughout the period of its publication from June 1808 to December 1822. With wide-ranging news articles and editorials that discuss the Brazilian as well as international scene, the *Correio Braziliense* provides insightful information and commentary. Da Costa published royal decrees and announcements, local Brazilian newspaper articles, and updates on the goings-on in Portugal itself. The *Correio Braziliense* helped to shape the political discourse and discussion of events transpiring in Brazil and Portugal as well as chronicle the official and popular responses to those events. The content of the publication is colored by the political and social perspectives

¹³ *As Câmaras Municipais e a Independência*, Vols. 1 and 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Federal de Cultura e do Arquivo Nacional, 1973); *As Juntas Governativas e a Independência*, Vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1973).

of its editor, but the breadth and depth of da Costa's coverage of the period makes the publication extremely useful and informative.¹⁴

In terms of general archival research, the documents of the *Casa Real e Imperial* housed in the Arquivo Nacional in Rio de Janeiro are also helpful to this study. The collection includes both formal and personal documents relating to the royal family. There is correspondence to and from D. João, D. Pedro, and D. Leopoldina as well as official royal decrees and announcements, all of which touch on diverse topics of the period. The compilations of Lydinéa Gasman and E. Bradford Burns also provide access to the seminal primary documents in Brazilian history and thereby this period. Burns' reference book is particularly helpful as a source for English translations of those documents.¹⁵

There is also a wide range of scholarly secondary sources available from which to draw. For each topic—empire, monarchy, and identity—there exists a spectrum of studies ranging from general overviews to specific Portuguese or Brazilian discussions. All are vital in the construction of methodological frameworks and have contributed immensely to this study. On the topic of empire, G.V. Scammell's *The First Imperial Age* provides a broad study of European expansion that is valuable both for its informative content and comparative analysis. Scammell weaves specific information on each European empire into an overall discussion of imperial motivations, actions, and consequences for the colonizers and colonized. Peggy K. Liss narrows this topic further by focusing

¹⁴ Hipólito Jose da Costa, ed., *Correio Braziliense* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 2002); For a more detailed discussion of the periodical and its editor, see Roderick J. Barman's *Brazil The Forging of a Nation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988). 50-53.

¹⁵ Lydinéa Gasman, ed., *Documentos históricos brasileiros* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar, 1976); E. Bradford Burns, ed., *A Documentary History of Brazil* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966)

specifically on the Atlantic aspect of those European empires. In *Atlantic Empires*, Liss discusses the interconnections between Europe and America, using commerce as a means to study those American revolutions and societies. While Liss laments the lack of comparable analysis of political, economic, social, and intellectual connections in Latin America to that of British American works, she nevertheless falls into the trap of using a decidedly North American framework for her study. *Atlantic Empires* is more about the trading relationship between North America and Latin America as a collective entity than the complex interplay of several different empires maneuvering on the American stage.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Liss provides important perspectives on the geopolitics involved in the Americas and the broader transatlantic imperial context.

For studies that approach the topic of the Portuguese Empire with an attention to both breadth and depth, the quintessential works of C. R. Boxer still form the building blocks of any analysis and interpretation. There is a spectrum of study just within his body of work. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* provides a far-reaching yet detailed account of the empire as a whole, showing the distinct phases and orientations through which it evolved. Due to his exhaustive research and insight, Boxer is also able to place Brazil accurately in its imperial context through his attempts to show through comparative analysis the similarities and differences as well as subtleties in administration and social construct throughout the empire. *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society and Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800* each help in

¹⁶ Within that treatment is also a built in and common disproportionate treatment of Portuguese America to that of Spanish America. For example, Liss's chapter "Latin America to 1776" contains roughly 26 pages concerning Spanish America and a little over 2 pages on Brazil.

understanding the complex relationship between imperial and local realities. *The Golden Age of Brazil* further details that colony's increasing political, social, and economic ascendance within the Portuguese imperial system. Because of their scholarly rigor, Boxer's contributions are timeless and as relevant today as they were in the 1960's.¹⁷

Finally, the independence of Brazil must also be put in its larger imperial context, and several different studies provide specific information on the causes and consequences of that independence. *The Independence of Brazil* by Roderick Cavaliero is representative of an overall discussion of the imperial, political, economic, and social factors that came into play. Cavaliero's work is a valuable synthesis of information for a broad understanding of the topic as is Roderick J. Barman's *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852*. While these two authors trace the chronological progression of Brazil towards independence, A. J. R. Russell-Wood has compiled a wide range of topical works for the time period in *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*. The specificity of the topics render only some relevant to this study, but it is exactly this type of format—specific analyses of independence issues with a particular focus and purpose—into which this thesis would fit.¹⁸

The sources available on the institution of the monarchy in general and the Braganças in Brazil in particular reflect a similar range of generality and specificity as well as classic study and recent scholarship. The cornerstone of the investigation into the

¹⁷ C R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1969); *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750 Growing Pains of a Colonial Society and Portuguese Society in the Tropics* (Berkeley, CA: Published in cooperation with the Sociedade de Estudos Históricos Dom Pedro Segundo, Rio de Janeiro, by the University of California Press, 1962); *Portuguese Society in the Tropics The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965).

¹⁸ Roderick Cavaliero, *The Independence of Brazil* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); Barman, *Forging*; Russell-Wood, *Colony to Nation*.

monarchy is the work of Ernst H. Kantorowicz in his study, *The King's Two Bodies*. In this Kantorowicz traces the evolution of the Western medieval monarchies into a political theology, thereby exploring the social, political, and legal nuances of an authority infused with both religious and political power. In discussing the distinction between the king as a man and the kingship itself, the author creates an analytical framework for understanding the complex place of the king in European society. He identifies the dichotomous nature of the figure of the king as public and private or the body politic and the body natural. While the body politic represents the immortal and divine symbolism of the institution, the body natural is the mortal man who sits on the throne. Since the impact of that symbolic figure on the Brazilian political landscape is the focus of this study, both of the king's two bodies play a significant role. Similarly, the premise that the king incorporated the elements of state and religious power is central to the theoretical foundation of the belief in Divine Right and connects to the heart of Portuguese society. *The King's Two Bodies* is the starting point for understanding the complex power structure of the monarchy.

There is a void in the body of work bridging the studies of monarchy and empire. There is no broad transatlantic study comparable to Liss's economic analysis that looks into the specific relationship between European sovereigns and their American colonies. On the narrower topic of the Portuguese monarchy itself, there is unfortunately a similar paucity of sources available. No detailed study of the specific characteristics and development of the Portuguese monarchy exists. Instead, to gain any comprehensive picture it is necessary to piece together information from general political histories of Portugal, biographies of key royal figures, and topical treatments.

With António Henrique R. de Oliveira Marques' *History of Portugal*, the extended nature of his two-volumed set provides much detail and elaboration on the pivotal elements of Portuguese history and consequently is frequently used as a reference source in numerous scholarly works. The role of the monarchy in the political administration of the nation is naturally a topic that is woven throughout the historical overview. It is possible to gain insight into the Portuguese monarchy through Oliveira Marques' informed analysis of the political power shifts, their ideological and societal underpinnings, and Portugal's social foundations of hierarchy and royal administration.¹⁹ Similarly, the biographies available on prominent Portuguese monarchs provide information that can be pieced together. For this study, the three Braganças—João VI of Portugal, Pedro I of Brazil, and Pedro II of Brazil—who played vital roles in the independence and national consolidation of Brazil each have strong biographies, and those studies give details as to the exact characteristics, actions, and surroundings of the men and their time periods. Because Brazil looms in the experiences of the three, the biographies discuss the important relationship between the rulers and the Brazilian people and country. The socio-political aspects of their lives provide key information and direction to primary sources.²⁰

Recent years have seen several detailed and topical studies of the Portuguese monarchy published, and these new investigations provide some salient details for this thesis. Francis J. D. Lambert helps to fill the void of work on the Portuguese Crown with

¹⁹ António Henrique R. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

²⁰ See Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *Dom João no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1945); Neill Macauley, *Dom Pedro The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834* (Durham, NC. Duke University Press, 1986); and Barman, *Citizen Emperor*. The overlapping nature of the different leaders' chronologies provides multiple perspectives on the times and the rulers.

his analysis of the relationship between the parliamentary *Côrtes* and the rulers of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. Although the Portuguese Crown enjoyed absolute power prior to the 1821 Revolutionary *Côrtes* and Lambert's book naturally is geared towards that period and on, his background discussions of the development of monarchical powers is quite helpful.²¹ Changing focus, two recent publications, one in English and the other in Portuguese, provide well-rounded yet in-depth snapshots of the royal court's time in Rio de Janeiro. Both books look into the multiple facets of life in Rio, from the physical transformation of the city itself to the cultural and social activities made available by the court's presence. Both works provide detailed discussions of the social life and customs of Portuguese society's upper echelon. The authors' impressive and thorough use of primary sources on the wide range of social topics makes the books good sources of information and bibliographic reference.²² A study similarly interested with the dynamic position of the monarchy in Brazilian society is Maria Eurydice de Barros Ribeiro's analysis of the rites and ceremonies used by Brazil's rulers to reinforce and accentuate their power. *Os Símbolos do Poder: Cerimônias e Imagens do Estado Monárquico no Brasil* is the perfect elaboration of Kantorowicz's notion of the public body of the king and the monarch's intentional use of symbolism—both political and religious—and ostentation to make visible his premier status in the society.²³ These studies of the monarchy reflect a wide array of perspectives, but all lend insight into the nature of the

²¹ See Francis J. D. Lambert, *The Cortes and the King Constitutional Monarchy in the Iberian World* (Glasgow, Scotland: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1981)

²² See Schultz, *Tropical Versailles* and Jurandir Malerba, *A Corte no Exílio Civilização e Poder no Brasil às Vésperas da Independência, 1808 a 1821* (São Paulo, Brasil: Companhia das Letras, 2000)

²³ See Maria Eurydice de Barros Ribeiro, *Os Símbolos do Poder Cerimônias e Imagens do Estado Monárquico no Brasil* (Brasília, DF: Editora UnB, 1993).

monarchy that relocated across the Atlantic in 1808 and the impact it had on the course on Brazilian history.

In the realm of colonial identity formation, the Americas and Brazil are much better represented in the current body of work. Even the most recognized general discussion of identity and nationalism, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, contains specific analysis and reference to the development of identity in the New World. Anderson develops several key concepts in his overall argument that have direct application in the topics of this study. The underlying premise of his methodological approach is that nationalism, and by extension identity, has to be understood "by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural system that preceded it, out of which—as well as against which—it came into being." This idea that national consciousness results from a cultural legacy shaped by acceptance and rejection captures the very essence of the aforementioned creole dilemma. The physical, psychological, political, and social realities of Brazil were functions of transplantation and negotiation and adaptation. European culture formed the bedrock of Brazilian society, a society based upon and united by a common language and cultural heritage. At the same time, the imperial limitations placed on the colony also created a friction that increasingly differentiated Americans from Europeans, and that friction factored into the evolving colonial identity. Another relationship that Anderson discusses is that between nationalism and the relative strength of what he calls the religious community and the dynastic realm. The author cites the fading away of a rigid royal and religious hierarchy as the harbinger of modern nationalism. In this discussion, Brazil serves as an exception to Anderson's theory. The relocation of the monarchy to Rio meant that the unifying

symbol of the king was present and in direct contact with his American subjects, thus fusing the two identities of monarch and colony. It could be argued that the previous imperial separation between sovereign and colonial subjects actually made João VI's presence that much more powerful and unifying. Anderson's ideas are both straightforward yet provocative, and they help to provide a discourse on the subjects of identity and nationalism.²⁴

An interesting companion piece for *Imagined Communities* and its concept of multiple forces at work in shaping national identity is a study done by Robert H. Jackson and Gregory Maddox on the identity formation of colonial societies in Bolivia and Tanzania. While the focus of their analysis reflects the historiographical shift to the study of marginalized segments of the population, in their discussion of the manipulation and marginalization of indigenous peoples by colonial administrative practices there are several insightful extensions of Anderson's concepts. The most striking is their elaboration of the importance of placing a society in the context of the larger community of which it is a part. Jackson and Maddox find that "communities constantly redefine their cultural heritage...in light of both the storehouses of experiences inherited from the past and their structural position within peripheral societies." While they are undoubtedly referring to indigenous people's peripheral status within colonial society, their premise can be applied to the creole Brazilian society in its larger imperial context. Jackson and Maddox introduce the center-periphery language of discourse to the imperial

²⁴ Anderson, 12-22, 36, 47. Anderson uses language as a unit of distinction for nations but admits that such a distinction is inapplicable to the internal imperial system since the metropolis and colony were part of the same linguistic system. The author measures the impact of language through print-capitalism and its effect in evolving notions of nations and facilitating national consciousness. Although this is not directly the subject of this thesis, there are intriguing connections to the introduction of the printing press by João VI and the new, thriving print culture that ensued.

pecking order that extends from the Crown down to the lowest rung of colonial society. For them, colonial subjects' identities are functions of their level of physical and psychological separation from the center society. The authors naturally address the economic aspect of center-periphery interaction. They find that coinciding economic and social changes that take place in society spur along a community's redefinition of its structural position. Brazil fits perfectly into this model. As the colony became more important in its economic contribution to the empire, Brazil's relationship to its metropolis began to change as well because the Brazilian people began that redefinition process of shaking off the stigma of American birth and life. Whether it is Brazilian creoles, Bolivian indians, or British subjects in North America, exploitive economic practices—namely mercantilism or slavery—are increasingly incompatible with a society that is fully aware of its own vitality and potential. Although their intent was not to discuss elite identity formation, Jackson and Maddox nevertheless advance thought-provoking ideas that speak to the fluid nature of all identity formation.²⁵

A final study that deals precisely with the development of the Brazilian national identity is E. Bradford Burns' *Nationalism in Brazil*. It is a concise summary of the major characteristics and developments in the evolution of Brazilian identity. Burns provides a solid overview of the topic, but even more helpful is his careful selections of primary source quotations as representations of those characteristics and developments.²⁶

From these rich and diverse sources it is possible to strip away some of the complexities of these interrelated topics of empire, monarchy, and colonial identity as

²⁵ Robert H. Jackson and Gregory Maddox, "The Creation of Identity: Colonial Society in Bolivia and Tanzania" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35:2 (April 1993): 263, 264, 283.

²⁶ E. Bradford Burns, *Nationalism in Brazil* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968).

they collided on the shore of Brazil with the arrival of the Portuguese royal court. To trace these conceptual interactions, it is necessary to use both a topical and chronological approach in the development of this thesis. Chapter One will provide basic background information in order to set the context of Portuguese imperialism and Brazil's ascendancy within that larger transatlantic community prior to the physical relocation of the monarchy in 1808. The Portuguese imperial policies towards Brazil will be discussed, with emphasis being placed on the role and status of Brazil in the imperial system. The policies provide a mirror through which to view the metropolis's perspective on Brazil as well as the Brazilians' own self-perceptions. There was imperial recognition of Brazil's growing importance with a distinct reorientation of the empire towards Brazil and multiple proposals to move the seat of government from Lisbon to Brazil predating the decision in 1808. In this context, the chapter will also address the Brazilians' own recognition of their growing importance and how this factor affected the formulation of the Brazilian identity and sense of prominence. Finally, Chapter One will explain the role of Napoleon as the catalyst for the relocation of the monarchy and imperial government.

Chapter Two explores the material and psychological changes that resulted from the immediate presence of the royal family. The chapter will define the logistical changes involved in the transfer of royal society and imperial government from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. Here, the changes in Brazil's political, economic, and social parameters will be discussed. Even more importantly, Chapter Two will set forth the psychological changes in the imperial-colonial relationship. The transformation of Brazil—and specifically Rio—into the imperial metropolis precipitated a new, Brazilian metropolitan identity. Also, the Brazilian people's direct participation in the royal life cycle and society

translated into heightened intimacy between the sovereign and his subjects. Access to the king truly transformed the political, economic, and social landscape of the former colony and irrevocably changed the relationship between Brazil and Portugal.

That discussion leads directly into Chapter Three and the unique denouement of the colonial pact that once existed amongst Portugal, the Braganças, and Brazil. The chapter will serve to explain how the efforts of the Prince Regent, D. Pedro, to restore the prestige and power of the Bragança Dynasty ultimately fused with the efforts of Brazilians to protect their own rights and privileges against the newly formed revolutionary *Côrtes* (or parliament) in Lisbon. The discussion will begin with the emergence of that *Côrtes* and the ensuing competition for authority in which the *Côrtes* attempted to subordinate the royal executive power to the legislative branch under a new constitutional framework. The chapter will conclude by showing how D. Pedro's and the Brazilian people's interests became aligned against the machinations of the *Côrtes* to the point that political separation occurred between Brazil and Portugal. The parliamentary body's simultaneous alienation of the Brazilians and their sovereign will be traced through the *Côrtes'* formal declarations, the Braganças' reactions, and the Brazilian people's perceptions of those events. It is precisely the interplay of these three topics that will explain the enduring affection and loyalty that the Brazilian people had for their European monarchs despite their inevitable political separation from Portugal.

Chapter Four will move beyond independence to the critical early stages of Brazil's nationhood. It was during that first decade during D. Pedro's reign as the first Emperor of Brazil that the royal Bragançan life cycle began anew with a distinct Brazilian notion of political regeneration and promise. The chapter will explore the

power of Pedro I as the symbol of independence and that regeneration. Chapter Four will also delve into the reemergence of the very same questions of power, authority, and loyalty that had separated Brazil from Portugal as they systematically wreaked similar havoc on the relationship between Pedro and the Brazilian people. The erosion of Pedro's authority and his ultimate abdication in 1831 will conclude the chapter.

This study will conclude with an analysis of the political and cultural endurance of the monarchy in Brazil. It will trace the significance of the survival of Pedro II's regency amidst the turmoil following Pedro I's abdication. That regency period represents a microcosm of all of the political and social variables at play in the shaping of the nation that Brazil would become. Particular attention will be placed on how the Brazilian people's perpetuation of the monarchy under the Brazilian-born Pedro II demonstrated the fundamental place that the monarchy held in Brazil's early society and institutions. The Emperor's ability to bring about political consolidation and social stability would form as much a part of the Brazilian national myth as the dynamic flair and drama of his father's contribution to Brazilian history. Although deposed in 1889, the Brazilian monarchy nevertheless remains a powerful symbol and idea and is very much alive in the culture, psychology, and political heritage of modern day Brazil. A discussion of the support for a return to the monarchy in 1993 brings this chapter and study to a close.

The studies of the relocation of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil and that country's subsequent independence are dynamic and worthwhile ones. Brazil's example affords historians the chance to look at the concepts of empire, monarchy, and colonial

identity from new perspectives and with greater understanding of the delicate and profound interaction that existed amongst those three central components.

CHAPTER 1

SETTING THE AMERICAN STAGE: PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM AND BRAZILIAN ASCENDANCY

To understand the significance of the transfer of the Portuguese monarchy to Rio de Janeiro for Brazilian history, it is vital to first set the American stage onto which the Bragança Dynasty and its royal court stepped. Brazil was stumbled upon in 1500 by Portuguese sailors bound for the *Estado da Índia*, the empire's lucrative trading network in the Far East. For three centuries Brazil evolved and developed inside the Portuguese imperial system with Crown attention and oversight that waxed and waned according to the colony's relative significance to the imperial economy. An investigation of the relationship between the mother country and colony prior to the monarchy's transfer naturally involves a discussion of both imperial policy and its impact on the self-conceptualization of the Brazilian colonists as an emerging people. With the changing dynamics of the Portuguese Empire during Brazil's colonial time period, that colony eventually emerged as the driving force and heart of the empire. Those in Portugal and Brazil would come to recognize this fact, and it would color their perspectives on each other and themselves. This chapter will trace the Portuguese imperial approach taken in regards to Brazil as well as the process that generated Brazilian ascendancy within that imperial system. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the specific factors that led to João VI's decision to relocate the monarchy to Brazil.

Portuguese Imperial Policies

Throughout the colonial history of Brazil, the interest that consistently steered imperial attention towards the colony was that in new economic resources. From the imperial perspective, Brazil did not warrant any undue attention in its earliest stages. The result of this approach was the absence of any cohesive colonial plan. The only American possession of a far-flung empire with trading centers scattered across the eastern trading routes from Africa to the Middle East and all the way across Asia, Brazil was understandably the young stepchild of the empire. Dom Manuel, King at the time of Brazil's discovery, put the new land's colonization and development on the backburner since Portugal was already becoming overextended in the *Estado da India*. The first official attempt at Brazilian colonial policy was the implementation of the donatary or captaincy system that granted to prominent donees parallel strips of land—fifty leagues of coastal width—and extending for an indefinite length into the interior (See Figure 3).²⁷ This policy was implemented to bolster the Portuguese presence and as a response to French interest in Brazil. The idea was that colonization would provide security from within, but such a large scale endeavor was lacking in precedent in the Portuguese empire. Soon, though, the Crown would recognize the inefficiency and feudalistic limitations of such enormous and socially far-reaching land grants. Decree by decree it reduced the sizes of the land grants until a 1699 edict that declared all land not under cultivation to be returned to the Crown. Only the sugar regions along the northeast coast were success stories in the donatary system. Nevertheless, the large estates survived and

²⁷ Burns, *History*, 25, 27; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Preconditions and Precipitants of the Independence Movement in Portuguese America," in *From Colony to Nation Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975): 7-8.

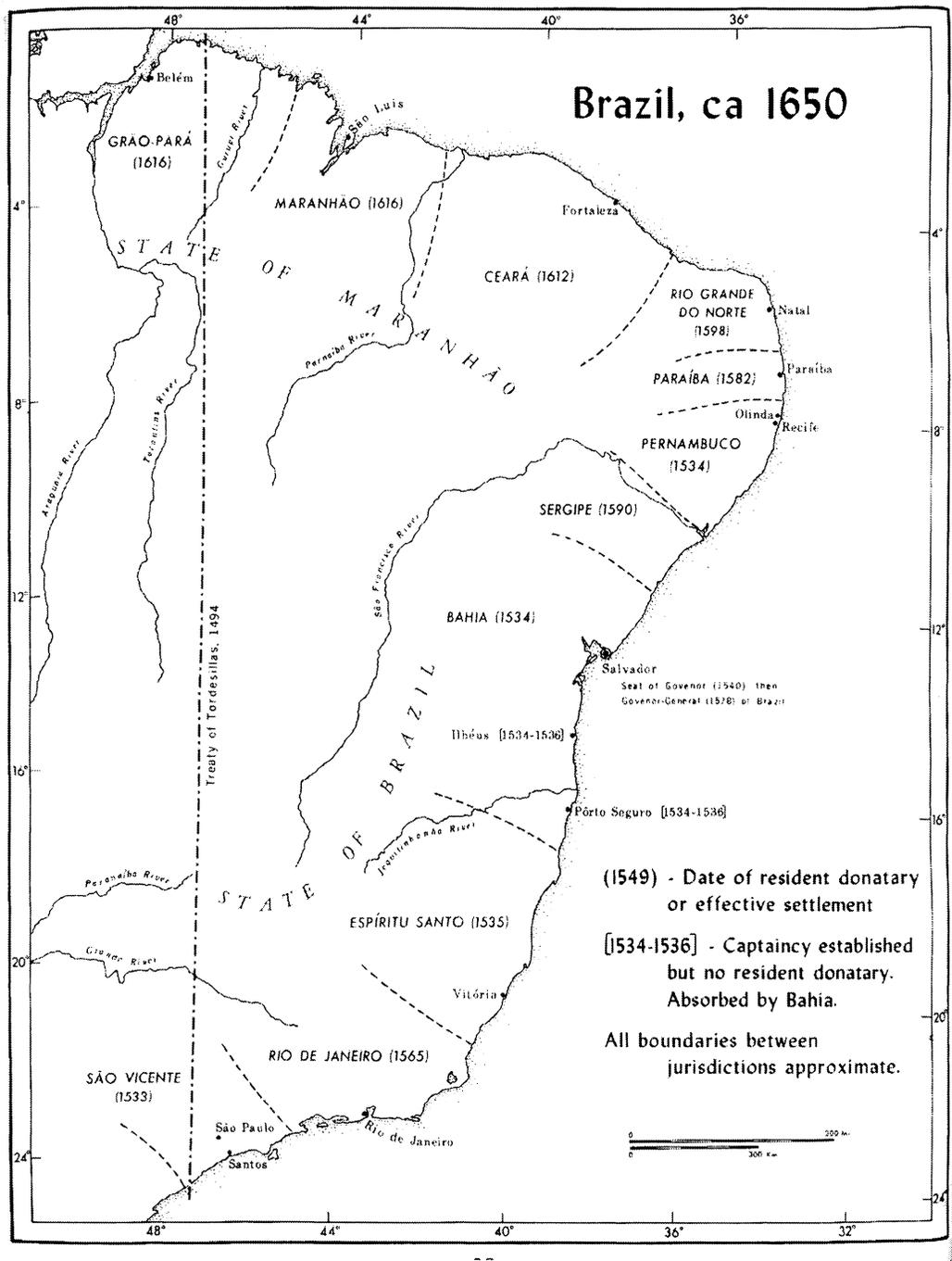


Figure 3. Brazilian colonial division.

(Source: Lombardi, Cathryn L. *Latin American History, A Teaching Atlas*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. Published for The Conference on Latin American History.)

served as the backbone of the landed oligarchy.²⁸

At the time of these initial policies, there was no branch of government created to deal specifically with Brazil. Instead it was piggybacked onto the Casa da India and royal councils tasked with the administration of the overall empire. Even as Brazil moved up within the hierarchy of the empire, it still lacked a separate imperial oversight organ.²⁹

The blanket approach towards colonial administration was also evident in the law codes that Portugal applied to its empire. This application was uniform in all parts of the empire regardless of the wide range of geography and cultures constituting the Portuguese possessions. That the empire was seen as a whole betrays a level of naivety and a lack of administrative sophistication, but it also contributed to a level of uniformity in royal service as officials served from one continent to another.³⁰ Actual colonial administration was instituted in Brazil in 1549, signified in the creation of the Estado do Brasil—encompassing the regions of the south, central, and northeast—and the Estado do Maranhão in the north. Such a distinction was made because sailing winds in the north of Brazil made travel to the southern coastal areas difficult, making it much more efficient for Maranhão to communicate directly with Lisbon.³¹ While towns were being established with local administration, the higher levels of administration saw little articulation. With only one high court, just a few bishoprics, no standing army, no system of education, no industry allowed, and no press allowed, there was little imperial presence to back up the early viceroys, captaincy governors, and local administrators.

²⁸ Donald E. Worcester, *Brazil From Colony to World Power* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973): 42.

²⁹ Russell-Wood, 12.

³⁰ Burns, *History*, 83.

³¹ Barman, *Forging*, 12, 21.

Because of this structure and the limitations of travel and communication, the result was a system in which the Crown established broad policy outlines and the colonial and local officials hammered out those outlines' interpretations and implementations with a consideration of local interests.³²

In terms of Brazilian political participation, the hierarchy of the administration that began with a policy of exclusion and ended with unofficial discrimination caused varying degrees of friction between the Portuguese born citizens and the up and coming Brazilians. Early on, the Brazilian landed elite was only allowed participation in the municipal governments where they served as judges and local administrators. With the shift towards Portuguese recognition of the Brazilians' administrative merits came access to higher levels of power. The Crown even recognized the elevated status of local Brazilian businessmen and merchants by making them eligible for election as aldermen. This was significant in that it co-opted the new economic elite into the traditional ruling landed elite. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, increasing numbers of Brazilians filled royal and ecclesiastical posts throughout the empire. There was a Brazilian bishop, abbot, and multiple cathedral canons. As for administrative posts, Brazilians served as governors of Brazilian provinces as well as the African dominions. There were also members of the Overseas Council, justices of the high courts of Lisbon and district courts of Bahia, Pôrto, and Gôa. Finally, Brazilians also served as secretaries of the State of Brazil, Chancellors of the Royal Exchequer, and the supervisor of the

³² Russell-Wood, 12; Burns, *History*, 95; Barman, *Forging*, 21-23.

Exchequer of India.³³ The people of Brazil had both the means and opportunity to distinguish themselves in the service of the Crown.

The discovery in the 1690's of gold in what would become the region of Minas Gerais and later diamonds gave the Brazilian society and demographics a jolt due to the immense wealth and immigration that discovery generated. The imperial administration's historic lack of attention to Brazil's infrastructure, though, made the Crown's response to the events "sluggish." Nevertheless, the economic ambitions of João V (1706-50) translated into attempts to establish and strengthen Crown authority in Brazil in general and the mining regions in particular. Government oversight branched out to try to encompass all facets of gold extraction: from mining to minting to transportation. While transportation and communication still severely restricted the enforcement of regulations, the government also created a new bureaucracy to deal with the new challenges. New mining states were created as well as increased local and regional administrative structures such as new towns (118) and cities (3) in an attempt to curb the rampant smuggling.³⁴ More civil servants, military officers, and soldiers heightened the visible presence of the Crown but logistically could not stop the illicit hemorrhaging of gold. In recognition of the new importance of the southeastern mining regions and coastal outlets, the Crown moved the capital from Salvador—in the sugar producing northeast region—to Rio de Janeiro in 1763. The overall result of the gold rush was an increase in the complexity of both Brazilian commerce and political administration. Portugal's growing

³³ Burns, *History*, 92-95; Manoel Cardozo, "Azeredo Coutinho and the Intellectual Ferment of His Times," in *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society*, eds. Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1969), 72.

³⁴ In all of the seventeenth-century only thirty-seven towns and four cities were created.

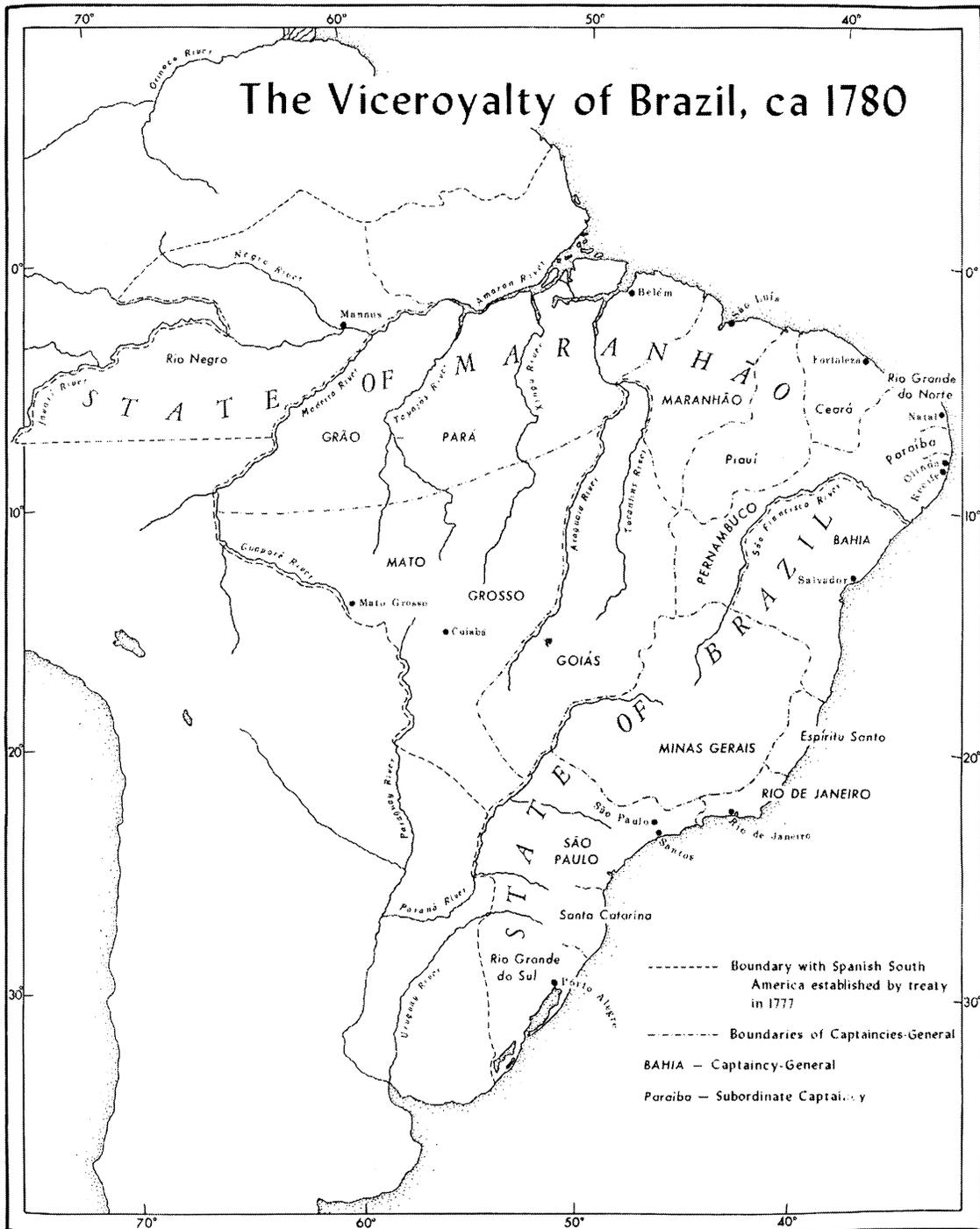


Figure 4. Political organization and boundaries of Brazil around 1780.

(Source: Lombardi, Cathryn L. *Latin American History, A Teaching Atlas*.

Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. Published for
The Conference on Latin American History.)

dependence on Brazilian gold to offset its imbalance in foreign trade changed the colonial relationship and fostered larger expectations on the part of the Crown regarding the Brazilian contribution to the imperial economy. It even expected donations on top of the mining taxes already imposed to keep the royal coffers stocked.³⁵

Another important phase of imperial policy centers on the dominant figure of the Marquês de Pombal, a prime minister who served as the de facto ruler of the empire during the reign of José I (1750-1777). Described as a “paradox of the Enlightenment,” Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo embodied the intellectual legacy of the period while simultaneously governing as an absolute ruler.³⁶ He attempted to transform and modernize colonial administration through centralization and standardization. Pombal abolished the two-state system, united the administration under one state of Brazil, and encouraged trade between the two previously separate regions. He also created new specialized bureaucracies such as the Boards of Trade and Inspection to oversee economic production and sales. His desire to nationalize the empire’s profits translated into monopolistic charter companies and taxation strategies that would theoretically allow the colonial administrations to pay for themselves.³⁷ The inefficiency of the captaincy system made it a target of royal control and displayed Pombal’s willingness to confront traditional sources of elite power such as the nobility and church. Viewing the Jesuits as a threat to imperial authority, the minister expelled them completely from Brazil,

³⁵ Russell-Wood, 14-16, 19; E. Bradford Burns, “The Intellectuals as Agents of Change and the Independence of Brazil, 1724-1822,” in *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975): 212.

³⁶ Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 2-4.

³⁷ Burns, *History*, 90; Russell-Wood, 17-20; Kenneth Maxwell, *Naked Tropics: Essays on Empire and Other Rogues* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 74.

reasserting Crown control but also creating a vacuum of educational options for Brazilians. In an attempt to strengthen the colonial population in terms of numbers, Pombal also encouraged the incorporation of the Indians into Brazilian society by providing incentives for intermarriage and, on a much more coercive note, forcing their cultural assimilation into the dominant European model. As for the Brazilian oligarchy, Pombal sought to “incorporate and co-opt” them into the system and preferred conciliation to military force. This is certainly ironic in light of his aggression against the Jesuits and Portuguese nobility. His confrontations seemed to hinge on how he assessed the relative strength of his opponent and the method from which he could gain the most benefit for the throne. While Pombaline policies still centered on Brazil serving Portuguese interests, the leader saw a more sophisticated and efficient Brazil as the best way for Portugal to reap maximum rewards. His reforms alienated some Brazilian interests through his tightening of imperial control, but his central vision also jumpstarted the at times lackadaisical colonial administration.

Portuguese imperial policy throughout Brazil’s colonial period set into motion social, political, and economic mechanisms of control that benefited the mother country but also strained an increasingly unequal colonial relationship. With a brief background in the approach Portugal took in administering her American colony, it is possible to place that colonial pact in its larger context of the Portuguese worldwide empire.

Brazilian Ascendancy

Portuguese imperial history is one of distinct phases involving shifts in power and geographic orientations. The Asian phase of the empire involved maritime and commercial enterprises in Africa and Asia beginning in 1415 with Portugal’s first

outward expansion into Africa and culminating in the voyages of exploration and the creation of the *Estado da India*. It was during this phase that Brazil was discovered and incorporated into the empire, but the profits derived in Europe from the Portuguese monopoly on gold, ivory, silk, and spices relegated the new colony's function as a lonely sentinel and trading post in the west.³⁸ The commercial centers of Macau in Southeast Asia, Monomotopa in Africa, and Goa in India formed the cornerstones of the imperial economy and overall well-being and accordingly were the focus of Crown policy. Imperialist competition and the internal development of Brazil, however, forced a reorientation within the Portuguese Empire. While Portugal early on—during the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries—had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of European trade with the East, the lucrative nature of that trade had naturally attracted the rising British and Dutch imperial powers. The Portuguese imperial approach in Africa and Asia was inherently vulnerable as well. The *feitoria* system reflected the economic nature of the Portuguese Empire, using the occupation of strategically placed forts along the trade route. There was no large-scale colonization. Therefore in the face of new competition, the Portuguese ability to defend their forts became increasingly tenuous. The vulnerability of the *feitoria* system in the *Estado da India* allowed the British and Dutch trading companies during the seventeenth-century to systematically pick off the Portuguese trading posts and small communities, thus taking over the trading privileges and squeezing Portugal out of the eastern trade by the end of the Seventeenth Century. Simultaneously, sugar cultivation in Brazil itself generated increasing profit levels. As the Eastern empire faded away, the Crown began to rely more and more on its American

³⁸ M.D.D. Newitt, *The First Portuguese Colonial Empire* (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1986): 17-23, 25-26.

colony for maintaining the empire's balance of trade, and the discovery of gold in Brazil in the 1690's only cemented its place of primacy in the empire.³⁹

Brazil's new place of prominence in the imperial system fit naturally with the growing sense of its staggering resources and size. From the time of its discovery, Brazil had awed those Portuguese immigrants and travelers who encountered it. Early visitors found the land of the coastal plain to be magnificent, often likening it to Paradise. The Jesuit missionary Manuel da Nóbrega voiced his appreciation in the sixteenth-century for Brazil's even climate and temperature, green foliage, and natural abundance in fruits, fish, and animals.⁴⁰ These sentiments became codified within the empire by writers such as Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão who was the first to attempt to define Brazil's characteristics and status. One of his titles alone—"Dialogues of the Greatness of Brazil"—signifies the popular perception in the seventeenth-century that Brazil had merit in its own right. In a similar vein, Friar Vicente do Salvador wrote the first native Brazilian text extolling the colony's virtues. His history of the colony, made public in 1627, asserted that Brazil distinguished itself by its gigantic size, lucrative agriculture, and enormous potential.⁴¹ The colony's fertility was, after all, the initial building block of Brazilian economic power. Sugar was the dominant agricultural product, but Brazilian soil also was conducive to alternate production such as timber, cotton and coffee (See Figure 5). The municipal council of Alcântara described the fertility of the soil as "a gift

³⁹ Timothy J. Coates, "Viewpoints on the Timing of Brazil's Primacy in the Early Modern Portuguese World," *Portuguese Studies Review* (8.2, 2000): 56-58, 60; Armando da Silva Saturnino Monteiro, "The Decline and Fall of Portuguese Seapower, 1583-1663," *The Journal of Military History* 65 (January 2001): 9-10, 17-19.

⁴⁰ Burns, *History*, 10, 12.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

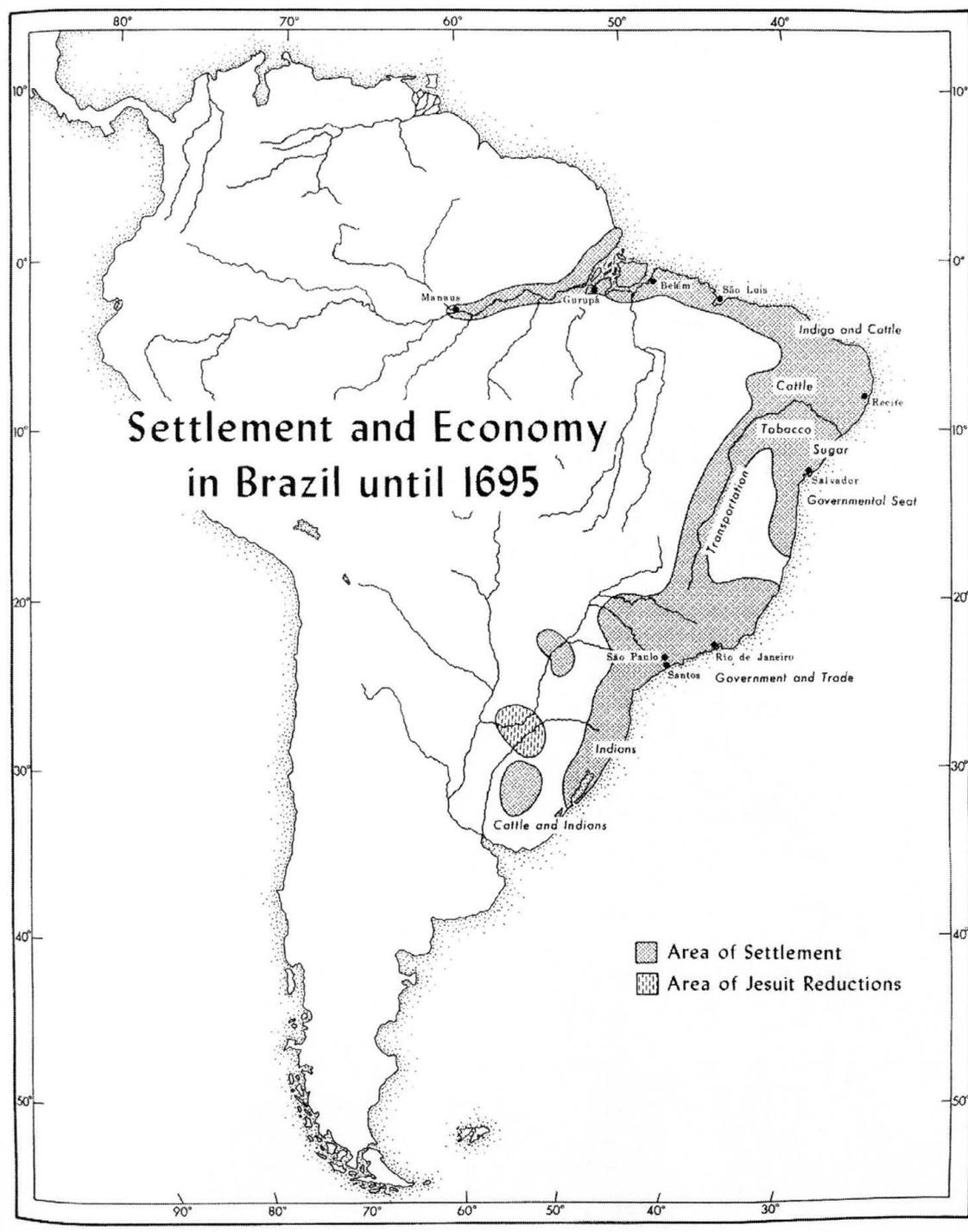


Figure 5. Brazilian population location and economic endeavors.

(Source: Lombardi, Cathryn L. *Latin American History, A Teaching Atlas*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. Published for The Conference on Latin American History.)

to the farmer, and offering him a thousand different products.”⁴² Comparisons naturally followed such basic descriptions, especially since Brazil was a part of a larger whole in the empire. The following excerpt from Sebastião da Rocha’s 1730 history of Brazil demonstrates the writer’s sense of Brazil’s superlative nature:

On its soil grow all fruits; in its subsoil exist all treasures. Its mountains and coasts abound with pleasant air. Its fields give the most useful food; its mines, the finest gold; its tree trunks, the smoothest balsam; its seas, the most select amber. It is an admirable country, rich in every respect, where prodigiously profuse nature sacrifices herself in fertile produce for the opulence of the monarchy and the benefit of the world. . . .

In no other region is the sky more serene or the dawn which greets the day more beautiful; the sun in no other hemisphere has such golden rays nor the nocturnal reflections more brilliance; the stars here are more benign and always bright; the waters, whether in the fountains of the countryside or in the aqueducts of the city are the purest anywhere; in short, Brazil where the mighty rivers surge and flow, is an earthly paradise.⁴³

Although his hyperbole and melodrama are obvious, Rocha’s words communicate the powerful idea of Brazilian preeminence in the empire and the world. Over a century later, the Princess Regent Isabel would echo that nativist sentiment. Having grown increasingly bored with Europe and its royalty during a continental tour, Isabel commented in a letter from Vienna that “as for nature, so far I haven’t seen anything like Brazil.”⁴⁴ Such an awareness of Brazil’s distinctiveness extended far back into its history and laid the foundation for an identity that was distinctly Brazilian.

Such was the perception of Brazil throughout its colonial history. It’s natural resources, combined with the Portuguese losses in the eastern part of the empire, served to vault it into the premier spot in the empire, second only to Portugal itself and even then

⁴² *Câmaras*, Vol. I, 26, #6.

⁴³ Burns, *Nationalism*, 21.

⁴⁴ Lourenço Luiz Lacombe, *Isabel, A Princesa Redentora* (Petrópolis: Instituto Histórico de Petrópolis, 1989), in Lydia M. Garner, “Princess Isabel of Brazil: Gender Discrimination and Political Power,” Southwest Historical Association Annual Conference (Houston, TX, 1996):14.

there was a distinction to be drawn between Portugal as the administrative head and Brazil as the body of the empire. Imperial recognition of the shift in primacy is reflected as early as 1640. King João IV openly admitted the function of Brazil as the “milch cow” of Portugal.⁴⁵ Over the next century and a half, the dynamic combination of agriculture, gold, and diamonds lured a steady stream of immigrants to Brazil and jumpstarted the imperial economy. By the close of the eighteenth-century, Brazil boasted a population that transcended that of the mother country and provided three-quarters of the empire’s total exports.⁴⁶ With its territory essentially consolidated, Brazil was the wealthiest and most secure imperial possession. The vastness alluded to by earlier chroniclers ultimately amounted to almost three million square miles, reaching from the Atlantic Ocean to the edges of the Andes and from north of the equator down to the La Plata region. Its roughly 4,500 miles of coastline facilitated transatlantic trade. With inhabitants numbering close to two million people (free and unfree combined) and cities such as Salvador and Rio de Janeiro second only in numbers to Lisbon itself, there was no disputing Brazil’s ascendancy.⁴⁷ The “milch cow” of 1640 was then the juggernaut of the empire. Royal official D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho defined the Brazil of the first years of the nineteenth-century as “without doubt the leading possession of all those founded by Europeans outside their continent, due not to what it currently is but to what it can be if we derive all the advantages that Nature offers from its extent, situation, and fertility.”⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Barman, *Forging*, 18.

⁴⁶ Burns, *History*, 107.

⁴⁷ Barman, *Forging*, 12; Burns, *History*, 10; Burns, “Intellectuals,” 212.

⁴⁸ Barman, *Forging*, 11-12, 19

Even though Sousa Coutinho recognized the preeminent spot of Brazil in the imperial economy, he still considered its position as subordinate to the mother country.

While Brazil had achieved status, it was still limited by the confines of imperial hierarchy and notions of mercantilism. That relationship between mother country and colony would be the single most important issue facing the Portuguese empire going into the nineteenth-century. A. J. R. Russell-Wood places the concept of the colonial pact into human terms, positing that the colonial bonds were “both as strong and as fragile as any relationship between two persons, one of whom sees himself or herself as determining the destiny of the other.”⁴⁹ In some ways it could be argued that each side—both Brazil and Portugal—saw itself as determining the destiny of the other. For Portugal, Brazil was a colony and thus existed to serve the needs of the mother country. Portuguese administration set the economic and political parameters for the Brazilian people to operate under in the furtherance of Portuguese interests. Despite its subordinate position, Brazil nevertheless determined Portuguese economic and imperial strength on the basis of its contribution to the imperial system. While Portugal was politically superior yet economically dependent on Brazil, Brazil was economically superior yet politically dependent on Portugal. The colonial pact would be tested by that increasing disparity between the dynamism and potential of Brazil and that of Portugal. The Brazilian awareness of the converse relationship between the strength of their economy and that of Portugal itself began to strip away at the validity of the pre-existing pact between the two. “Colonists who had looked on themselves as ‘the Portuguese of Brazil,’” believing that only their geographical location distinguished the inhabitants of one part of the Portuguese Empire from the other, began to see that their interests were incompatible

⁴⁹ Russell-Wood, “Preconditions,” 4.

with those of the mother country.⁵⁰ Recognizing the danger of this dichotomy of interests, Sousa Coutinho advocated an imperial policy that would take into account—and not attempt to subvert—the dominant economic role of Brazil and its social majority. In essence, it registered with that Crown official that Portugal had to show respect for the Brazilian contribution or risk alienating its people.⁵¹ As the “basis for the greatness of our August Throne,” Portuguese America was the source of imperial power for Portugal, and Sousa Coutinho warned that without it, Portugal would be reduced to “only a province of Spain” instead of a player on the world stage.⁵² While he advocated a loosening of the reassertions of imperial power that had characterized the gold-laden eighteenth-century and that the Brazilians had chafed against, no such reform came about.

In its absence, a coalescing of the Brazilian identity was taking place. While many historians question the emergence of nationalism per se, most do agree that there existed a palpable sense on the part of the Brazilians of an American distinctiveness, a distinctiveness that transcended class and race. For many, such a sentiment connotes nativism, a concept considered to be a precursor to nationalism. E. Bradford Burns defines nativism as the “expression of the colonists’ love of and pride in their land,” but he also draws the key distinction that “their exaltation of Brazil did not necessarily imply antagonism toward Portugal.”⁵³ They did not challenge the authority of the king nor did they agitate for outright independence of the colony, but their sense of distinctiveness did

⁵⁰ Emília Viotti da Costa, “The Political Emancipation of Brazil,” in *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975): 49.

⁵¹ Barman, *Forging*, 11.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵³ Burns, *Nationalism*, 3, 7, 9, 13.

naturally stem from a comparative view. This view gravitated towards the center of the empire and Portugal. Previous accounts of accolades for the physical characteristics of Brazil were certainly heightened for those visitors accustomed to Portugal's limitations in size and resources. In a letter written by a sixteenth-century Jesuit in an attempt to combat the metropolitan disdain for the rough-hewn colony, the contrasts between the Brazilian bounty and the Portuguese comparative poverty are clear:

...I tell you truly that if there is paradise here on earth, I would say that it is in Brazil. And if I feel this way, I do not know anyone here who does not...There is no healthier place in the world; fresh air, pleasant countryside, another like it cannot be found; the foods I think are better than those in Portugal, or at least that is my opinion, and truly I never even have a desire for any of the food there. If there are chickens in Portugal, here there are more and they are cheaper; if there is livestock in Portugal, here there are so many animals which they hunt in the forest and they have such delicious meat that I laugh to think of those in Portugal. If there is wine in Portugal, here there is delicious water everywhere which I find superior to the wines there....Anyone who elects to live in a terrestrial paradise must come to live in Brazil.⁵⁴

Such an identity of separateness and distinction within the imperial system was both fostered and reinforced by the Brazilians' increasing awareness of their colony's singular value in the empire.

Not only did Brazil loom over the economy of the empire by the turn of the nineteenth-century, it also had historical precedent for claiming military predominance as well. Upon driving the last of the Dutch from their incroachment in northeast Brazil in 1654, Brazilian expeditions also liberated Angola from Dutch control. Because Portugal itself was understandably preoccupied with achieving and then maintaining its independence from Spain following the Crown Union under Phillip II, the Brazilian fight against the Dutch conquests in Brazil and Africa was done on an individual colonial endeavor and not on an imperial basis. Brazil's defense of its own borders and the

⁵⁴ *Cartas Jesuíticas II, Cartas Avulsas*, p263-265, in Burns, *Nationalism*, 13.

African colony from the Dutch and then later the French in Rio de Janeiro held tremendous significance in showing the Brazilians' ability to take care of not only themselves but also trading partners within the empire (See Figure 6).⁵⁵ Those involved were men of action capable of achieving results on an international scale, and the prolonged effort undertaken almost solely by Brazilians to drive out foreign threats caused the coalescing of interests based on the identification of a common enemy. The struggle functioned to bring together the coastal captaincies as well as the different races of Brazil, and their success bred a new pride as well as a new element to being Brazilian.⁵⁶ Brazilians themselves refer to the expulsion of the Dutch as their own *Reconquista*, similar to that undertaken in the homeland against the Muslims. In the same ways that that experience galvanized Portuguese society, 1654 was a turning point for Brazilian history as well. The Brazilian historian Elysio de Carvalho states that "from the epic of the Reconquest onward, the evolution of national sentiment can be defined as a firm, continuous, and growing affirmation of our consciousness of being a people." The expulsion of the Dutch as the initiation of Brazilian power and unity is also immortalized in the 1781 epic poem *Caramuru* by Santa Rita Durão. His purposeful choice of ending with that specific Brazilian triumph signifies its importance in the Brazilian psyche.⁵⁷

Another cornerstone of the emerging distinctive Brazilian identity is the fact of Brazil's impressive territorial expansion. With the coast finally secured against the Dutch, Brazilian explorers and adventurers turned their attention to the interior of the colony. The incursions of the so-called *bandeirantes* during the seventeenth and

⁵⁵ Burns, *History*, 53.

⁵⁶ Burns, *Nationalism*, 15.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 16, 22-23.

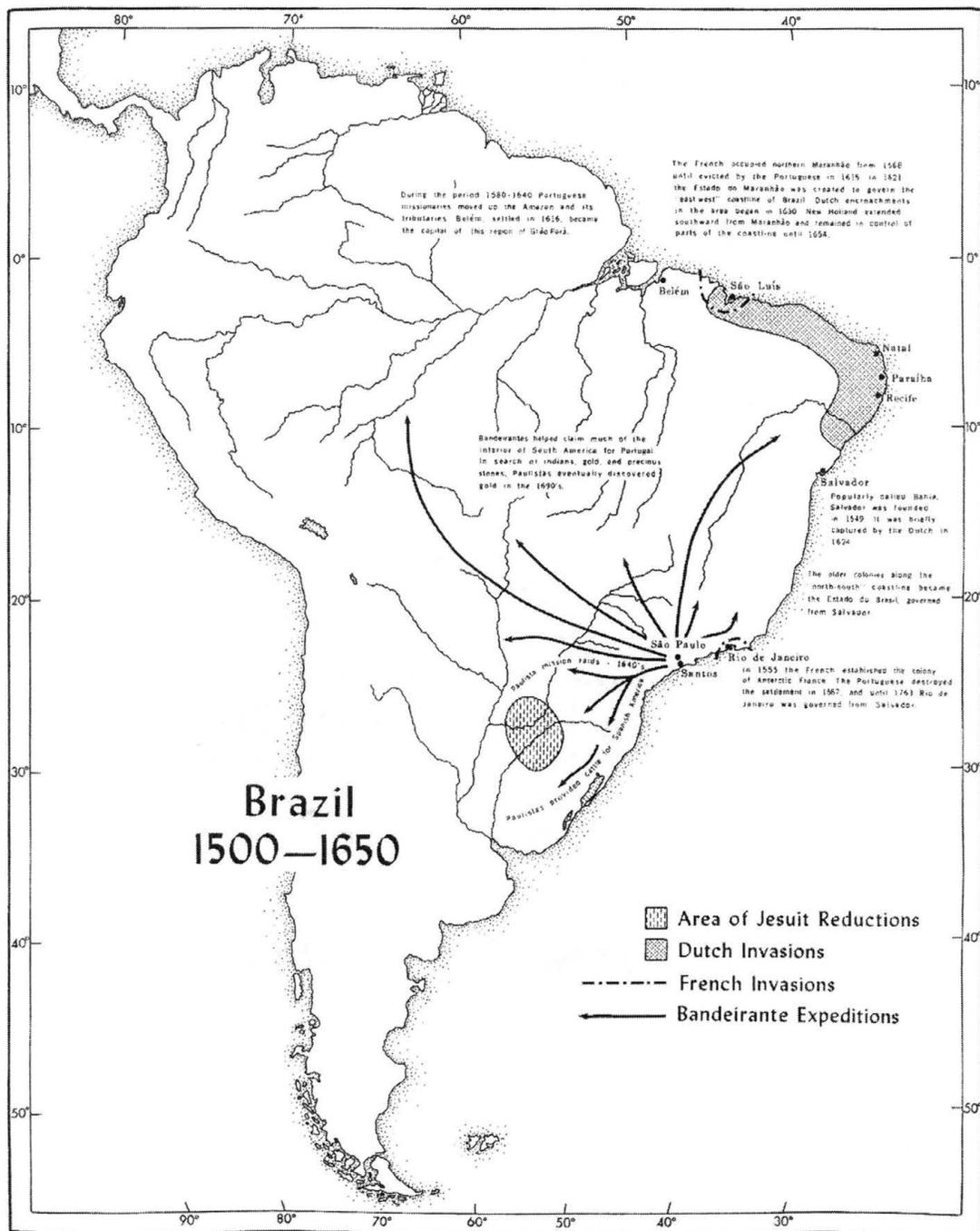


Figure 6. Locations of foreign incursions into Brazil and bandeirante expeditions. (Source: Lombardi, Cathryn L. *Latin American History, A Teaching Atlas*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. Published for The Conference on Latin American History.)

eighteenth centuries became part of the national myth, carving wealth and opportunity out of the frontier (See Figure 6 as well). More importantly, the development of the interior and its resultant demographic growth represented a physical break from the coast and its European orientation. Cut off from that influence, the people of the interior essentially became Americanized with more of a frontier spirit and strong Indian influence.⁵⁸ This decidedly Brazilian Manifest Destiny played the same role for Brazilian society in capturing the imagination of the colonists and opening up new opportunities. The Treaty of Madrid in 1750 signed by Portugal and Spain served to validate Brazilian growth and internal dynamism by officially recognizing the Portuguese's inward territorial growth past the prior demarcation line. It also legitimated the *bandeirante* myth and pride of expansion. The *tropeiros*, or mule drivers, of the colonial transportation network also played a significant role in identity formation. Considered "distinctively Brazilian" by historians, the *tropeiro* transported not only goods but also culture through the exchange of ideas and news. He was a link between the islands of settlement and was "a significant agent of national identity."⁵⁹

While the figures above represented the spirit of adventure and the common people, the Brazilian elite and intellectuals also contributed to the growing sense of Brazilian identity. A sense of distinction overtook the common inferiority complex associated with the colonial upbringing. A 1690's letter from a son studying at Coimbra to his father back in Brazil shows a shared sense of identity on the part of Brazilian

⁵⁸ Burns, *History*, 55, 59.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

students.⁶⁰ The son states that “if in matters of intellect the sons of Brazil do not exceed those of Portugal, at least they are their equals.”⁶¹ In the next century, Enlightenment ideas did filter into the Brazilian intellectual scene, especially in the forms of academies. The influx of these organizations translated into a greater emphasis on the examination of knowledge to promote more scientific utilization of, and adaptation to, their surroundings. The academies’ speeches and poems show further affirmations of colonial worth, and like the 1690’s letter include proclamations of equality or even superiority in the present qualities and future promise of Brazil. The intellectuals’ growing exposure to ideas corresponded with a sense of a broader vision. The increasingly savvy Brazilian elite had grown “more sophisticated in their political outlook” and “saw themselves as an integral part of a larger world.” Along with the intellectual scrutiny of Brazil’s place in the empire came recognition of the artificial limitations placed on Brazil’s society and economy by colonial restrictions. Becoming obvious in the eighteenth-century was an inherent contradiction in the fact that resources were expended in Brazil yet benefits were reaped primarily in Lisbon.⁶² At its core, the relationship between mother country and colony was a paradox. The tightening of royal control of the colonies and the greater nationalization of the imperial economy as a whole precipitated by Pombal was meant to reign in the upstart colony, but instead it generated “a very real consciousness of and pride in being Brazilian born and an American.” In addition Brazilians became “more

⁶⁰ Coimbra, located in Lisbon, was the only university opportunity available within the Portuguese Empire since colonial universities were prohibited.

⁶¹ Russell-Wood, “Preconditions,” 20, 31.

⁶² Burns, *History*, 101, 104, Barman, *Forging*, 38.

aware of the changes taking place in eighteenth-century Europe and more cosmopolitan in their social mores and ideological development.”⁶³

Such strong statements regarding the development of a separate Brazilian identity must also be accompanied by an explanation as to why those elite never collectively proposed rebelling against the imperial government. The answer is that there were inherent and institutional factors that limited Brazilian disaffection. In the first place, the Coimbra experience cultivated a shared outlook and culture regardless of the origins of the students. More importantly, their education assimilated them into the Portuguese ruling structure. Their role to play was not as agitators of revolution but as negotiators of the colonial pact towards a more mutually beneficial relationship between colony and mother country. The co-opted nature of their service in the colonial administration at various levels meant that “loyalty to the Crown was for them a matter of both habit and calculated self-interest.” In their estimation, subordination to Portugal was preferable to the disruption and disorder of independence.⁶⁴ Because of this belief, their reactions to Crown reassertions of authority at the expense of Brazilian domestic autonomy and economic profits were tempered and usually restricted to the range from dissatisfaction to passive resistance and dissent. Despite the rallying symbols of the Dutch expulsion and *bandeirantes*, there were still significant factors present in Brazil that undercut colony-wide cohesion. Even with interior expansion, regionalism still dominated the workings of the colonial system, and the lack of a connective infrastructure perpetuated demographic islands of population. The fact that the Brazilian elite had internalized and accepted the workings of the system of government also precluded any serious uprising. Unlike the

⁶³ Russell-Wood, “Preconditions,” 31.

⁶⁴ Barman, *Forging*, 33, 37.

experience of the British Crown and its American colonial subjects, there had been no cataclysmic showdown over political and economic rights. The complexity of the colonial pact emerged again, showing that while “antipathy towards metropolitan authority, and more particularly towards crown appointees, was strong,” never was that antipathy “directed against the Sovereign personally or against the institution of monarchy.”⁶⁵ In the Age of Revolution, there were only a handful of localized uprisings, all of which were extinguished by the authorities and resulted in no widespread movements.

The formation and growth of a Brazilian identity, therefore, was the result of Brazil’s three centuries long colonial development. The nature and scope of its territories predisposed its inhabitants to see Brazil as exceptional. The forging of its settlements and mineral wealth away from the coast introduced a decidedly American element into the colonial identity. The culture of Brazil, albeit an increasing blend of the European, African, and Indian races, facilitated a Brazilian sense of separateness from those foreign threats around them. The Portuguese language and historic Iberian rivalry distinguished them from the Spanish they bordered, and their Roman Catholicism set them apart from the Protestant Dutch and French interlopers. Finally, the ascendance of Brazil to a status of primacy within the Portuguese Empire lent a sense of pride and worth based on the colony’s wealth and dynamism.⁶⁶ The level of cohesion that stemmed from these unifying forces, while it was still diluted by regionalism and localism, would provide a much stronger foundation for Brazilian political unity in the Era of Independence than Spanish America and its struggles with both cultural and political identity.

⁶⁵ Russell-Wood, “Preconditions,” 21-22, 26.

⁶⁶ Burns, *Nationalism*, 5.

The Decision to Transfer the Monarchy

It is within this American and imperial context that the Portuguese monarchy physically relocated the seat of imperial power from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. The decision to transfer the royal court and imperial administration was not without intellectual precedent in Portugal. The feasibility of such a momentous proposal hinged on the concept of *ubi rex, ibi patria*—where the king is, there is the homeland. The idea of a movable monarch only found significant expression in Portuguese proposals to move the seat of power and was a function of both the lowered status of Portugal on the world stage and in its relation to Brazilian resources.⁶⁷

João VI came to power in a Portuguese imperial government that already recognized Brazil's transcendence of its mother country in terms of resources and vitality. Prior to the 1807 decision to flee Napoleonic Europe, there had already been five different Portuguese proposals to move the royal seat of government from Lisbon to Brazil (initially Salvador and later Rio de Janeiro). The first two instances were the result of intrigue associated with the Crown Union of Spain and Portugal. At the Union's onset in the 1580's, the Portuguese challenger to Phillip II contemplated using Brazil as a staging ground for a new empire but ultimately sought refuge in France instead. In the 1640's following Portuguese success at extricating itself from Spanish rule, royal counselors advised the new Bragança dynasty to move to Brazil to distance itself from the direct threat of Spain on the Iberian Peninsula. João IV declined, but the idea of using Brazil as an escape from continental conquest was an important precedent. A century later, another Portuguese imperial official, Luiz da Cunha who was the ambassador to Paris, validated the emerging nativist rhetoric previously discussed. In his proposal to

⁶⁷ Barman, *Forging*, 34.

move the seat of government he stressed the enormous disparity between Brazilian and Portuguese size and resources. While Brazil was a “continent,” Portugal was a mere “ear of land.” Da Cunha’s primary concern was not Spain this time but Great Britain, whom he feared would eventually dominate Portugal to the point it became a de facto British colony. The answer for Portuguese security, therefore, was obvious: “it is safer and more convenient to be where everything is abundant, than where one has to wait for what one lacks.” He proposed João V move his throne to Brazil and rule as “Emperor of the West.”⁶⁸ The final two proposals prior to Napoleon’s open engagement of hostilities in 1807 came first in 1801 and then just two years later. In a letter to João VI, Pedro, Marquês de Alorna, encouraged the Prince Regent to act decisively and take advantage of the opportunity afforded by Brazil. D. Pedro refers to the possibility of “a grand Empire in Brazil” and proposes João VI become “the emperor of that vast territory.”⁶⁹ Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho rounds out the collection of activists advocating roughly the same proposal with the same justifications. Chief of the Royal Treasury to João VI in 1803, Sousa Coutinho asserts in a political memorandum to the Prince Regent “Portugal is not the best and most essential part of the monarchy,” and if Portugal was threatened, there was nothing to prevent “its Sovereign and its peoples from leaving to create a powerful Empire in Brazil.”⁷⁰ Sousa Coutinho was unique in his inclusion of the Portuguese people in general in the plan to relocate to Brazil, and it implies a social compatibility, not just a political-economic one. Collectively, these proposals show a Portuguese awareness of the

⁶⁸ Schultz, 15-16.

⁶⁹ “Carta dirigida ao Principe Regente, 30 de maio de 1801, por Pedro, Marques de Alorna, in Arquivo Publico do Rio de Janeiro” in *Documentos histórico brasileiros*, ed. Lydinea Gasman (Rio de Janeiro: FENAME, 1976): 91.

⁷⁰ Barman, *Forging*, 38.

mother country's position of weakness within the international imperial system and even within the Portuguese imperial system itself. The magnitude of such a move, though, for example what it would mean for Portugal and its traditional society, had prevented the implementation of these plans. There would have to be a dramatically compelling reason for any such action to take place. Napoleon would be that compelling reason.

João VI was not a decisive ruler, nor was he inherently a man of action. He had personally been the recipient of two prior proposals to transfer the seat of the Portuguese Empire to Brazil but had declined to act on them. Events in Europe, however, would force his hand and remove any alternative plans from consideration. During the Napoleonic period, Portugal had been increasingly caught in the middle of a European tug of war for hegemony. Historically and intimately linked with Britain in terms of economy, geographically its location on the continent put it directly in the sights of Napoleon. After hostilities between France and Britain erupted, Portugal initially sided with the British but then sought to avoid raising the ire of Napoleon and withdrew to a position of neutrality in 1795. Portugal actually profited immensely from the wartime economy and served as the provider of raw materials and almost exclusive sugar producer. During the period of neutrality Portuguese exports quadrupled.⁷¹ This economic vitality was part of a trend that had started with the policies of Pombal, policies which helped to shift the Portuguese economic relationship with Britain to a more equitable standing. Prior to that time, the British had completely dominated the Portuguese economy, but decades after the implementation of Pombaline policies Great Britain had an unfavorable balance of trade with Portugal to the point that the British were actually sending gold *to* Lisbon instead of the other way around. In an examination

⁷¹ Ibid., 9.

of the British role in the transfer of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil, Kenneth Maxwell asserts that it was Great Britain's desire for more open trade with Brazil itself that prompted an 1801 instruction for the British minister in Lisbon to recommend the transfer to Brazil. The minister was to pledge that the British "were ready for their part to guarantee the security of the expedition" and that they would provide assistance in finding "the most efficacious ways to extend and consolidate [their] dominions in South America."⁷²

It was precisely this intimate relationship perceived between Portugal and Britain that made the prolonged continuation of official neutrality untenable in the escalating conflict between the British and French. Napoleon's implementation of the continental system in 1806 finally forced Portugal off the fence. The system forbade any British goods from entering the continental economy; therefore Napoleon demanded that Portugal declare itself unequivocally against the British in order to maintain French-Portuguese peace. The specific requirements involved the sealing of Portuguese ports, the confiscation of British property, and the arrest of British subjects. João's options were limited. War was inevitable. The only question was whether it would be with France or with Britain. Either way, Portugal would be unable to administer its overseas colonies, and in that political vacuum colonial independence was a likely probability. The Portuguese toyed with the idea of giving the colonies economic independence to fend for themselves, but ultimately the royal advisors agreed that such a move would also lead to independence. Faced with such prospects, João—deft at the tactics of delay through much practice of inaction—tried to attenuate the severity of the demands by closing the ports but negotiating to avoid the other requirements. The Prince Regent's tactic did not

⁷² Maxwell, *Tropics*, 82.

appease Napoleon, and in 1807 he sent the French army, with the aid of Spain, to invade Portugal. Out of options and with a discreet amount of time before the French troops arrived, João VI was finally persuaded by the British minister Lord Strangford to move the court.⁷³ The British interest in João's decision was not altruism. If the Braganças did not agree to the relocation, the British admiral in Lisbon had orders to seize or destroy all the ships in the harbor to prevent the French from acquiring any vessels of the Portuguese fleet.⁷⁴ Unlike the tenor of the prior Portuguese proposals for this act, desperation—not the conscious choice to reorient the seat of power of the empire—marked the scramble of the royal family and court. The day before General Junot arrived in Lisbon the Portuguese monarchy set sail for Brazil.

From that moment on the relationship between the Crown and Brazil was irrevocably changed. The colonial pact was both augmented and enormously disrupted at the same time because of the Sovereign's physical presence in the colony. Dynamic material and psychological changes were in store for the society, political structure, and economy of Brazil due to that presence. The Brazilian sense of distinction was certainly validated by its being chosen as the place of refuge for its ruler. Instead of being a source of friction between the mother country and her colony, the Brazilian ascendancy would be at D. João's direct disposal. The Brazilian people would be galvanized in their devotion to the Bragança Dynasty, and "the inevitable clash between metropolis and colony on the issue of the colony's rising importance was postponed" during D. João's

⁷³ Barman, *Forging*, 9, 43; Burns, *History*, 111; Alan K. Manchester, "The Transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro," in *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society*, eds Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1969): 150.

⁷⁴ Maxwell, *Tropics*, 149.

stay in Rio de Janeiro.⁷⁵ During that time, the Brazilian identity was instead welded to the Portuguese monarchy and Brazil itself propelled even further towards a preeminent role in the imperial system.

⁷⁵ Burns, *History*, 108

CHAPTER 2

TRANS-ATLANTIC TRANSFORMATION: THE KING IN BRAZIL, 1808-1820

In choosing an American reign over possible European deposition, the King of Portugal came into direct contact with his royal subjects in Brazil, irrevocably changing the dynamics of the Portuguese imperial system. The transfer of the imperial government, Royal Family, and Royal Court to Rio de Janeiro affected the imperial-colonial relationship on multiple levels. From a physical and concrete standpoint, the presence of members of the highest echelon of imperial society naturally necessitated logistical and material changes to Brazil's political, economic, and social landscapes. The city of Rio de Janeiro had to be transformed from the capital of a colony to the metropolis of a worldwide empire. That process entailed both deliberate, formal changes as well as the unintentional and often spontaneous consequences that resulted from the introduction of royal society into what had been merely a colony. The presence of the imperial sovereign and administration profoundly changed the scope of the Brazilian political arena. The end of previous mercantilist restrictions on Brazil's economy thrust open the door for commerce and opportunity. Lastly, the Brazilian society itself changed through its contact with the accoutrements of royal society.

While such physical changes are important, they more significantly translated into an even more profound psychological shift in the imperial-colonial relationship. Brazil

did not just come to function as the metropolitan center of the empire: the Brazilian people ultimately integrated that new role into their collective identity. It was the next step, the next phase of Brazilian preeminence and was thus a powerful element in their perceptions of themselves and their place in the empire. Another important consequence of the transfer of the royal court involves the psychology of geography. Before 1808, for colonial subjects such as the people of Brazil, the closest most Brazilians had ever been to their sovereign was seeing his portrait hung in the various government buildings throughout the colony. D. João was a revered yet faraway king, an ocean and even a world apart from his American subjects.

The monarch's physical proximity in Brazil, though, changed that relationship. The Brazilians' could directly participate in the royal life cycle and society, and this created a heightened level of intimacy in the royal bond between the sovereign and his subjects. Rio's inhabitants could witness firsthand royal ceremonies while those elsewhere in Brazil were kept up to date with decrees and published accounts, each of which were made more significant by the King's presence. From seminal royal events such as Queen Maria's death and D. João's Acclamation to the throne to the more normal occurrences of births, baptisms, and weddings, the people's connection to the royal family deepened with each passing day and event that transpired on Brazilian soil. The change in Brazil's status from colony to kingdom, made through the direct decree of João, also led the Brazilian people to invest themselves even more into their King. From 1815 on, Brazilians were not mere colonial subjects. They were royal imperial subjects with the same status and rights of the Portuguese themselves. In removing that hierarchical separation, the Brazilian people were indeed closer to their monarch. This

closeness shaped the sentiments and events of the time in which the Portuguese King resided in Brazil.

Material Changes for Brazil

The Political Arena

The physical transfer of the Portuguese imperial government to Brazil included both the personnel and paraphernalia required for the administrative workings of the state. The immigrants were a society unto themselves with representatives of the civil, religious, and military hierarchies. The royal court included not just the royal family, courtiers, and members of high society but the support staff required to maintain their traditional opulent lifestyle. From servants to surgeons, those who attended to the court's needs followed it to the American shore. For the running of the state itself, a wide range of vital functionaries came as well. The Council of State, the High Court of Appeals, and the Royal Treasury could be reconstituted with experienced and loyal officials. Also accompanying the formal government officials were prominent professionals and businessmen. Rounding out the social groups were church and military representatives as well. In the end, it is estimated that approximately thirty vessels carried between 10,000 and 20,000 people on the voyage from Lisbon to Rio.⁷⁶

Along with such administrative personnel, the transfer also required that the very apparatuses of government be included as well. The move involved not just a simple transplantation but “the transfer of the elements of a sovereign state which in the new location was formalized into a new, yet old and familiar system.” In Brazil, the central government recreated each of its major features, ascribing to them the same names,

⁷⁶ Manchester, 156-158; Barman, *Forging*, 43.

powers, functions, and procedures as their counterparts in Lisbon. Ministries such as the Interior, Foreign Relations and War, Navy and Overseas Dominions, the Royal Exchequer, and State were reconstituted as well as the Intendancy of Police and Supreme Military Council. Vital to the reconstitution of such offices was the transfer of government files and documents that before would have only been found in Lisbon. The ministries previously mentioned plus other political and ecclesiastical categories all had records shipped to Rio. Such documentation only grew as the offices functioned in Brazil, and much would even be left behind when D. João would return to Portugal.⁷⁷

Even with the large influx of bureaucrats and workers, the new imperial administration and royal court still had a sizable human resources need. While Brazilians were restricted to secondary bureaucratic levels and below, they were nevertheless filling posts. By 1811 there were 425 new appointments to the royal household alone. The Rio bureaucracy similarly grew from 432 to 954. Those vying for posts found either support or conflict depending upon the alignment of interests, and the competition and intrigue shaped the political landscape in Rio.⁷⁸

The greatest political change for Brazil, though, came with the colony's formal elevation to the category of kingdom in 1815. The event signified the Crown's public recognition of Brazil's de facto role as the center of royal imperial rule and its subsequently changed status within the empire. José da Silva Lisboa captured the reality of the situation perfectly: it was "absurd to consider as a colony the *Sovereign's land of residence*." The previous political discourse at the Congress of Vienna had put pressure

⁷⁷ Manchester, 160, 168-169.

⁷⁸ Burns, "Intellectuals," 215; Stuart B. Schwartz, "Elite Politics and the Growth of a Peasantry in Late Colonial Brazil," in *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975): 143-144.

on the Portuguese representatives because of the colonial status of D. João's home, and the Portuguese had responded by already referring to the "United Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves" beginning as early as 1814. The point became that the presence of the Prince Regent precluded the notion that Brazil remained a colony per se.⁷⁹ The ultimate decision resulted from these external pressures as well as internal factors. Internally, by 1815 the Crown's presence had truly transformed Brazil into its functioning metropolis (as the rest of this chapter will lay out). The decision also had to do with D. João's increasingly obvious intention to remain in Brazil despite the conclusive end to the Napoleonic threat. Talleyrand himself suggested the change in official status. The arguments were compelling; after all, Lisbon was free and safe yet the Portuguese ruler was choosing to continue to rule from a land by name still a colony.⁸⁰ While the measure only lessened and did not remove the affront to Lisbon and Portugal itself, it did mark the formal recognition of Brazil's political status as one of the two metropolitan centers of the Portuguese Empire.

The Brazilian Economy

The transfer of royal administration to Brazil also spurred profound economic changes for the colony. Before 1808 the Brazilian economy had been administered according to the principles of mercantilism, and Brazil's role was that of supplier of raw materials such as mineral and agricultural products.⁸¹ In the time leading up to the royal arrival in Brazil, that restrictive economic nature had only been exacerbated by the

⁷⁹ Schultz, 196, 190.

⁸⁰ Burns, *Documentary*, 190.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 188

embargo that D. João had placed on all Portuguese vessels throughout the empire due to the state of war in Portugal and the flux of the move. Those conditions trapped ships laden with exports in Brazilian harbors and without access to their normal Portuguese destinations. With the normal mercantilist avenues for trade cut off, D. João recognized an immediate, tangible need to lift the previous restrictions on trade. In 1808 by royal decree he opened Brazilian ports to foreign trade. The measure would serve as a lynchpin for change in Brazil, even described as “economic emancipation” by Oliveira Lima. While historians do agree that the long term effect of the act precipitated a drastic change in the economic and social structure of the colony and set in motion a chain of events that would culminate in Brazilian independence, the opening of the ports was a pragmatic act, not a symbolic gesture.⁸² Certainly the Brazilians lauded the act as liberal and favorable to Brazil, after all the decree referenced the “grave prejudice it [the suspension of commerce] does to My Vassals and to my Royal Treasury,” but D. João was not implementing a deliberate or visionary elevation of Brazilian status as of that moment. For the Prince Regent, the economic change was about function, not status, and he even deemed it provisional in nature until official regulations could be drawn up to protect royal customs and security interests.⁸³

The intent of opening the ports may not have been to revolutionize the Brazilian economy and by extension society, but the act nevertheless did. It translated into unprecedented economic opportunity for Brazilians and was predicated on the idea that a healthy and flourishing economy spurred on a healthy and flourishing society. The limitations of mercantilism ran counter to the health of the economy if Brazil was to

⁸² Manchester, 164-165, 167; Emilia Viotti da Costa, 51.

⁸³ Gasman, ed., *Carta Regia da Abertura dos Portos*: 92; Oliveira Lima, 136; Cavaliero, 13.

function as the metropolis. Therefore Brazil's economy would cease to serve Portugal and instead begin to serve itself through the pursuit of Brazilian-based profit and revenue that would serve directly the imperial coffers.⁸⁴ Royal assets had been stretched thin by the move. While the Royal Treasury, crown store of diamonds, and any other portable wealth such as silver, jewels, and cash were aboard the vessels that came to Brazil, the Crown still had insufficient funds to cover even basic expenditures needed in the establishment of the royal court in Rio. D. João had to borrow £600,000 from Great Britain to meet these needs.⁸⁵ The commerce customs revenues were vital in augmenting the profit from the Brazilian plantations, ranching, and mineral extracts, and the opening of the ports drew more and more foreign commerce. The numbers are striking. In 1808 there were ninety foreign ships that visited Brazilian harbors. The new contact showed just how much the Brazilian infrastructure would have to grow to accommodate the new trade since in that year alone "more goods had arrived in Rio than there was labor to unload them or warehouse space in which to store them." By 1815 there were 217 foreign trading vessels in Brazil, and by 1820 there were 354. With the Portuguese middlemen for the most part cut out of the picture, lowered prices accompanied an increase in the availability of European goods. The impact of this new scenario would be profound for the people of Brazil.⁸⁶

The changes to the economic opportunities were not limited to the ports. In 1808 D. João revoked the previous restrictions on manufacturing in the colony. This act

⁸⁴ Maria Odila Silva Dias, "The Establishment of the Royal Court in Brazil," in *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975): 106-107; Cavaliero, 32.

⁸⁵ Manchester, 159; Barman, *Forging*, 46.

⁸⁶ Burns, *Documentary*, 186-187; Cavaliero, 14.

permitted the establishment of factories. Two years later the Prince Regent also revoked the restrictions on selling merchandise on the streets and from door to door. After that a royal decree made it possible for all subjects to trade in any commodity allowed by law, and later another act opened trade throughout the Portuguese Empire (not just in Brazil). D. João's stated goal was to "promote and advance the national wealth" in order to benefit Brazilian society and thereby his base of imperial operations, and that is precisely what began to happen.⁸⁷ Goods from all over the empire—Portugal, India, and China—as well as foreign nations such as Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland (later France after Napoleon's defeat) came directly to Brazil for the first time.⁸⁸ The Brazilian people responded with appreciation for their newfound opportunities and the promise they engendered. The prominent statesman Gonçalves dos Santos evoked that sentiment of economic emancipation, stating that the acts "broke the chains that bound Brazilians and impeded them from using their hands." The Brazilian press went further, characterizing the previous restrictions not just as binding but as a "darkness of ignorance, whose black and terrible clouds had covered Brazil."⁸⁹ The lifting of the economic bans had opened not just economic doors but rhetorical ones as well. The Brazilian people would actively redefine themselves and their place in the empire with each change in the imperial construct and each increase in their personal freedom, be it economic, political, or social.

⁸⁷ Emília Viotti da Costa, 51; Gasman, ed., "Alvara de 1 de abril de 1808 revogando a proibição que havia de Fábricas e Manufaturas no Estado do Brasil e Domínios Ultramarinos," 93.

⁸⁸ Oliveira Lima, 240.

⁸⁹ Schultz, 83

Brazilian Society

Even though it was the colonial capital of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro in 1808 was in no way prepared to receive its royal sovereign and the imperial regime. The city was actually small, despite its grandiose environs, and dense, measuring only around one and a half miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide. There were the typical urban components: a public square, docks, a vice-regal government building, and the religious/charitable staples of a convent, monastery, and *misericórdia*. Pombal had initiated some improvements to the city's infrastructure in the mid eighteenth century that included a new system of aqueducts, public fountains, roads, bridges, and livestock facilities. However, the majority of roads were in poor repair and the streets of the city narrow, with only one thoroughfare connecting the palace, customhouse, and monastery. Nevertheless, Rio was indeed a bustling colonial port with an estimated population of 50,000 and 1,300 commercial establishments, but the majority of the population was poor and the inequality of wealth high as with any elite dominated society.⁹⁰

This was the basic character of the city faced with the task of absorbing thousands of Portuguese exiles. The 8,000-10,000 people associated with the Court and government alone needed accommodations instantly. They needed close proximity to the vice-regal palace and the administrative centers, so the problem of population density, most notably poor sanitation, only worsened. The Portuguese upper classes expected Rio's inhabitants to give over their own—albeit modest—homes. While serving the mother country was in fact an honor for those Brazilians, they were nevertheless displaced. Both the Portuguese

⁹⁰ Schultz, 40-45, Oliveira Lima 87.

exiles and Brazilian donors had much to adapt to.⁹¹ Due to a storm that forced the Prince Regent to land first in Salvador, Bahia, Rio did have some time between the arrival of the bulk of the royal court and the sovereign himself. That time allowed for a “large scale mobilization and extraordinary expenditures” to begin to prepare the city for D. João. The city planners enlarged the vice-regal palace and painted its exterior while decorating its interior walls with silk. Clergy members cleaned churches and polished altars, and the people in general attempted to make their homes and businesses presentable to their Prince Regent.⁹²

The move of the entire Royal Court translated into the transfer of the cultural, societal, and hierarchical customs of Portuguese society. Dom João instituted all of the trappings of Royal Society, opening new schools and bringing many firsts to Rio and Brazil. The first bank, printing press, library, museum, and school of fine arts were attributed directly to the King. Similarly, musical and theatrical performances befitting royalty introduced Brazilians to the finer culture normally associated with Europe itself. There were indeed educations of many kinds going on in Brazil of both the formal and informal nature. Whether it was scientific curriculum at the newly created academies or an edict posted to help the people of Brazil act in “the manner in which one should conduct oneself,” the Crown was intent on polishing some of the rough edges off of its colony and preventing the trans-Atlantic drain that siphoned away the skilled subjects to Portugal. To maintain the sanctity of Portuguese religious ceremonies, the treasury and equipment of the Royal Chapel in Lisbon were brought to Brazil to assure that the ceremonies would be able to be carried out with the appropriate rites and symbolism. In

⁹¹ Cavalero, 13.

⁹² Schultz, 101.

terms of beautification and economic experimentation, the king also personally oversaw the creation of Rio's famous Botanical Garden where exotic vegetation and architecture from all over the Portuguese Empire were grafted onto the Brazilian landscape in the hopes that the empire's lucrative natural resources could be duplicated and centralized in Brazil's tropical climate. Through the Gardens, the people of Brazil also witnessed a dramatic transformation of João himself. Previously passive, lethargic, and known for gluttony, João VI seemed to come to life amidst the backdrop of Brazil's beaches and flora, and he became more active and demonstrative of his affection for his new surroundings. These factors were not lost on the Brazilian people.⁹³

In terms of the logistics of the city during D. João's stay, there were also many concrete improvements made. Step by step, Rio was becoming a metropolis. The general intendency oversaw an improved public works system that provided for necessities such as the supply of adequate foodstuffs, additional roads and bridges, sidewalks, and street lighting. It also addressed public health needs with new landfills, cleaner streets, new public fountains, and an improved sewer system.⁹⁴ The new police presence similarly served to increase the security of the citizens while the new plazas built both beautified and facilitated commerce within the city. The influx of the Portuguese exiles also helped the economy and settlement of Brazil just by their presence and sheer numbers. The Crown oversaw improvements not just in Rio itself, but Brazil in general as well. There were large efforts to improve both transit and communications between the captaincies. For these same reasons as well as for security concerns, Brazil also witnessed an

⁹³ Anita Marchant, "Dom João's Botanical Garden," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 41 2 (May 1961): 259-274; Manchester, 159, 170-171, Schultz, 107; Oliveira Lima, 143-144.

⁹⁴ Schultz, 105

increased exploration of the interior that produced new surveys, topographical maps, and river chartings. Generous land-grant concessions encouraged settlement. The result of all these changes was that commentators such as Hipólito da Costa found D. João to be “capable of producing the love and approval for a just monarch...who prides himself on being the father of his vassals.”⁹⁵ Rio and Brazil were better for having the Prince Regent there, and popular sentiment reflected that appreciation.

All of the previously discussed political, economic, and social changes corresponded with significant demographic changes as well. Along with the influx of European-born Portuguese, many foreigners also set up shop in Rio giving it an even more metropolitan nature. During D. João’s stay, over four thousand foreigners formally registered with the Crown, but those records often neglected to count wives, children, and servants, thus making the actual number much higher. People came from all over the world: from nearby Spanish America, North America, Europe, and even Asia. Their professions were as diverse as their origins. The records show medical doctors, scientists, painters, professors, artisans, tailors, shoemakers, musicians, ballerinas, actors, and cooks.⁹⁶ With all of these additions, the Rio population doubled over the period between 1808 and 1819. Brazil saw tremendous overall growth as well. A population that was 2,861,000 in 1808 had grown to over four million in just ten years. The founding of new towns throughout Brazil reflected this widespread growth. During the Court’s stay, thirty-

⁹⁵ “Providencias em beneficio da capital e do Reyno,” in *Correio Braziliense*, Hipólito Jose da Costa, ed., (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 2002): Vol. 29, 75-78; Silva Dias, 107-108.

⁹⁶ Manchester, 182, n. 102.

one new towns were founded, a number made that much more striking by the fact that it had taken three prior decades combined to equal such growth.⁹⁷

Beyond growth, another demographic trend involved a heightened level of urbanization and modernization. The new opportunities available in the Brazilian economy and society brought more modern technology, goods, and ideas to the cities and synergistically created a new urban class. A mixture of the lesser Brazilian officials and the newly arrived Portuguese (those not in the upper echelon of nobility) constituted that new class, and it added to the emerging metropolitan lifestyle.⁹⁸ Rio, especially, had its own natural allure. Its proximity to the direct power of the King drew Brazil's traditionally rural elites to Rio as well. They came in search of connections, titles, and increased status and found them to varying degrees, all the while swelling the already growing population.⁹⁹ Rio society often converged on the new Royal Theater, an "artistic and social focal point" of the city. Because D. João frequented the theater, the people sought to follow. An observer of the time noted that "the prince regent's patronage made 'showing' oneself at the theater fashionable for all, who wished to be thought persons of consequence." Even the popular classes began attending the performances, thus demonstrating the broad influence that the Royal comings, goings, and activities had on the inhabitants of Rio.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Richard M. Morse, "Brazil's Urban Development: Colony and Empire," in *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil*, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, ed. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975): 164, 173; Oliveira Lima, 87.

⁹⁸ Burns, "Intellectuals," 214; Cavalhero, 42.

⁹⁹ Cavalhero, 41.

¹⁰⁰ Schultz, 104.

The Court's presence and the opening of Brazil to outside influences also had a visible impact on what had been up to that point a rather rustic colonial society. Before the arrival of the Court, Brazilians lacked the means and opportunity to obtain and demonstrate the fineries associated with the upper echelon's tastes and expectations. With the King living amidst them, though, Brazilians attempted—in whatever means was available—to look the part of metropolitan royal subjects. Witnesses to the many examples of courtly dress, people became more attentive to the styles and fashions that represented status in dress. In the post-Napoleonic period, French culture joined British goods in popular consumption. The Brazilian people incorporated French and British fashion, hairstyles, perfumes, fabrics, champagne, food, and other amenities into their metropolitan lifestyles. They also paid more attention to their home décor.¹⁰¹ Instead of using simple wood, Brazilians built their new homes with glass and wrought iron, displaying such ostentations as high windows, iron verandas, and colonnades. A description from Henry Koster who had returned to Recife in 1811 following an absence of fourteen months shows the changes that had swept across Brazil. He stated that the people of Recife “who had for many years gone on without making any change either in the interior or exterior of their houses, were now painting and glazing on the outside, and new furnishings within; modernizing themselves, their families, and their dwellings.”¹⁰² Physical transformations were taking place throughout Brazil.

The one anomaly in all of this metropolitan change was the presence of slavery. The institution had ceased to exist in Portugal itself in 1761 but continued as the foundation of the Brazilian agricultural economy. The move of the royal court meant that

¹⁰¹ Schultz, 103-104.

¹⁰² Cavahero, 16; Burns, “Intellectuals,” 215.

D. João did not reside just in a colonial society but a slave one at that. By 1808 the population logistics of Brazilian settlement dictated a society comprised of whites, blacks, and the racially mixed. The mixture of whites, blacks, and the indigenous of the region (though for Brazil those numbers were small) had been a necessary and even encouraged settlement tactic for a colony of Brazil's nature. The miscegenation complicated the social hierarchy and gave the colony's population a decidedly darker majority color. One estimate shows an overall Brazilian population in which forty percent was comprised of recently imported black slaves.¹⁰³ When all of Brazil's inhabitants of African origin—both slave and free people of color—are combined, that number jumps to seventy-five percent. The city of Rio itself had a larger white contingency with 45% while slaves made up 35% and freed people of color the remaining 20%. The presence of slavery created a different element to the Rio metropolitan society. It was an added variable to the city's social parameters as well as the entire population's relationship to the Crown and social strata. For the slaves, D. João was a potent symbol of power and protection, one whose power transcended that of the slave owners. Fear of the population disparity and concerns over economic labor problems made the continuation of slavery a pragmatic choice for D. João and his government, but the King still functioned as a symbol of hope and redress, receiving numerous slave petitions for freedom and protection from mistreatment. While such pleas met with limited success, D. João did endear himself to his most vulnerable subjects with acts such as personally intervening to stop a public whipping and granting some petitions for liberty.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ The Brazilian slave population was not self-sustaining, seldom creating multiple generations of slaves. Replenishment through the slave trade was necessary to maintain the slave labor force.

¹⁰⁴ Cavalhero, 18; Schultz, 45, 166-171, 175.

The Royal Court both physically changed and adapted to its Brazilian political, economic, and social environments. It literally transformed the appearance and workings of the colony. The presence of both the personnel and apparatuses of imperial administration superimposed an imperial layer onto the previous colonial nature of Brazil's political arena. Economically, as the functioning center of the empire, Brazil's mercantilist restrictions were simply incompatible with the needs of the Crown and its metropolis and were thus discarded. Brazilian society as well could not help but be changed by the influx of new people, goods, and ideas. Brazil was a colony opened up to the world, and this new perspective and opportunity had a profound impact on the psyche of the Brazilian people.

Psychological Changes for the Brazilian People

As discussed in the previous chapter, well before D. João ever set foot on Brazilian soil, the identity of Portugal's American colonists increasingly centered on the notions of ascendance and preeminence. This was a powerful framework onto which royal society was grafted. From that psychological starting point, Brazilians witnessed the physical changes taking place in their colony, and those material gains naturally translated into new phases in the evolution of Brazilian identity and the sovereign-subject relationship.

The New Metropolitan Identity

As the only European monarch not only to visit but also reside in his American colony, D. João certainly validated that Brazilian notion of ascendance. The physical transformation of the colony also corresponded with a psychological one in which the

Brazilian people internalized the shift from colony to metropolis and from colonial to imperial subjects.

The presence of the monarch opened new intellectual avenues and opportunities. D. João's founding of new schools and academies broke the colony's previous educational dependence on Portugal (although Coimbra still served as the only available university).¹⁰⁵ New access to ideas and information also stemmed from the influx of foreign visitors to Brazil and the introduction of a heightened print culture. Monthly publications such as the *Correio Braziliense* became increasingly popular and influential in shaping public sentiment.¹⁰⁶ The newfound access to schools, the printed word, and foreign ideas had begun to end the colony's "mental isolation." Likewise, interaction with royal imperial society was an education unto itself. The contact was "day to day expanding the intellectual perspective and loaning ambition and dignity to the American subjects of the Monarchy."¹⁰⁷

Brazilians were also well aware of the singular nature of the Royal Court's relocation across the Atlantic, and its level of import added to their sense of distinction. One municipal council attributes to D. João the same sagacity and power that "distinguished the Constantines, Alexanders, Antiochs in the conveyance of their Courts." Upon the Prince Regent's arrival, another municipal council acclaimed D. João the "August Emperor of the West of all Brazil" as well as the "best of the Sovereigns of

¹⁰⁵ The prior educational dependence and neglect was so great that a community in Minas Gerais had actually requested permission to set up a medical school at their own cost but were rejected. The medical and other schools founded by D. João bridged that gap. See Manchester, 182, n. 96.

¹⁰⁶ Barman, *Forging*, 44.

¹⁰⁷ Oliveira Lima, 172, 173.

the World, and the first who comes to honor this new World of America.”¹⁰⁸ He did more than just honor Brazil, though. He changed it, and the Brazilian people appreciated the steps taken to remedy the Portuguese neglect of the colony’s educational, intellectual, and material needs and desires that left the colony in a state of backwardness. The ultimate result was what E. Bradford Burns calls a new “intellectual infrastructure.”¹⁰⁹ While the Brazilians and Portuguese shared common habits, traditions, personnel, and even character, prior to 1808 they had nevertheless been separated physically by the ocean and psychologically in terms of their political rights and social aspirations. With that separation over, the result was a new identity, a “new nationality” for a Brazilian metropolis. Brazilians no longer needed to look to Portugal for direction. Instead they turned their intellectual attention to Brazil itself, its problems and potential. There were critical yet optimistic appraisals of Brazil, all of which helped to create new feelings of nativist pride. A play performed in Belém to commemorate the arrival of the royal court celebrated that arrival as well as the “potential wealth and promising future of Brazil.”¹¹⁰ The Brazilian sense of self centered on that theme of Brazil’s ascendant place in the empire and the world and circulated in the new print media and social discourse. According to Duarte Mendes São Payo, the rector of one of Rio’s seminaries, the arrival of the sovereign constituted a “much desired Triumph” for Brazil due to the presence of the colony’s “legitimate, and indispensable Lord, beloved, caring Father, faithful and true Friend.”

¹⁰⁸ *Câmaras*, Vol. I, 107, #107, Vol. II, 75, #180.

¹⁰⁹ Burns, “Intellectuals,” 216; Manchester, 170

¹¹⁰ Oliveira Lima, 172; Burns, “Intellectuals,” 231, 233.

With all of the potential and promise that Brazil had to offer, it is no wonder that the people of Brazil also viewed the situation as an opportunity for the imperial renewal of the Portuguese Crown. It was as if the monarchy could be born again, reconstituted, in its most dynamic overseas possession. João Pereira da Silva saw in Rio “a new Court, a new Athens, a new Lisbon.”¹¹¹ For many, Brazil was an empire unto itself, a land worthy of its sovereign, and an asset capable of jumpstarting the Portuguese Empire’s waning power and diminishing status in the European community. Speeches and poems of the period show a Brazilian sense of equality—at times even superiority—towards Europe. The American-European dynamic that ranged from reverence to rivalry was a fundamental issue for Brazil’s evolving identity as it was for all Latin American societies. Often, contending American prowess meant simultaneously challenging European political and social hegemony. Brazilians considered their kingdom to be vital to the upwards trajectory of the empire and the Crown to the point that the former colonials saw themselves as rivaling and even transcending the mother country and continent. One treatise reflects the supreme confidence of the new kingdom:

The epoch has arrived when the Sovereign of Portugal should take the title of Emperor, which rightfully expresses the Majesty of His Person, the Heroism of His August Ancestors, and the vastness of his States. Brazil, proud now that it contains within it the Immortal Prince, Who has deigned to establish there his Seat, . . . is no longer to be a maritime Colony barred to the trade of the Nations, as until now, but rather a powerful Empire, which will come to be the moderator of Europe, the arbiter of Asia, and the dominator of Africa.¹¹²

The theme of D. João as founding a new, great empire in Brazil that was subordinate to no world power echoed throughout much of Brazilian rhetoric. Some evoked the storied

¹¹¹ Schultz, 81, 86, 99, n. 106.

¹¹² Barman, *Forging*, 50.

history of the Portuguese Crown, likening João's new imperial beginnings in Brazil to the very founding of the Portuguese monarchy by Afonso, the first King of Portugal. After all, each ruler had ushered in a new age, and their accomplishments were linked by importance and scope yet separated by their respective continental stage.¹¹³

The rhetoric went beyond just a general discussion of Brazil's new relationship to Europe, though. With all of the changes associated with the metropolitan shift, it was natural that Brazil's and Portugal's relationship be profoundly and irrevocably changed. The Brazilian people, while they celebrated their new gains, were not oblivious to the Portuguese continental woes. The rhetoric reveals an awareness of the flip side of the coin, that for every Brazilian gain there was corresponding Portuguese loss and misery. The mother country faced war, loss, and its own tragedy, and there was Brazilian sadness over that stark reality. Support for Portugal during the war was a matter of patriotism, and sermons called for solidarity and imperial unity. Brazilians even pledged money to help Portuguese victims. However, as the Napoleonic threat was beaten back and began to fade away, Brazilian sentiment slowly became less charitable towards the empire's former metropolis and more assertive regarding that imperial shift to Brazil. Such a shift is evident in the words of Gonçalves dos Santos: "The occupation of Portugal by the French was certainly a lamentable disaster, a general and public calamity, yet the salvation of His Royal Highness, his coming to Brazil to create a new Lusitanian Empire in America, was a joyous event for all Brazilians." Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira proposed in 1814 that the monarchical throne be symbolically relocated to Brazil thus making it the

¹¹³ *Câmaras*, Vol. 2, p53-54, #167; Schultz, 87.

formal focal point of the monarchy and the empire.¹¹⁴ Politically, the most that Brazilians could aspire to regarding status in the imperial system, though, was that of equal, not superior, to Portugal. Nevertheless, the notion of Brazilian transcendence targeted the mother country as much as it did Europe. A letter from the municipal council in Pernambuco in 1817 reveals the Brazilian perception of just how much Brazil had been contributing to the empire. It states that “all that Brazil was creditor to Portugal of its grandness, and opulence, was reserved for Your Majesty, rewarding with excess, and advantage, and with liberality without equal.”¹¹⁵ After all, Brazil was a “continent” that was cited by the Portuguese sovereign himself for the “copiousness and variety of the precious elements of wealth which it contains.”¹¹⁶ In essence, that disparity in economic contribution between Brazil and Porgugal was the equivalent of a marker of debt from the Brazilian perspective, and that marker was coming due in terms of the type of relationship Brazilians were willing to accept from Portugal. Brazil had transcended its role as Portugal’s “milch cow,” thus changing that relationship. The Brazilian scholar and economist José da Silva Lisboa defined the opening of the ports as the lynchpin of that change, calling it the “Magna Carta of Brazil.”¹¹⁷ The original economic measure certainly did precipitate a reordering of the imperial society, having both political and social implications. A quotation from Ignacio de Macedo at the time of Brazil’s political elevation extends that notion and reveals the psychological shift:

¹¹⁴ Schultz, 84-87, 197.

¹¹⁵ *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 107, #59.

¹¹⁶ *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, p265-266, #133; Gasman, ed., “Elevação do Brasil a categoria do Reino Unido a Portugal e Algarves,” 96; Burns, *Documentary*, 190-191.

¹¹⁷ Manchester, 167.

In its colonial status, from which it just emerged, Brazil was known only because of the production of an abundant Nature; and now with its new status within the Empire, it begins to be admired for its political products which foretell its future elevation and long life. The unexpected transference of the monarchy brought a brilliant dawn to those dark horizons...The new day of regeneration, an omen of brighter destinies, will bring long centuries of prosperity and glory.¹¹⁸

The presence of the Royal Court was indeed the catalyst of all of that change and the basis of Brazil's metropolitan power. D. João had elevated Brazil to the category of kingdom, but Brazil was joining the empire as Portugal's equal, not its master, and the question as to where the permanent center of the empire lay remained unanswered.

Such ambiguity led to competing visions of the Crown's long-range plans and intentions. The Brazilian ascendant vision has already been discussed. According to it, "Dom João was saved from the turbulent waters that covered Portugal not to return, but rather to become 'the Father of the New World.'" Conversely, the Portuguese vision involved the return and restoration of a *Portuguese* monarchy. A safe and secure Lisbon translated into the Crown's ability to "return and usher in a new and glorious reign with Europe at the center of imperial transcendence."¹¹⁹ After all, the Prince Regent originally intended—as he stated in the original 1807 decree informing the public of the ensuing transfer of the court—to "reside in the city of Rio de Janeiro until a General Peace" could be achieved in Europe. He expressed also that he hoped for that peace to be achieved quickly.¹²⁰ There were early indications, however, that although Rio and Brazil had not formally replaced Lisbon and Portugal, a distinct physical and psychological shift from

¹¹⁸ Burns, *History*, 115.

¹¹⁹ Schultz, 86.

¹²⁰ "Do Principe Regente de Portugal pelo qual declarar a sua intenção de mudar a corte para o Brazil, e erige uma Regencia, para governor em sua ausencia," in *Correio*, Vol. 1, p5-6; Barman, *Forging*, 45, n. 11.

Old World to New was taking place. In early letters to Souza Coutinho, D. João is referred to as the “King of Brazil.” Similarly, in 1813 Souza Coutinho designated himself as a diplomatic representative of Brazil, not Portugal.¹²¹ In fact, “‘of Brazil’ became deeply embedded in the governmental apparatuses of Portuguese administration. Such titles legitimized Brazil’s status as metropolis and represented the grafting of Portuguese institutions onto it.”¹²² The sense of a prolonged Bragançan stay in Brazil also was evident in the ecclesiastical, civilian, and military sectors. Representatives of each increasingly began to materially invest in their new surroundings. The elite bought large estates and invested heavily in agricultural production. Imperial ministers bought “sumptuous properties” throughout Brazil, buying or building palaces and houses, even to the point that some owned multiple residences. The Crown invested as well. A new palace was built for D. Carlota. As late as 1815 and 1816 additions to the palace of St. Christopher were made for the royal family and the construction of a new palace at Santa Cruz begun.¹²³ An imperial regime preparing to return to Europe would be minimizing ties, not forging deeper ones.

These new investments were taking place amidst increasing appeals for the Prince Regent to return to Europe. João’s proclivity for strategic inaction in the face of conflict and contention only fueled the ambiguity of his intentions. As time passed, imperial administration in Brazil had become the status quo, the state most preferred by D. João. He never did, though, declare himself one way or the other. He simply remained in

¹²¹ Oliveira Lima, 338

¹²² Manchester, 169.

¹²³ Silva Dias, 98, 99.

Brazil, and that in and of itself was a choice and a message. That message frustrated the Portuguese and British who called for the restoration of the normal European parameters of monarchical rule.¹²⁴ While the Portuguese appeal was described as “begging” in 1814, that year the British actually sent a squadron to accompany D. João back in an attempt to twist his arm and force him to act. The Prince Regent forced the British envoy’s recall to England and issued a statement that he had “resolved to defer his return to Portugal, persuaded that this determination is not only useful and indispensable to the general well-being of the monarchy, but also that Providence has entrusted him with the direction” for the monarchy and Brazil. A year later he elevated Brazil to kingdom status, a move which Oliveira Lima calls a “skillful and eloquent response” by João to the pressure being exerted on him.¹²⁵

Beside the fact that D. João had settled into his Brazilian surroundings, there were also other strategic reasons for the monarchy’s continued residence in Brazil. In the first place, while Napoleon himself was gone, the threat of revolutionary upheaval remained. The products of the revolution were described by one minister as “horrible effects that have no parallel in human history,” and there was not a single European monarch who was not wary of the danger that the French precedent posed. In addition, some held the opinion that the Congress of Vienna had definitively resolved nothing and that European contestations and wars remained a distinct possibility. Many Portuguese imperial administrators saw Brazil as a relative haven and felt more secure with an ocean to serve as a buffer between themselves and Europe. One consideration cited in the decision to

¹²⁴ Britain’s vested commercial interests in Brazil were protected by the favorable 1810 treaty with D. João. The treaty meant that the British did not need the royal presence in Brazil to keep its access to Brazilian trade. See Barman, *Forging*, 48-49

¹²⁵ Barman, *Forging*, 53, Oliveira Lima 346-348; Cavaliero, 69-74.

elevate Brazil's status was its role in protecting the Crown. Oliveira Lima makes the telling analogy that Brazil functioned as an anchor for a Bragança dynasty that had been battered by the storms of European upheaval.¹²⁶ Aside from European security concerns, remaining in Brazil also provided the Crown with strategic footing in the Americas (See Figure 7). As the only monarch on the continent and with Spanish America in increasing disarray, the royal government recognized the opportunity to achieve hegemony in South America. The American continent was in play unlike Portugal's closed or closing venues in Europe and Asia. No where other than Brazil was there really a strong opportunity to expand and exert influence. For these reasons, the Crown viewed Brazil as a position of strength, not weakness. A return to Europe would be a return to Portugal's dependent state, and no one wished to move backwards.¹²⁷

With each year of the monarchy's continued stay in Brazil, the "metropolitanization" of Rio became more and more complete. The goal was to create both the style and substance of the imperial seat of government and to "project an image of royal power." Rio had to begin living up to its new status as residence—and later kingdom—of the sovereign. With its new buildings and other accoutrements, the city slowly did just that to the point that one British resident described it as having the "resemblance of European magnificence."¹²⁸ Correspondingly, a rejuvenated Bragança dynasty and Brazil became points of interest for the international socio-political scene. In the first real example of cultural diplomacy in Brazil, the post-Napoleonic French government sent the Duc de Luxembourg along with a complete staff and equipment to

¹²⁶ Oliveira Lima, 341, 349.

¹²⁷ Oliveira Lima, 337-338, 374-375, Schultz, 77.

¹²⁸ Schultz, 102-103; 121.

Latin America by the Eighteenth Century



Figure 7. Imperial Possessions in the Americas in the Eighteenth Century.
 (Source: http://wps.ablongman.com/wps/media/objects/44/45410/map15_03.gif)

establish a school of fine arts in Rio. Part of the cultural mission was Jean-Baptist Debret who became the essential court painter and visual chronicler of the age. This symbolic interchange represented France's acknowledgment of Rio's and Brazil's status on the world scene, and before long other European nations followed suit in initiating contact and studying the exotic resources of Brazil. Austria, Bavaria, and Russia all sent expeditions, reflecting just how much the new kingdom had captured the imaginations and piqued scientific interests. One final indication that the Brazilian-residing Braganças were being once again embraced by Europe's dominant nations and families involves the effort to make a royal match between D. João's son and heir, Pedro, and the European royal houses. The process revealed that the Braganças were not being ostracized by their European counterparts. The ultimate union of Pedro and Leopoldina, the Habsburg archduchess and daughter of Franz I, was considered "particularly auspicious" and served as a source of significant pride for the Brazilian people towards their royal family.¹²⁹

Rio's "metropolitanization" precipitated both physical and psychological changes for the former colonial capital. The presence of the sovereign profoundly changed the way the Brazilian people acted and thought. The opportunities afforded by the transfer of the court radically altered how the Brazilians saw themselves, the Crown, the empire, and the world around them. They celebrated D. João's presence as the catalyst for a new decidedly Brazilian phase of the empire. They saw their new status as befitting the preeminent place they had for years occupied in the Portuguese imperial system. They embraced all of the facets of royal imperial society, internalized them, and even sought to transcend them. In the end, the identity of the Brazilian people—and specifically Rio's inhabitants—was transformed by their function as the center of royal rule.

¹²⁹ Cavalhero, 74-76; Oliveira Lima, 539.

A New Sovereign-subject Relationship

The presence of their sovereign had changed not only the Brazilian identity and self perception but also their very relationship to the Crown. The nature of the symbolism of a king goes to the very question of power and authority. The conspicuity of the king had always served the purpose of asserting physical control, but it was also—and even more importantly—about reinforcing the *idea* of kingship. As a fundamental concept, royal power did not maintain legitimacy solely on the ability to impose control. While royal authority can be imposed, sovereignty comes from the internalization of control by the royal subjects. For a king to truly reign, the people have to buy into the structure and system of hierarchy and legitimacy. The degree to which the people did just that determined the depth of the sovereign-subject relationship.

Before the transfer of the court, the Brazilian colonial people celebrated a distant king and kingdom with processions and performances “intended for an imagined imperial audience.”¹³⁰ The king existed in the imaginations of the people. In the concrete reality of their lives, though, the closest they would ever come to that king was the idealized image of a royal portrait that hung on display in governmental buildings. Similarly, Brazilians were familiar with the upper elements of royal administration—the offices and titles—only by name, reputation, and theory, and this limited familiarity translated into a corresponding mystique for all facets of imperial rule. The very first royal procession through Rio demonstrated the adjustment that actively observing and participating in royal life would take for the Brazilian people. According to Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos, the experience was so overwhelming that it led him to wonder whether he beheld “an

¹³⁰ Schultz, 48, 155-156.

illusion rather than a reality.” With the court’s arrival, the task then became for the sovereign and his government to live up to that idealized image and transform it into a reality.¹³¹

That task began for the monarchy on firm footing. Councils from all over Brazil greeted D. João with declarations of fidelity and veneration and gratitude for what they considered a “gift from Heaven”: their sovereign. Everywhere there were “demonstrations of Satisfaction, of pleasure, of joy, that all the Inhabitants of This New World bear witness to, when they consider themselves owners of the incomparable Good of the Presence, of the August, and Eminent Person of Your Royal Highness.”¹³² Of particular importance in this letter is the revelation of a Brazilian sentiment of ownership of the monarchy. No longer was D. João a distant king. He had chosen Brazil as safe haven for the royal court, and as previously discussed, there was a palpable sense on the part of Brazilians that they were a part of a new American royal era of a transformed empire. The incorporation of Brazilians into the transplanted culture and lower levels of society and administration would only increase that sense of ownership. They congratulated each other since now they could “see living amongst us Your Royal Highness, erecting a new Monarchy, making happy and brilliant this general continent of Brazil with the Royal Presence.”¹³³ The reconstitution of the empire involved maintaining historical traditions and legacies while also beginning anew. This duality was the key to

¹³¹ Schultz, 81, 155; Burns, “Intellectuals,” 215.

¹³² *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 256-257, #129.

¹³³ Schultz, 68; Oliveira Lima, 338; *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 123, #68.

the court's efforts in Brazil: to never lose the powerful European heritage or exist as mere exiles but instead augment it with American vivacity.¹³⁴

The Brazilian political elite also showed an innate sense of the protocol of deference involved in making direct communication with the Prince Regent. Throughout the letters from the municipal councils to D. João, there are repeated statements affirming the appropriate sentiments and expressions expressed by them and due to their sovereign. They show an awareness and embrace of their new relationship. They also reveal that vital internalization of the dynamics of royal sovereignty. One letter shows that sense of duty, stating that the people “have the fortune and distinct honor to kiss the always August, and Sacrosanct Hand of the Prince Regent” and to greet he and his people with the “respect, and veneration owed to a Sovereign, by whose existence, and conservation we are ready to spill our last blood, and to sacrifice our possessions.” Similar pledges of “goods, fortunes, and lives” to serve D. João are present throughout the writings of the council members. One writer went so far as to present his pledge almost as a cost-benefit analysis. He asserted that bodily and material risk were a “small sacrifice compared to the incalculable Benefits in which we are debtors to the Paternal Piety, and Royal Virtues of Your Royal Highness.” Other writers assured the Prince Regent that the people were happy to receive him with the “benevolence that is proper for the soul and virtues of Your Excellency.”¹³⁵ Their heightened sense of duty had to do with the fact that D. João resided on Brazilian soil. The Brazilians had historically defended themselves with

¹³⁴ Schultz, 192; Richard Graham, “Commentary” on Alan K. Manchester’s “The Transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro,” in *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society*, eds. Henry S. Keith and S. F. Edwards (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1969). 187

¹³⁵ *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 119, #67; Vol. 2, 144, #218; 266, #268.

distinction and honor, and the responsibility of personally defending their sovereign only deepened their commitment to the defense of Crown and Kingdom.

The Brazilian people immediately considered themselves bettered by their sovereign's presence. A municipal council in the province of Goiás asserted that the "greatest Good" to which vassals can aspire to is to "be able to see the Face of their Sovereign." For this reason, every Brazilian wished for the good fortune to be near D. João and envied those in Rio who would have the honor of living day to day near the sovereign. The Prince Regent's brief stay in Salvador, Bahia on his way to Rio after being blown off course by a storm in the initial voyage certainly whetted the former colonial capital's appetite for continued royal access. The people of Salvador even wrote to D. João to espouse their city's superior offerings as a metropolis. They cited better security, commerce, public health, and even "character of people" as reasons the Prince Regent should remain in Salvador. They also aspired to the elevation of that character through contact with their sovereign since the people "will be more worthy witnessing and admiring each day the Paternal Bond of Your Royal Highness."¹³⁶ The Bahian desire for proximity to D. João shows just how potent the draw of the king was to his people.

It was precisely access to the king that most radically altered how Brazilians perceived their relationship to him and his imperial government. Before the court's relocation, travel to Lisbon to seek an audience was an option out of reach for all but the wealthiest and most elite of Brazilian society. In addition, the colonial administration that had overseen Brazil before the move had not carried the same appeal or authority that the royal regime had. An 1808 publication commented on the prior situation, stating that "the

¹³⁶ *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 266-267, #134; 146-147, #83.

enormous distance between the Seat of the Portuguese Throne, and its Vassals in Brazil, until now made the execution of [the royal] will impossible.” With the move, though, any subject who could get to Rio could hope to find some means of access to a royal audience or an informal encounter with D. João. From the Rio elite to a local prostitute, records show that all classes of people turned to the Prince Regent when they needed help. The people actually had more access to their Prince Regent than they had previously to their colonial viceroy.¹³⁷

Such access to D. João through petitions and audiences also served to enhance greatly the Brazilian appreciation of royal paternalism. While he may have been the equivalent of an absentee father before 1808, once in Brazil João embraced his subjects and his role as the arbiter of their needs. One Portuguese civil servant commended the Prince Regent for his accessibility, stating that D. João “was worthy to be called the father of his people for he admitted into his presence the meanest of his subjects and listened to their supplications.” Those supplications demonstrated the diverse conditions and needs of the Brazilian people, and they appealed to the sovereign for the resolution of such issues as domestic and property disputes, financial help, and pardons from military service and punishment.¹³⁸ Petitions could involve life and death issues such as the fate of a slave or the trivia of day to day life such as a request for a new cistern at a local convent.¹³⁹ Such a range reveals the scope of royal oversight over society and the natural inclination of the people to look to the king for aid and protection.

¹³⁷ Schultz, 153, 158

¹³⁸ Schultz, 158.

¹³⁹ Manchester, 162-163.

In dispensing justice, D. João was required to show both strategic mercy and sternness. In doing so, he could perform his paternal duties and show himself to be a just ruler, thus reinforcing his role and legitimacy in the hearts and minds of his people. The Prince Regent succeeded in this task. The people respected his “paternal solicitude,” as one magistrate attested. Similarly, D. João “exercised the virtues of a Monarch...not only as Sovereign, but also as a Father of his Vassals.” Symbolic gestures made by the Prince Regent to the most vulnerable segments of society also added to his paternal image. Part of the celebration of Portugal’s restoration from French control involved charity to the poor, including the indigent and incarcerated, as well as refreshments for the city’s military regiments.¹⁴⁰ The Brazilian people most considered D. João fatherly, though, through his role in opening Brazil’s economy and society to the world. He was the bringer of civilization and elevation, and municipal officials repeatedly addressed him as their “Liberal Father.”¹⁴¹ Generous parents are popular parents, and the positive changes Brazil was undergoing certainly made the Prince Regent beloved by his people.

D. João’s personal qualities also helped to foster his connection to the Brazilian people. He was neither passive nor out of touch when it came to dealing with his subjects. Oliveira Lima cites the Prince Regent’s “extraordinary memory,” “good sense,” and his “affability” as the cornerstones for his familiarity with the “small facts or incidents relative to the people with whom he encountered and engaged in conversation.”¹⁴² This proclivity to interact with people made D. João approachable. Even before in Portugal,

¹⁴⁰ Schultz, 156.

¹⁴¹ *Camaras*, 267, #269.

¹⁴² Oliveira Lima, 153.

the Prince Regent was conscientious in hearing numerous petitioners, offering those who visited him “hopes, promises, and encouragement.” His comfort in Brazil only heightened his responsive nature. João held regular audiences where he was “thronged with petitioners of every description,” sometimes numbering 150 people according to one royal visitor. Since many of those who sought redress were of the lower social classes and ignorant of the nuances of proper royal protocol, the government even made available manuals that set forth the proper conduct for petitioners.¹⁴³ The royal audience represented the intersection of the diverse interests of the government and the people.

Kirsten Schultz explains the complexity and importance of that form of access:

This use of the royal audience to project an image of accessibility, as well as political unity, and to convey a sense of the prince regent’s absolute authority, liberality, beneficence, and justice, then depended on a proper assessment of whether to reward or punish, whether the residents’ requests for royal grace should be granted or denied, whether the prince regent should undercut or uphold lesser authorities, and whether he should reward the nobility’s service or protect others from their demands. In other words, staging audiences and responding to petitions required a careful administration of what António Manuel Hespanha has called “the economy of grace.”¹⁴⁴

Even if the grievances were not addressed in the complainants favor, the Crown’s visibility and interaction was nevertheless powerful and meaningful. The people perceived the king’s presence as an equalizing social force, a moderator above all other rungs of the social hierarchy. For this reason, D. João held a “strong appeal...for the mass of half-castes and unemployed, incapable of acting on their own initiative and without means of political expression.” For those petitioners who did not receive a favorable

¹⁴³ Schultz, 156, 158.

¹⁴⁴ Schultz, 161.

ruling, there was an element of victory just in seeing and being seen.¹⁴⁵ In this regard, the power of the king as a symbol outweighed the reality of his actions. His image as the paternal protector inspired a sense of security and hope that transcended a subject's personal experience with the audience.

Formal audiences were not the only avenues for contact with D. João. As José António Sá pointed out in 1816, "The Sovereigns of Portugal have always facilitated public and private audiences and even listened to their vassals during strolls or while hunting."¹⁴⁶ While D. João was not a sportsman, he did have a regular habit of visiting the royal chapel to listen to music, and his subjects often availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by his routine to request his help in various matters. Whatever the avenue, the people's interaction with their sovereign deepened the bonds between them and reinforced their affection for the house of Bragança.

Just as Brazil's metropolitan shift and eventual elevation to kingdom status precipitated a change in how the Brazilian people perceived their role in the imperial system, those two factors also affected how they saw their relationship to the Crown. There was a distinct sense of their having been second-class citizens before the royal family made their residence in Brazil. They had been, after all, colonial subjects distanced from the king. Their intimacy with D. João after 1808 more acutely revealed the disparity between the traditional relationship that those in Portugal had with the king and the relationship between the king and a colonial people living in a restricted imperial construct. One result of this situation was the need on the part of the Brazilian people to affirm that while their status had been secondary, their loyalty and service to the Crown

¹⁴⁵ Schultz, 153; Silva Dias, 102.

¹⁴⁶ Schultz, 153.

had never been. Letter after letter from the municipal councils throughout Brazil made reference to the fidelity of D. João's American subjects through Brazil's entire history towards the "August Predecessors" of D. João's and Portugal's "Ancient Monarchy."¹⁴⁷

Also present in the letters is the awareness that the presence of the sovereign effectively removed that hierarchical colonial rung for the Brazilian people. They embraced the notion that they were no longer colonial subjects but full Portuguese citizens instead. In one royal press publication, a personified Brazil comments on the changes taking place, stating that "My time arrived...I too am Portuguese...Equal in honor, and equal in vassalage."¹⁴⁸ Another writer extends the idea of the people's Portuguese quality: "assured of the loyalty of this People, clothed in the character of true Portuguese, we renew the oath of loyalty, sincere approval, and Vassalage, that we owe to our Legitimate, and Amiable Sovereign."¹⁴⁹ They were not just Portuguese, but "True Portuguese Vassals" with a relationship to D. João of the most intimate nature for royal vassals. The evocation of Portuguese tradition and imperial greatness is another thread that runs throughout the rhetoric of the period. That tradition included notions that held tremendous symbolic power: notions of nobility, duty, and honor. One pamphlet in particular ties several of them together with the following verses: "To defend our Fathers' Homes, / To give one's life for the King, / Is for the valiant Lusitanians, / Character, Custom, and Law."¹⁵⁰ They were Brazilians, Portuguese, and Lusitanians all rolled into one in their service to the King.

¹⁴⁷ *Câmaras*, Vol. 2, 206-207, #244; Vol. 1, 256-257, #129; Vol. 1, 106, #58.

¹⁴⁸ Schultz, 153.

¹⁴⁹ *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 232, #232.

¹⁵⁰ Schultz, 118; *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 65, #29.

The visibility of the overall royal life cycle and the Brazilians' participation in it deepened their sense of being first-class subjects, and the ostentations served to perpetuate the image of "spectacularly displayed grandeur" expected of the Crown as the very pinnacle of society.¹⁵¹ Although D. João as a person was "little inclined" to such pomp and circumstance, he did come to appreciate their necessity in reinforcing the connection between the sovereign and the people. Since the monarch was the very symbol of society, in celebrating him, the people were in celebration of themselves in a way. Brazilians were the ones to bear witness to the defining moments in Bragançan royal life. Marriages, deaths, births, and baptisms all took place on Brazilian soil and were a source of pride, unity, and honor. Celebrations and lamentations that transcended class and status took place throughout Brazil. These major events were defining moments in the "life of the nation under the monarchical regime" that represented the "convergence of public manifestations." In every vila and every city royal subjects attended commemorations and participated in a process that forged a shared identity. According to Oliveira Lima, "the uniformity of the sensations preceded and determined the uniformity of will."¹⁵² For Brazilians, there would be several opportunities to participate in that process.

The birthday of D. João naturally sparked intense joy for his American subjects. The celebration of his birth was such that all in Rio appeared "to be so well-dressed that the nobles were distinguished from the common people only by their faces and by their

¹⁵¹ Schultz, 155.

¹⁵² Oliveira Lima, 170, 569.

names, rather than by their attire.”¹⁵³ This quotation reveals two important elements: the people’s affection for João and just how much the entire populace had been “metropolitanized.” The people also took great joy in the marriage of Leopoldina to D. Pedro in 1817 and the corresponding royal arrivals. Decorations throughout the city—from port to palace—that included newly erected monuments and decorations of flowers along the processional route greeted the royal couple. Children presented a crown of mimosa flowers as well as medallions that paid tribute to the new Bragançan princess’s royal “talents,” a list that reveals the very essence of the idealized monarch: “Goodness—Kindness—Sweetness—Sensibility—Beneficence—Perseverance—Spirit—Talent—Science—Charms—Grace—Modesty—Public Felicity.” There were also luminaries (1,500 no less), chimes and salvos, all of which were the traditional fare for public commemoration. D. João also called for broad-based attendance of a royal audience “without precedence.”¹⁵⁴ Another celebration included a dramatic composition performed in the Royal Chapel and a serenata performed by D. Pedro himself with his royal sisters. There was later also a free opera performed in the Royal Theater so that all classes could come together and celebrate.¹⁵⁵

Though they were of a smaller scale in public ostentation and drama, there were also royal births and baptisms for the public to celebrate and commemorate. Throughout Brazil religious ceremonies such as the Sacrament and *Te Deum* mass as well as “festive

¹⁵³ Schultz, 48.

¹⁵⁴ “Decreto de D. João VI suspendando o Despacho dos Tribunais em homenagem ao Principe D. Pedro e Sua esposa D. C. J. Leopoldina, que chegarem de Corte de Vienna,” Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial: Cx 2, Pac. 2, Document 57.

¹⁵⁵ Oliveira Lima, 544-546; “Chegada de S. A. R. a Serenissima Senhora Princeza Real do Reyno Unido de Portugal, Brasil, e Algarves ao Rio de Janeiro, seu desembarque, e recebimento publico,” in *Correio*, Vol. XX, p173-184.

demonstrations” of a civil nature were held in honor of the event, and the people illuminated their homes for three nights to show their personal respect.¹⁵⁶ On the more solemn side of royal public life, the death of Queen Maria I in 1816 marked the Brazilian observation of royal loss and continuity. Although D. João had effectively ruled for twenty-four years due to his mother’s mental instability and indisposition, he had conscientiously maintained her status as the top symbol of the monarchy, keeping her place alive in the hearts and minds of the people even though her visibility was understandably reduced. The homage paid to her after her death, then, was great. There were formal public religious and civil observances of her funeral as well as “demonstrations corresponding to the sorrow” and “profound sadness” that the people felt. The cycle of life continued, though, and in the letters of the municipal councils throughout Brazil the lamentations for Queen Maria were accompanied by congratulations for the new King João VI.¹⁵⁷

As much as the Brazilian people had internalized royal sovereignty and their duty to king and kingdom, on a more pragmatic level the people’s closer relationship to D. João involved a significant element of mutual self-interest. Each had something of benefit to the other. While the Prince Regent had been able to co-opt the Brazilian masses as the symbol of hope and mysticism, the cooptation of the elite required the use of incentives such as opportunity and prestige. The Crown needed to “mobilize” the Brazilian elite’s support and incorporate an already privileged class into the system. The Brazilian elite faced an interesting situation: the superimposition of the Portugal ruling class over the

¹⁵⁶ *Câmaras*, Vol 1, 108-109, #60; 237, #122; “Decreto de Dom João VI ordenando o ceso de luminaries, repiques e salvas de Artilharia em toda Corte pelo feliz parto de sua hora,” Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial: Cx. 3 Pac. 1, Document 16; Oliveira Lima, 622.

¹⁵⁷ Schultz, 73, *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 30-31, #10; 29-20, #9; 31-32, #11.

Brazilian colonial ruling class. The extra layering of hierarchical protocol is evident in the new correspondence and relationship between the municipal councils and the king. Every council sent its highest representative to Rio to show the entire city's or vila's fealty to the Crown. Each envoy to the royal court represented the local nobility and people in supplication to the Crown.¹⁵⁸ The letters show not only the councils' acceptance of the new royal administrative levels above them but also the incorporation of all of Brazil's classes into the new, larger system.

With the new structure and hierarchy present, to secure status and continue participating in the ruling class the Brazilians needed to attach themselves to the court and imperial administration. Those of middle status needed to try to blend into the levels above them in order to remain relevant to the political scene. Rio elites traded their money, food, lodging, and other necessities to the Court for D. João's granting of them symbolic honors and material compensations such as positions in the bureaucracy and royal land grants.¹⁵⁹ The allure of courtly connections for those Brazilians was strong, and they were "dazzled by the glamour and social importance attached to posts in the civil service." The hope of that glamour and power pulled men from all categories of the Brazilian elite including representatives of the skilled trades, the arts, commerce, industry, and academia.¹⁶⁰ One segment of the elite that D. João certainly needed to bring into the fold was the rural oligarchy. The Prince Regent is described as "freely" giving away titles to the landed aristocrats, and the result was that they were co-opted into a new

¹⁵⁸ *Câmaras*, Vol 2, #'s 57, 58, 67, 180, 254

¹⁵⁹ Schultz, 83; Manchester, 172

¹⁶⁰ Silva Dias, 102, n. 44.

echelon in the hierarchy of titled Brazilians. The numbers are staggering for the total amount of titles granted. Over an eight year span, D. João named twenty-eight new marquises, eight counts, sixteen viscounts, and twenty-one barons. He appointed even more Brazilians into the honor orders. A total of 6,096 were granted distinctions in the orders of Christ, Aviz, and São Tiago. These Brazilian titles of nobility were about strategic support, not the traditional avenues of long-term elite heritage and Crown service. D. João's needs were immediate, and thereby his granting of titles was immediate. The titles granted in Brazil were not hereditary and involved no material advantage, but they "meant prestige, personal satisfaction, the expense of living up to the new status in society, and a sense of obligation to the Crown."¹⁶¹ Brazilians were aware that power came in different forms and to different degrees, and they actively and appreciatively pursued whichever opportunities laid before them.

Thus through pragmatic and symbolic measures, the Crown and royal subjects became much more intimately intertwined throughout D. João's stay in Brazil. Some changes in the psychological relationship between the two were the results of deliberate actions while some were simply the natural consequences of the people's new nearness to their king. Whatever the causes, the results were the same. The people of Brazil and João VI had become increasingly invested in the well-being of the other.

Seminal Events: Elevation, Insurrection, and Acclamation

There were three significant events during D. João's stay that both revealed and shaped the changing dynamics of the sovereign-subject relationship. While the elevation of Brazil to the category of kingdom in 1815 and D. João's formal acclamation ceremony

¹⁶¹ Viotti da Costa, 64; Manchester, 171-172

in 1818 each served to formally confirm Brazil's status as a metropolis and the existence of a sovereign-subject relationship characterized by mutual appreciation and admiration, the insurrection in Pernambuco in 1817—sandwiched in between those two events—revealed both the fragility and durability of Brazilian allegiance to the Crown.

When D. João proclaimed Brazil “elevated to the dignity, preeminence, and denomination of the Kingdom of Brazil,” he stated simply that he was “giving...its due importance to the magnitude and locality of my domains in America” and acting out of “the most lively desire to cause to prosper those States which the Divine Providence has confided to my sovereign rule.” It was a formal recognition of a *de facto* situation and one in which a colonial status ended not with rupture and conflict but a change in the people's political and psychological status within the same imperial system. With their new gains, Brazilians held tremendous loyalty towards that system and the sovereign who had exalted them.¹⁶² One foreign observer noted that “addresses of exultation and gratitude to the Sovereign poured in, by one simultaneous movement from every part of the country,” and every “township felt proud of the privilege which admitted it to address its own Sovereign under a Brazilian title, on Brazilian ground.”¹⁶³ The Brazilian response was truly one of elation and appreciation. Writers cited the “unlimited” and “Incomparable Grace” shown by D. João in elevating Brazil and defined that elevation as a “Complete, Irrefutable Testimony to the High Distinction, with which Your Royal Highness shows favor in taking into Consideration and Rewarding the inalterable fidelity, the love, the approval, that the People of This State, will constantly pay tribute to Your

¹⁶² Gasman, ed , “Elevação do Brasil a categoria do Reino Unido a Portugal e Algarves,” 96; Burns, *Documentary*, 190-191; Schultz, 191.

¹⁶³ Barman, *Forging*, 53.

August Sovereignty.” A municipal council in Ouro Preto even wrote to inform the Prince Regent that they had officially solemnized the day of the decree because of its singular significance. For them, December 16 would be celebrated “for all the years” as “the Day in which Your Royal Highness essentially recognized his American vassals, the Day whose memory compels to the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Brazil a right of eternal Gratitude and that will be perpetuated in the Annals of History.”¹⁶⁴ Hipólito José da Costa echoed that very sentiment in the *Correio Braziliense*:

Who will not bless the day of March 7, 1808, in which this capital had the fortune of receiving the best of the Sovereigns, and even more principally the day of December 16, 1815, on which his incomparable beneficence honored this vast continent with the high dignity of Kingdom?¹⁶⁵

The political elevation added a formal “facet of identity” for the Brazilian people. In addition to their formal loyalty to the Crown and Portugal they could look to their own kingdom with respect and pride. They were no longer another nation’s colony, and their monarch was theirs as much as he was the mother country’s.¹⁶⁶

Despite such a show of solidarity and mutual affection, the authority of the Crown was nevertheless put to the test in Pernambuco in 1817. The growing presence of the Masonic Lodges in Brazil had fomented increased political dissent to the extent that some began advocating outright rebellion. A royal crackdown in Pernambuco against freemasons triggered an uprising that while exhibiting “the usual vestments of indiscipline, disorder, and violence,” it also showed that provincial royal authority could be subverted and even brought into collaboration. The rebels held republican and anti-

¹⁶⁴ *Câmaras*, Vol. 2, 207-208, #245.; 145, #219.

¹⁶⁵ “Providencias em beneficio da capital e do Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. 29, 75.

¹⁶⁶ Barman, *Forging*, 44; Schultz, 154;

Portuguese sentiments and had attacked the sacred symbols of the monarchy: the royal portrait, coat of arms, and official staves of authority. Such an assault on those internalized symbols consequently repulsed conservatives and moderates alike.¹⁶⁷ News of the events gave rise to “a spontaneous and considerable manifestation of dynastic dedication and monarchical loyalty, offering numerous militiamen” and large sums of money “to go combat the revolutionaries.” Rio alone sent seven thousand volunteers and two hundred contos as a demonstration of “love for their sovereign.”¹⁶⁸ Those municipal councils of nearby provinces as well as within Pernambuco itself who remained loyal to D. João felt a heightened need to attest their loyalty to the Crown—to give public testimony—and distance themselves from the goings on in Pernambuco. Council after council denounced the insurrection as “perfidy,” “treason,” “abominable,” and “monstrous.” A council in Ceará put out a public notice that was printed in the *Correio Braziliense* that there were festivities held to commemorate the subjugation of the insurrection. Rio celebrated with similar fireworks, singing, and theatrical performances. Loyalists also countered the revolutionary rhetorical assault on royal authority by turning Enlightenment concepts toward the defense of the king. They repeatedly attached the adjective “Natural” to D. João’s title. There was a palpable need on their part to emphasize the king’s inherent but also deserved legitimacy. Fidelity to the king was sacred for them, and they did everything they could to prove their continued allegiance. They wrote to assure D. João that they were “Renewing in Your Royal Presence Our ancient, and loyal Oaths of obedience, love, and fidelity, that we profess Always and Constantly to Such a Grand King, and Father, and to all the August, and Royal Family of

¹⁶⁷ Barman, *Forging*, 57-58, 61-62; Lima 503.

¹⁶⁸ Oliveira Lima, 549.

the House of Bragança.”¹⁶⁹ The Pernambucans themselves obviously had similar protestations to make. They assured that “The Pernambucan fidelity was attacked, however it was not defeated.” Instead, the endurance of royal allegiance in the face of such an uprising served as a testimony to its “steadiness and perpetuity.” According to the council of Recife, Pernambucans “will always be Loyal, Valorous, and Steadfast, and will sing without end—Viva the King D. João VI, the most Pious, the most Just, and the most Amiable of all the Sovereigns.”¹⁷⁰

Although the Crown had responded forcefully and with a mind to make an example of the Pernambucan insurrectionists, the event ultimately showed D. João’s use of strategic royal mercy. Such shows of mercy symbolically accompanied a moment of the most profound royal celebration, and in this case that event was João’s formal acclamation ceremony in 1818. On that occasion the king declared an end to bloodletting and granted pardons that either reduced or freed all of those involved except the head of the rebellion and those who remained intransigent in their defiance of the monarchy. The popular response to João’s mercy was, as expected, positive. Da Costa found that “such an act of clemency characterizes the goodness of the heart of the King” and praised his king for being above a thirst for vengeance duly provoked by the rebellion. Instead, D. João had kept the “dignity of the Crown” and helped calm and quiet the kingdom from revolutionary rhetoric and actions.¹⁷¹ The Pernambucan insurrection challenged the bonds forged between the Brazilian people and their sovereign, but for the majority of subjects,

¹⁶⁹ *Câmaras*, Vol 1, docs. 23, 24, 27, 28, 35, 35, 36, 40, 41, 43, “Festividade no Ceará, pela redução de Pernambuco,” in *Correio*, Vol. XX, 279-283; Schultz, 113.

¹⁷⁰ *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 107, #59.

¹⁷¹ Cavalhero, 93-96; “Decreto de perdão aos amotinadores em Pernambuco,” in *Correio*, Vol. XX, p545-546; “Reflexoens Perdão aos amotinadores em Pernambuco,” in *Correio*, Vol. XX, p609-611.

it did not break them. It was a test for the king and his monarchy, and both had passed. A year after Brazilian insurrectionists had spilled both Brazilian and Portuguese blood on Brazilian soil in defiance of the Crown, the Brazilian people would bear witness to D. João's Acclamation, the very apex of his royal rule in Brazil.¹⁷²

The acclamation of a European sovereign on American soil was a singular event in the histories of both Europe and the Americas. Portuguese royal protocol held no specific prohibition against holding such a ceremony outside of Lisbon. The issue had simply never come up since the royal family had always resided there. While João's ceremony would break with tradition in terms of geography, Brazil—as an equal, constituent kingdom of the Portuguese Empire—ostensibly held appropriate status to be the location for the Acclamation of João VI.¹⁷³

The acclamation of a king was the Super Bowl of ostentation. The sacrosanct ceremony was naturally an ostentation meant to elicit the tribute and fidelity of the royal subjects, but the Brazilians' new proximity to that sacred right of passage and process of royal continuity served to deepen what was already a profound connection between the King and the people of Brazil. The ritual evoked the very heritage of the Portuguese nation and dated back to the very first Portuguese king, Afonso Henriques (1128-1185) as well as the first Bragançan king, João IV (1640-1656). With the public processions, oaths, and festivities, there was a “magnificence and beauty never before seen in Rio de Janeiro.” Brazilians had not born witness to anything on such a scale of symbolic

¹⁷² Although Queen Maria I died in 1816, D. João's formal Acclamation was delayed until two years later. The wedding of Pedro and Leopoldina and the efforts to quell the insurrection in Pernambuco had taken precedence. The preparations necessary for such an unprecedented event in Rio also required substantial time. See Cavaliero, 73-74.

¹⁷³ Schultz, 192.

importance.¹⁷⁴ The ceremony called for D. João to present himself in full regalia: a diamond-laced crimson mantle, solid gold crown and scepter, and the Portuguese imperial coat of arms. Such symbols were fundamental in the imagery and idea of kingship and were meant to impress and awe the royal subjects. The Brazilian people's newness to such a ceremony made those symbols that much more potent. The attendance and participation of the empire's and kingdom's elites and military visibly represented and reinforced the royal and social hierarchy. The triumphal arches, fireworks, six thousand lanterns of color, and thousands of shots fired in tributary salvos created an "extraordinary spectacle" and transformed Rio into a "brilliant garden" and "impassioned city." The people of Rio and those who traveled from all points of Brazil viewed the grandeur of their King's acclamation from any vantage point they could find and met the royal participants with "uninterrupted vivas."¹⁷⁵ As a ceremony, D. João's acclamation succeeded in capturing the people's imagination and deepening the bonds between the ruler and his subjects.

The popular response to D. João's Acclamation showed the Brazilian people's distinct pride in playing host to such a momentous event. The special *Te Deum* mass drew to the churches "innumerable People...of all classes, united, and overflowing from the great respect, and humility to give Thanks." Celebrations were not limited to formal religious observances, though. "In testimony" of their "inexplicable joy," municipal councils throughout Brazil organized commemorations, illuminations, operas, dances,

¹⁷⁴ Schultz, 194.

¹⁷⁵ Oliveira Lima, 609, Schultz, 48, 62 (n 34), 194; "Cerimônia da aclamação, no Rio de Janeiro," in *Correio*, Vol. XX, 489-494.

competitions, and fireworks.¹⁷⁶ In the hearts of his subjects there was “joy and satisfaction,” as well as “love and gratitude.” A letter from the Vila do Crato is representative of the extraordinary deference demonstrated in messages to the King:

We will not stop with our obligations to beg...God for his continual blessings on Your Most Faithful Majesty and on all the Royal Family of the House of Bragança in order that the royal Throne is preserved for all the ages, with felicity of all loyal subjects, that as we confess our loyal obedience, that we must yield, and we will continually yield to Your Most Faithful Majesty as loyal and humble subjects.¹⁷⁷

Others were no less impressed with the King and the moment. Another council member wrote that the ceremony made “the Epoch most distinguished for Brazil.” Hipólito José da Costa called João VI a “model for the Monarchies of the Universe.” Courtiers went as far to acclaim D. João “the first king of the New World, the first to live there...the first to enrich her, the first to found and new monarchy, a new kingdom, a new empire.” The King had indeed become the embodiment of the idealized virtues of a monarch in the eyes of the Brazilian people. As they did with Princess Leopoldina, the people decorated João’s processional with the qualities they attributed to him: “Magnanimity, Liberality, Wisdom, Authority, Munificence, Piety, Religion, Premium, and Love of Virtue.”¹⁷⁸ Brazilian society was filled with so much positiveness that it was natural that the people embraced D. João. The experiences of Brazil showed a sovereign-subject relationship that was synergistic, making each the better with their contact and propelling each to do more and be more.

¹⁷⁶ *Câmaras*, Vol 1, p32-34, #12, p69-71, #33; 231, #116.

¹⁷⁷ *Câmaras*, Vol 1, 51, #20; 53, #23; 56, #24.

¹⁷⁸ “Cerimônia da aclamação, no Rio de Janeiro,” in *Correio*, Vol. XX, 486-488; Cavalheiro, 74; *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 87-88, #188.

There was one final and important feature to the acclamation of João VI, and that was the incorporation of distinctly Brazilian elements to the ceremonial proceedings. Along with the nobles, courtiers, religious leaders, and military troops who participated in the parade-like royal procession from one ceremonial spot to another were included porters, some of whom carried in their hands cane and others who carried silver apples. In addition to this use of tropical imagery, the ceremony also saw the incorporation of Brazil into the formal insignia. An emblem of the Kingdom of Brazil joined with those of the other constituent kingdoms on the royal arms of the King of the United Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves.¹⁷⁹ With all that the ceremony of acclamation came to symbolize for all involved, the Brazilian people were celebrating both João's acclamation as well as their own.

Conclusion

Thus was the impact on Brazil of D. João's relocation of the Bragança imperial administration to his American dominion. Virtually no aspect of Brazilian life escaped the period untouched or unchanged. A colonial city had become an imperial metropolis, and a colonial people had become full imperial citizens. A colony had become a kingdom, and lastly a Portuguese Prince had been acclaimed King of the United Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves on American soil. The sovereign-subject relationship between João and the Brazilian people was transformed through interaction and access. The bonds of allegiance deepened and blended aspects of the Portuguese and Brazilian societies. In the end, the Braganças and Brazilians affirmed each other. Brazil saved the monarchy from European deposition and irrelevance, and

¹⁷⁹ "Cerimonia da aclamação, no Rio de Janeiro," in *Correio*, Vol. XX, 489; Ribeiro, 74.

through all of the measures taken by D. João, the monarchy saved Brazil from the ignobility of its colonial status. However, the question of status and metropolitan orientation would prove to be a grave point of contention for an empire with, in reality, two metropolises: Lisbon and Rio. Just as the inhabitants of Brazil had found their subordinate position to be increasingly intolerable with the presence of their sovereign, those in Portugal found the absence of their sovereign and the reversal of the empire's orientation equally unacceptable. The stage would be set for confrontation, a state of affairs which D. João would do his best to avert. Throughout the momentous events to come, the Braganças and Brazil would face them together, and the outcome would perpetuate a bond that began in 1808 and exists even today.

CHAPTER 3

PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE: QUESTIONS OF POWER AND STATUS

By 1820 neither Portugal nor Brazil were the same societies they had been just a decade before. The changes within Brazil stimulated by the presence of the Portuguese royal family and court literally transformed the former colony into a kingdom. Rio de Janeiro functioned as the empire's metropolis in every way. Politically, it served as the center of imperial administration. Socially, it increasingly participated directly in the royal life cycle and metropolitan lifestyle. Finally, the busy Rio harbor signaled an open economic policy unshackled from mercantilist limitations. In terms of identity, when in 1816 Dom João was crowned King of the United Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves, the Brazilian people celebrated both João VI's acclamation as well as their own. Foreign powers vied for access to the broad markets and vast resources of the American kingdom ruled directly by a European sovereign. Brazil was a confirmed player on the world stage, and because of that fact the Portuguese Empire had reemerged as a force with which to be reckoned. That new face of the empire, though, and the changes it represented on both sides of the Atlantic, spurred an internal reckoning as well. Both the Portuguese and Brazilians had fundamental issues facing them by the time that 1820 rolled around, and the respective societies' approaches and actions in reconciling

the questions of power and authority determined the courses of national history for the mother country and her former colony.

With the creation of a revolutionary parliament or *Côrtes* in Lisbon in 1820, a discrete and increasingly powerful legislative branch emerged in the overall political system of the Portuguese Empire. The introduction of that legislative branch, made under the auspices of constitutionalism and popular representation, into a governmental that had only ever functioned under the dynamics of an absolute monarchy naturally created a certain level of negotiation and uncertainty. Constitutional government in the Portuguese Empire became a grand experiment, a work in progress. The process of defining the parameters of legislative and executive powers was the fundamental task of that experiment and the time. Ranging from cooperation to competition to confrontation, the interactions between the two powers involved the high stakes of imperial power caught between two potent symbols: the *Côrtes* and the Crown. The Portuguese *Côrtes* of 1820 was not a run-of-the-mill legislative body. It fused the drama and passion of revolution with the heady notions of popular representation and sovereignty. With this, the *Côrtes* captured the imaginations of Portuguese and Brazilians alike and transformed their notions of government and authority. Similarly, the dynamism of the Crown as the executive secured for that branch an equally powerful and symbolic place in the imaginations of the people and the power structure of the government. Under other circumstances, these two powers may have been able to coexist and work in tandem to protect Portuguese imperial interests throughout the globe. The metropolitan schism within the empire that resulted from the relocation of the monarchy to Brazil, though, created a complex reality of alliance and confrontation amongst the three principal actors

of the period: the Royal House of Bragança, the Portuguese Côrtes, and the Brazilian people.

That interaction defined what was the second fundamental issue of the period: the relationship between Portugal and Brazil. The trans-Atlantic move of the Braganças turned the imperial-colonial pyramid upside down, and the power asserted and exerted by the Côrtes profoundly affected the dynamics of imperial administration and set the two metropolises on a collision course with each other. A product of the volatile mixture of constitutionalism and the uncertainties of a metropolis left behind and seemingly forsaken by its sovereign, the Portuguese Côrtes would ultimately challenge Brazilian ascendancy and royal authority in an attempt to reclaim Portuguese prominence and identity. However, in attacking both targets through the recall of the Braganças to Lisbon and legislative attempts to return primacy to Lisbon while re-subordinating Brazil to those Portuguese interests, the Côrtes committed a costly tactical error. It managed to fuse Dom Pedro's defense of his and his dynasty's royal monarchical authority as Prince Regent of Brazil with the efforts of the Brazilian people around him who were similarly fighting to defend their rights and status as a kingdom. This unique dynamic set the Brazilian people at odds not with their imperial sovereign but instead solely with the revolutionary Côrtes in Lisbon intent on bending the former colony to its will. In the war over authority and preeminence, Dom Pedro would prove to be the most potent symbol of power in that conflict. His role as champion and protector of the monarchy, his dynasty, and Brazil placed him at the forefront of independence and at the center of the newly emerging Brazilian society.

The Emergence of the Côrtes

The experiences and trajectories of Brazil and Portugal during the monarchy's stay in Rio could not have been more opposite in nature. In reality, Brazilian gains represented Portuguese losses in security, prestige, and power. In terms of security, the Portuguese faced what the royal court fled from: the specter of Napoleonic war and conquest. The absence of the monarchy and presence of French forces in 1808 plunged Portugal into a civil and anti-French war. General Junot governed Portugal directly after he abolished the Regency left behind by Dom João and declared the Braganças deposed. Those Portuguese elites left behind also faced such dire circumstances with depleted economic resources as those who sailed to Brazil took as much currency and as many valuables as they could muster and carry with them. Stripped of that wealth and resources, the Portuguese then also faced the punitive economic measures of French rule in the forms of heavy fines, indemnities, sequestrations, levies, and other forced loans. In the end, "the French bled Portugal as much as they could" until a British expedition arrived in 1809 to drive out those French forces and oversee the administration of Portugal.¹⁸⁰

Just as the arrival of the Braganças in Rio drew the Brazilians into a more intimate relationship with their monarch, João's prolonged absence from Portugal had the reverse effect on his connection to the citizens of the mother country both in a physical and psychological sense. Lisbon had palaces but no king and was a metropolitan city with

¹⁸⁰ Harry Bernstein, "The Lisbon *Juz do Pôvo* and the Independence of Brazil, 1750-1822: An Essay on Luso-Brazilian Populism," in *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society*, eds. Henry S. Keith and S. F. Edwards (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1969): 205, 207; Barman, *Forging*, 47.

no power. The portrait painted by the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian historian Pereira da Silva is a stark one:

devastated by invasion...; resources diminished...; loss of population resulting from wars and emigration to America; now devoid of industries, factories, and mercantile dealings; reduced to bankruptcy...; reduced to the position of a colony, and a conquered colony at that; what nation could rival Portugal in suffering?¹⁸¹

By 1820, João VI remained in Brazil, despite the fact that it had been six years since Napoleon's general defeat and eleven years since British forces had driven the French out of Portugal. The role of the British military—specifically General William Carr Beresford—as administrative caretaker of Portugal during the King's long absence loosened the Portuguese people's ties to their distant absolute monarch and created an environment ripe for change.

Ironically, the catalyst of revolution in Lisbon came not from Europe but from an uprising in Brazil. There had been agitation against the imperial government prior to and during the early years of João's stay in Brazil, but the attempts had been isolated and "lacked any form of organization or public support." They were thus snuffed out with little difficulty. In March of 1817, though, the uprising in Recife, Pernambuco escalated into the creation of a revolutionary junta that promptly declared Pernambuco an independent republic. With the northern region's historic orientation towards Portugal itself replaced by tax demands from Rio, the resulting resentment fostered an interest in liberal doctrines such as open trade, popular representation, and republicanism. While the Recife insurrection was higher-profile than those that preceded it, it also lacked the broad-based support required to sustain such a movement. Dom João was therefore able to subdue Pernambuco by mobilizing troops to blockade and bring the province back

¹⁸¹ Silva Dias, 93

under control by the following year.¹⁸² As discussed in the previous chapter, the Prince Regent remained popular amongst many in the rebellious province, as evidenced in one of the insurrectionist's call for Pernambuco to recognize Dom João still as its king even during the height of the insurrection. While this fact, combined with the King's official declaration of an end to bloodletting following his formal acclamation to the throne, served to soften the confrontational nature of the situation, the incident nevertheless had a profound impact on the perception of the absolute authority of the monarchy. After the flashpoint of the Pernambuco rebellion, the previously unquestioned authority of the king became increasingly assaulted. The result was a precedent for an alternate political system at play in Portuguese America that "stripped the Crown of its aura of invincibility and inevitability."¹⁸³

Such a shake-up in the status quo mentality reached across the Atlantic and sparked an unsuccessful similar attempt at insurrection in Portugal in 1818. The event was touched off when Portuguese troops—resentful of the British command and the conditions of the Portuguese military in general—earlier refused to leave the northern port city of Caldas to embark for rebellious Pernambuco. While British General Beresford dealt with the Caldas situation, former Portuguese General Gomes Freire led a garrison to Lisbon and attempted to declare a revolutionary *côrtes* and create a constitution. Upon his return, Beresford immediately and brutally put down the insurrection: hanging, beheading, and even incinerating some of the bodies of those executed. While Beresford's tactics did end that specific revolt, they also engendered more hostility on the part of the Portuguese and merely postponed what would be a

¹⁸² Cavahero, 91-94, 122-123; Barman, *Forging*, 59-60.

¹⁸³ Cavahero, 94-98; Barman, *Forging*, 61-63

second, successful revolution. Even those who still maintained a profound loyalty to Dom João noted with disapproval that the Portuguese king was really the last Western European monarch with absolute powers. The sense of being behind the times drove many into the constitutional fold, but those constitutional supporters did not as a whole equate such support with a repudiation of the monarchy. This situation tempered what could have been a radicalized movement and instead inspired many to call for Dom João to return to Lisbon to calm things. The King, however, was unwilling to leave the refuge of Brazil.

Two years later, a new group of rebels succeeded where Gomes Freire had failed. Spurred by protests in Oporto by unpaid troops who called for the specific dismissal of Regent Beresford and the recall of the King, a revolutionary junta formed in Lisbon and convoked the ancient *Côrtes* to assume authority for the country.¹⁸⁴ The *Côrtes* introduced itself to its European neighbors shortly thereafter, affirming constitutional government as a new cornerstone in its identity, stating the

necessity of a Constitution, of a fundamental Law, that might regulate the limits and obedience; that might guarantee for the future the rights and felicity of the people; that might return to the Nation its honor, its independence, and its glory; and that on these grounds might keep firm and inviolable the Throne of Senhor D. João VI and his August House and Family of Bragança, and the purity and splendor of the Sacred Religion, that in all the epochs of the monarchy has been one of the most esteemed marks of the Portuguese, and has given the more noble luster to its heroes.¹⁸⁵

With still no desire to leave Brazil, João VI continued to respond mildly to events in Portugal. He agreed to ratify the revolutionary *Côrtes*, a formality since technically only the King could summon the legislative assembly. In return for João's formal

¹⁸⁴ Cavahero, 99, 123-125.

¹⁸⁵ Gasman, "Manifesto da Nação Portuguesa aos Soberanos e Povos da Europa, dado em Lisboa a 15 de dezembro de 1820": 97-98.

acknowledgement, the Côrtes agreed to follow the traditional uses, customs, and fundamental laws of the kingdom. Once again, the unusually moderate nature of Portuguese constitutional negotiations produced a tempered revolution. Once there was a formal protocol and dialogue established, Dom João agreed to respond to the ensuing proposals of the Côrtes. With this, the new *Soberano Congresso Nacional* went to work, modeling its approach to popular representation on the 1812 Spanish constitution creating governmental juntas across the empire to oversee administration under the auspices of the new legislative authority. Those juntas would in turn facilitate the election of delegates through an electoral college to participate in the drafting and ratification of the constitution.¹⁸⁶ The introduction of popular representation into the workings of the imperial government reinforced the popularity of constitutional ideals, and the *Congresso* sought to capitalize on its new popularity and influence. The new constitutional framework for the government also meant that each side—the Côrtes as the legislative component and the monarchy as the executive—had to actively define the boundaries of its powers in relation to the other. In this process, the people of Brazil would be caught in the middle of these power negotiations. Brazil's elevated status in the empire had been predicated on the presence of its absolute ruler and its function as the metropolis of the empire. A rejuvenated legislative government in Lisbon called into question not only the authority of the Crown but the status of Brazil as well. The empire of equals and of two metropolises was headed for a showdown.

¹⁸⁶ Cavalhero, 123-125, 128; *Juntas*, 545, #189

Competing Authority: The Côrtes vs. The King

The first attempt of the Côrtes to flex its legislative muscle and assert itself over the monarchy—and D. João in particular—came in the legislature’s recall of the King to Lisbon in January of 1821. In this battle of wills, the Côrtes won out because it wielded the most powerful weapon against a monarch: the threat of deposition. The ultimatum forced Dom João to return to Lisbon to protect his throne. On the surface, the acquiescence of the King to the Côrtes’ demands appeared to signal a complete victory for legislative authority. After lingering in Brazil long after the threat of Napoleon was neutralized, João VI was finally forced to physically return to Portugal. That issue of D. João choosing to ignore the plight of Portugal was a point of particular consternation to the Côrtes. In its 1820 Manifesto, the *Congresso* had specifically condemned “inert negligence” as a weakness “no less fatal” to Portugal than the “excessive violence of tyrannical despotism.”¹⁸⁷ This statement was an obvious attack on the King’s passivity and his seeming obliviousness to the needs of the Portuguese people. With his return, João had to face the repercussions of that Portuguese perception.

Geography aside, the Côrtes was, much more significantly, also able to strip the King—and the monarchy in general—of significant powers and prestige, which in turn were promptly absorbed by the legislative branch. The reality of the shift in the political landscape became immediately apparent. The Côrtes forced the King and all of his court upon their arrival to remain offshore because its reception arrangements had not been completed. On a more foreboding note, João’s ministers—whom the Portuguese blamed for keeping the King away—were warned to stay offshore for their own personal safety as well, due to an “angry Lisbon crowd.” When he was finally and formally received,

¹⁸⁷ Gasman, “Manifesto da Nação Portuguesa,” 97-98.

João was met by complete strangers and forced to read a constitutionalist address that espoused the virtues of the Côrtes and the upcoming constitution. The Côrtes even made the King attend a requiem Mass for Gomes Freire and the other victims of the 1817 failed revolution.¹⁸⁸ There could be no greater symbol of the shift in the balance of power than the monarch being forced to publicly pay religious homage to those who revolted against his imperial government and spurred the revolution against monarchical absolutism.

Beyond the subordination of the King in symbol and image, the Côrtes also attacked the practical authority of the Crown. While Portuguese and Brazilians alike celebrated his “Constitutional Majesty” in words, by their legislative deeds the Côrtes—decree by decree—stripped João of his authority until he in reality was a king in name only. The complex interaction of their rhetoric and actions reveals a strange mixture of appreciation yet condemnation of the monarchy. The Côrtes qualifies the revolution in Portugal as it being “necessary to rise up in one voice, not to offend or undervalue the Prince [D. João], nor to strip His August House of the rights by its many titles, and most especially by its goodness, mercy, and love for its people, having acquired all of their hearts.” Instead the goal of the Côrtes was to prevent “the license, the immorality, and the absurd and barbarous anarchy” that threatened the throne in the King’s absence, thereby giving “to this Throne the solid bases of justice and of law, in order to free from the treachery of flattery, from the snares of ambition, from the cunning of arbitrariness, to make firm without the power to be unjust.” It was truly a gift to simultaneously praise the monarchy while pointing out its propensity for unjust rule.¹⁸⁹ The Côrtes ultimately appreciated the importance of the King as an historic and social symbol, but attempted to

¹⁸⁸ Cavalero, 130.

¹⁸⁹ Gasman, “Manifesto da Nação Portuguesa,” 97-98.

keep him relegated to those fields and out of the actual running of the government. João VI, as “Constitutional King,” could not make, propose, or question any law. He could not send an order or make an administrative appointment without the consent of the secretary of state who was selected by the *Côrtes*.¹⁹⁰ He was also compelled to accept the upcoming constitution as binding both for Portugal and Brazil. Whereas before João VI was admittedly passive in his approach to administrative decision-making, the impotency forced upon him in Lisbon made him long for Brazil. His remarks following his arrival in Lisbon convey this sentiment regarding his regrets at leaving Brazil: “There I was happy. There I was King.”¹⁹¹ This statement reflects the starkly different ruler that João became once he set foot back on Portuguese soil. He became a figure dictated to by the *Côrtes* in unfriendly surroundings that lacked any semblance of the comfort and security he had found in Brazil.

In his preparations made before leaving his American kingdom, though, the King was able to carve out some political space for the continuation of Bragança direct rule in Brazil. While the decree of the *Côrtes* called for the return of the King and his royal house, João nevertheless had Pedro, the Crown Prince of Portugal, remain in Brazil to attend to the administration of that kingdom as its Prince Regent. By publicly and formally leaving D. Pedro broad powers as Regent, João VI transferred to his son the traditional sweeping powers formerly attributed to the monarchy. The distance and separation of Brazil afforded political space for João and Pedro, and both took advantage of that space to secure and employ the perpetuation of royal authority in Brazil. Regardless of the anti-monarchical climate in Portugal, as a Bragança and the heir to the

¹⁹⁰“Procedimentos de Portugal contra o Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 397; *Juntas*, Vol. 2, #194.

¹⁹¹ Cavalhero, 130.

throne, Pedro enjoyed an innate legitimacy and authority with the Brazilian people because of his lineage. The *Côrtes* may have had one year to establish its new authority, but Pedro would reap the benefits of centuries of deliberate cultivation and reinforcement of the symbolic place of the monarch at the apex of the Portuguese Empire's power structure. Through his actions in regards to leaving Pedro behind as Brazil's caretaker, João VI consciously extended his royal authority from himself to his son, thus making certain Pedro's ability to garner support and act as a royal. The tempered nature of the constitutional "revolution" in Portugal and Brazil also made Pedro's support in Brazil possible. By his natural passivity and subsequent lack of open opposition to the constitutional movement, D. João did not make the issue of the constitution an either/or dynamic of choice for his subjects. It was never an issue of the King *or* the *Côrtes*. His acquiescence to the demands of the Portuguese and Brazilians for a constitutional government made it possible for the people to embrace their own new rights while continuing allegiance to D. João and the house of Bragança, thus reinforcing the dynasty's authority and legitimacy. João intentionally cultivated affection and loyalty to his son by the way he established Pedro's authority before returning to Lisbon. He declared that he was leaving behind "my very loved and cherished son, the Royal Prince of the United Kingdom in charge of the Provisional Government of the Kingdom of Brazil."¹⁹² João's intention was clearly to pass the mantle of authority and affection that he enjoyed onto his son. He then augmented that symbolic authority with concrete powers that were described by contemporary commentaries as "almost unlimited" and

¹⁹² "Decreto de S. M. Annunciando a sua aprovação da Constituição, e mudança para Lisboa," in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 7.

“so ample as to erect the government almost to an independent monarchy.”¹⁹³ In his “Instructions for the Guidance of the Royal Prince as Regent,” João VI clearly designated the conditions for Pedro’s rule. The Prince Regent was to use the council of the ministers and secretaries of state (each official being selected by the King) in his decision-making process and “shall possess every power for the Administration of Justice, Finance, and internal Government” and “shall decide on all questions relating to the public Administration.” In more specific terms, the Prince Regent could pardon or commute the sentences of criminals convicted in capital cases, a power which he would strategically exercise on various occasions. He also possessed the power to make all legal, judicial, financial, civil, and military appointments subject only to Dom João’s confirmation signature. Similarly, Pedro possessed the authority to confer honors of orders onto the citizens in Brazil. Finally, and most importantly, João granted the Prince Regent broad war and treaty powers. João specified that Pedro

shall be empowered to declare War, offensive or defensive, against any Enemy which may attack the Kingdom of Brazil, should the circumstances be so urgent as to make the waiting for my Royal Orders a serious prejudice to my faithful Vassals of this Kingdom.¹⁹⁴

The right of Pedro to defend Brazil against “any Enemy” would be of utmost importance as Brazilians and their Prince Regent increasingly perceived the Côrtes as an enemy and threat to the *kingdom* of Brazil.

Competing Authority: The Côrtes vs. The Prince Regent

The Côrtes quickly recognized the danger to legislative sovereignty that Pedro’s powers as Prince Regent represented. Where inaction characterized D. João’s leadership

¹⁹³ “Regencia no Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 68, Cavalhero, 129.

¹⁹⁴ Burns, *Documentary*, “Instructions for the Guidance of the Prince Royal as Regent”· 191-193.

style, Pedro displayed the vigor and dynamism of his youth and station and consequently posed a more active threat to the Côrtes' agenda of subordinating both the monarchy and Brazil. The legislature recognized that the autonomy of Brazil was greatly heightened by Pedro's own autonomy there and served as the greatest threat to the continued union of Portugal and Brazil under the imperial system. Because of this recognized threat and as it had with his father, the Côrtes summoned the Prince back to Portugal in October of 1821. Once again, though, the legislators had to obfuscate their motives with royal platitudes so as not to offend against the popularity of Pedro and the Crown. In its decree, the Côrtes justified D. Pedro's recall by saying that "the continuation of the residency of the Royal Prince in Rio de Janeiro becomes not only unnecessary but also unfitting to his high station." The decree further informed Pedro that he is to serve his nation not just by returning from the Americas but by undertaking a tour of European constitutional monarchies so that he may gain the necessary knowledge for him to "one day occupy with dignity the Portuguese throne."¹⁹⁵ The message, then, was that being Prince Regent of Brazil was beneath the Prince of Portugal, but that same prince was in need of schooling on the finer points of being a constitutional monarch in Europe. The insult and ploy of this decree would be a rallying point later in the independence of Brazil.

Shades of Gray: Ambiguous Power Structures in America

The Côrtes' recall of D. Pedro did meet with some qualified and temporary success in Brazil. While the King's wishes clearly delineated Pedro's powers as Prince Regent, that authority was not so clear-cut when put in its larger imperial and constitutional context. The lines separating the executive and legislative powers were

¹⁹⁵ "Decreto para a regressão do Príncipe Real," in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII 351-352; Ribeiro, 37.

always being negotiated and tested by the actions of the power players, and it was difficult for the lower levels of administration to keep up with those shifting lines of power. The division of authority throughout the empire amongst the Côrtes, the King, and the Prince Regent created an ambiguous hierarchy of authority and a minefield for loyalties and protocol. This complicated scenario is evident in the communications of the provincial governing juntas. Constituted according to a mandate from the Côrtes in October of 1821, those juntas served as provisional local revolutionary governments in Brazil and thus owed the Côrtes loyalty. Letter after letter from those juntas recognizes the sovereignty of the National Congress. However, through the constitutional framework, Dom João was also their sovereign monarch. Add to that the fact that Pedro possessed immediate authority over Brazil as the Prince Regent designated by the King, and an obvious recipe for disorder and disaster existed throughout Brazil (especially in the northern regions that had almost a schizophrenic Brazilian orientation towards Portugal).

The solution for many in Brazil was to affirm loyalty to all three figures under the mantle of the constitution. In the same proclamation, a junta could pledge an “oath of fidelity and obedience to the Côrtes” while simultaneously pledging “sentiments of love, fidelity, and respect” to D. Pedro as the Constitutional Prince Regent and D. João as the King. No matter what the Côrtes did, it could not negate, ironically, Pedro’s executive power due to his and his father’s constitutionally derived legitimacy.¹⁹⁶ The situation was indeed complex. In the end, though, most Brazilians agreed that constitutionalism placed preeminence on the Côrtes as the highest authority. For a time these sentiments of loyalty

¹⁹⁶ *Juntas*, Vol. 2, 543-544, #188, 549-550, #191; da Costa, Vol. 29, “Termo de Juramento ás autoridades de Pernambuco, reconhecendo o Principe Regente,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 231.

were compatible. However, the ability of the provinces to reconcile their competing loyalties became increasingly harder as D. Pedro continued to defy the Côrtes' recall. The officials of the juntas displayed a wariness early on of the Prince Regent overstepping his constitutional bounds as well as an ongoing desire to remain united under the constitutional rule of the Côrtes. At the same time, though, many observers in Brazil were beginning to voice a similar concern that the recall of the Prince Regent signaled an overstepping of the legislative authority of the Côrtes into the domain of the executive. A letter from the province of Paraíba reflected how the existing competitive authorities spawned division and factionalization in the local and provincial governments. The political vying and intrigue present in that province was representative of Brazil as a whole at that time as well. Elected officials in the municipal câmaras and provincial juntas had to walk a fine line of respect and loyalty to those three figures of power. The hierarchy delineated in that correspondence reflected in what the writer placed primacy at that moment: either the Côrtes as the symbol of popular power and the caretakers of the constitution or the monarchy with its power of traditional authority. The immediacy of Pedro's presence, however, eventually made him the go-to figure for the restoration of order and harmony, even for the staunchest of constitutionalists.¹⁹⁷

The experiences of Spanish America at that time served as powerful cautionary tales for Brazilians, and the "specter of chaos" made the Prince Regent's leadership important to the people of Brazil regardless of their ideological leanings.¹⁹⁸ A letter from the junta in the Province of Rio Grande do Norte in May of 1822 warned D. Pedro of the

¹⁹⁷Cavaliere, 124-125, *Juntas*, 566-577, #'s 194, 194A, "Termo de Vereação no Senado da Camara da Villa do Recife de Pernambuco," in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 228-230; *Ibid.*, "Termo de Juramento ás autoridades de Pernambuco, reconhecendo o Principe Regente". 230-232.

¹⁹⁸ "Conservação da União entre o Brasil e Portugal," in *Correio*, Vol. XXVIII, 57.

increasing chaos generated by the dynamic of the competing loyalties within that province. The letter detailed how the larger competition between the legislative and executive powers was being played out on the local levels. The presence of different factions fostered political and military intrigue as multiple slates of electors for the juntas were being fielded by each faction. Faced with the turmoil of this situation, the officials cited the overwhelming need for a centralizing force and called upon D. Pedro to use his royal authority to restore order and protect the public well-being.¹⁹⁹

While the *Côrtes* did temporarily succeed in competing for the allegiance of the Brazilian people, D. Pedro's ultimate ability to restore monarchical authority in both the symbolic and practical respects in Brazil spelled disaster for the National Assembly. By invoking the innate legitimacy of the Bragança Dynasty, co-opting the mantle of constitutionalism, and exhibiting personal dynamism, Pedro would win the hearts and minds of the Brazilian people and supplant the *Côrtes* as the most potent symbol of imperial power.

Restoring the Monarchy: Heir to a Popular Throne

The perpetuation of affection and loyalty to the House of Bragança in general and Dom João in particular stemmed in large part from the King's role as benefactor and sympathizer to Brazilian interests and status. In essence, the people of Brazil remained loyal to D. João because he remained loyal to them. There is an obvious sense of gratitude on the part of Brazilians towards D. João for the gains they made during the King's stay. For example, in as late as June of 1822, officials in Paraíba writing to D. Pedro affirmed their "submission to the Senhor Dom João VI August Father of Your

¹⁹⁹ *Juntas*, Vol. 2, 434, #138; 438-447, #141.

Royal Highness, and Constitutional King..., to whose Paternal Generosity this continent owes its emancipation and elevation to the category of Kingdom.”²⁰⁰ The people’s identification of their status with João’s generosity and favor formed a powerful bond. In his decree announcing his return to Lisbon in 1821, João further endeared himself to Brazilians. While he accepted that it was his obligation to work in conjunction with the Côrtes, he also affirmed the special place in his heart reserved for Brazil:

I do for the general good of all of my people one of the most difficult sacrifices of which my paternal and royal heart is capable, separating me for a second time from subjects, whose memory I will always myself be homesick for, and whose prosperity never will cease to be in any part one of the most assiduous concerns of my paternal government.²⁰¹

Not only was his leaving a sacrifice—implying his preference would be to remain in Brazil—but João also clearly identified Brazil as his home. In leaving his heart in Brazil, D. João in turn captured the hearts of the Brazilian people.²⁰² Letters from Brazil’s local and provincial officials as well as articles and letters to the editor in the *Correio Braziliense* reflected the nuances of the Brazilian perceptions of D. João’s return to Lisbon. Of particular note in the writings discussing the royal authority of Pedro was the way in which the people ascribed no sense of betrayal or negativity towards João VI. A letter from the municipal council of Baependi referred to the state of the King being in Lisbon as his “*Ausencia Saudosa* (melancholic absence)” and echoed the King’s own sentiments.²⁰³ “*Saudosa*” connotes a sense of longing for home. The choice of

²⁰⁰ *Juntas*, Vol. 2, 549-550, #191,

²⁰¹ “Decreto de S. M. Annunciando a sua aprovação da Constituição, e mudança para Lisboa,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 7.

²⁰² Also of note is the first phrase of D. João’s announcement—“I do for the general good of all of my people”—since it is a refrain later echoed almost verbatim by D. Pedro in his *refusal* to leave Brazil.

²⁰³ *Câmaras*, Vol. II, 9-10, #150.

“*Ausencia*” is telling as well. João was merely absent from Brazil; there is no sense of permanence in his being gone and certainly connotes no sense of rejection. The two words used together convey a profound bond between Brazil and D. João in the eyes of the people. Beyond asserting his affection for Brazil, the King also made the important point that he would be attentive to the interests of Brazil. His words reflected a general sense of protecting Brazil as well as specific efforts on his part to secure the advantages of national representation for Brazilians in the National Assembly with a proportional number of deputies that reflected the place of Brazil in the imperial system.²⁰⁴ João VI even went so far as to equalize the pay of Brazilian and Portuguese soldiers before he left for Lisbon. This move further symbolized João’s advancement of Brazilian rights while also serving to defuse growing Brazilian resentment towards Portugal and the *peninsulares*.²⁰⁵ The Brazilian people’s perception of the Bragança Dynasty as being protective of their rights was a notion intentionally cultivated and reinforced by both the Braganças and Brazilians throughout the journey towards independence. Letters were replete with pledges of allegiance to and praise for the superior qualities of the royal House of Bragança, and the Brazilian people never gave up their “unlimited confidence in the generous sentiments of your [João VI] well made heart.”²⁰⁶

Beyond their perception of João VI as the benefactor of Brazil, the people of Brazil also remained loyal to the King—absolving him of any responsibility for the policies coming out of Lisbon—because of the distinction drawn that João was a sad

²⁰⁴ “Decreto de S. M. Annunciando a sua aprovação da Constituição, e mudança para Lisboa,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 7.

²⁰⁵ Cavalheiro, 129-130.

²⁰⁶ “Carta ao Redaactor, sobre o comportamento das Cortes a respeito do Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVIII, 475.

victim of an unjust Côrtes. João's very absence from Brazil was attributed solely to the maneuverings of the Côrtes. One letter written to Pedro in December of 1821 indicted the National Assembly for "having robbed Brazil of the generous founder of this Kingdom, the August Father of Your Royal Highness."²⁰⁷ The issue of the free will of D. João is one that will return time and time again in the writings of Brazilians. Even the Princess Leopoldina in a letter to her father, the Emperor of Austria, referred in 1822 to the continuing state of D. João as being in a "disguised prison by order of the Côrtes."²⁰⁸ Other writers took the King's father figure image and forced absence to a further level, asserting a sense of being orphaned due to the circumstances. One letter stated that the King's withdrawal inspired "sorrow" for provincial citizens as well as all Brazilians and that the Côrtes' measure to return João VI to Portugal reduced Brazilians to a "sad orphancy."²⁰⁹

In yet another example of irony, one of the tactics used by the Côrtes to demonstrate its preeminence over the monarchy actually fueled the perception that João VI was an unwilling participant in the government of Lisbon thereby further insulating him from any negative backlash in Brazil. A decree from July 1821 outlines the specific formula created by the Côrtes to be used in public notices of legislative acts. The decree establishes that D. João serves only as essentially a mouthpiece, merely introducing what the Côrtes has decided. D. João's introduction was designated as such: "I D. João, by the grace of God and through the Constitution of the Monarch, King of the United Kingdom

²⁰⁷ "Representação da Juncta de Governo Provisorio da Provincia de S Paulo, a S. A. R. o Principe Regente do Brazil," in *Correio*, Vol. XXVIII, 318

²⁰⁸ "Carta de D Leopoldina a seu pai," Cópia Microfilme. São Cristovão, 23/6/1822, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial. Cx. 4, Pac. 1, Document 7A.

²⁰⁹ *Juntas*, 545, #189.

of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve, ...Make it known to all my subjects that the Côrtes decrees the following:" While such wording reflected the Assembly's absolute law-making power, it also actually clearly separated the wishes of D. João from the actions of his government. The legislators could try to co-opt the royal seal to legitimize and validate their legislative policies by having D. João sign at the bottom of the decrees, but they could not demonstrate any true collaboration or cooperation. The King's signature may have been on the order annulling Pedro's position as Prince Regent and recalling him to Europe, but no Brazilian attributed responsibility to the King in the attack on his son's authority.²¹⁰

In fact, the opposite was true. The juxtaposition of the royal seal of D. João with the actions of the Côrtes became proof positive of the absolute insidiousness of the National Assembly. In an article published in September of 1822, the "Ministers of Lisbon" were faulted for forcing the King to contradict Pedro—his son no less—citing that such an act was just simply something that D. João would not do but instead a reflection of the Côrtes' desires.²¹¹ D. Pedro himself used a sense of royal moral indignation at that situation repeatedly as a club against the intent and actions of the Côrtes, especially as it increasingly attacked not just royal but Brazilian interests as well.²¹² In a royal decree from August of 1822 calling for Brazilian resistance to "Portuguese hostilities," Pedro equated the Côrtes with "occult and seditious clubs" and pointed to the dishonorable way in which they attempted to use "His Majesty the King,

²¹⁰ "Decreto sobre o formulario das Leys, &c.," in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 104.

²¹¹ "Procedimentos de Portugal contra o Brazil," in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 399.

²¹² The specific actions of the Côrtes in its attempts to re-subordinate Brazil will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

D. João VI, under whose name and authority they claim...to serve themselves and their sinister ends.” Pedro intentionally drew a parallel between his father and himself as being pawns in the legislature’s power plays and presented an image of the Côrtes as having to leach royal authority off of D. João. Three months later Pedro expounded on this idea in his “Manifesto to Friendly Nations” as he sought to justify the separation of Brazil from Portugal to the eyes of the world. Just as the Côrtes had done two years earlier to justify its own rebellion against the state of its imperial administration, Pedro painted a similar image of a people trying to protect themselves against tyranny and oppression. The “Manifesto” conveyed once again moral indignation that the Côrtes, “men so bold and foolish that they dare to attribute to the will and order of my August Father...the desire to subjugate [Brazil].” He then intensified his condemnation of the Côrtes for attempting to do the following:

insinuate that the perfidies and atrocities emanate from the executive power; as if the character of the King, the Benefactor of Brazil, could be capable of such machiavellian perfidy—as if Brazil and the entire World were not aware that Senhor Dom João the Sixth, My August Father, is in reality a prisoner of the State, underneath complete compulsion, and without free will...If the King Sr. D. João VI My August Father was still in the bosom of Brazil, enjoying his liberty and Legitimate Authority, it is certain that he himself would take pleasure in the oaths of this loyal and generous people; and the immortal founder of this kingdom would do no less than I have if he was not prisoner and captive.²¹³

By absolving his father of any duplicity in the measures taken against Brazil and himself, Pedro insulated the image of the King and thereby his own dynasty from any negative backlash of the Côrtes’ imperial policy. The status of arch-villain was placed squarely on the National Assembly, and by equating his actions with those the King would have taken were he free to act, Pedro cultivated a unified stance for the House of Bragança.

²¹³ “Decreto de S. A. R. o Principe Regente, ordenando a resistencia às hostilidades de Portugal,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 429; “Manifesto do Principe Regente do Brazil aos Governos e Naçoens amigas,” 518, 526.

Along with that equation of action, D. Pedro maintained strong bonds of loyalty between Brazilians and his dynasty by consciously invoking imperial legitimacy through his inheritance of royal authority directly from the King. Repeatedly, the Prince Regent traced his leadership status back to the powers conferred on him by his royal blood and the specific actions of his father. Pedro referred to the “dignity and power of the Vast Empire, that the King, my August Father has granted me.” He also touted both his lineage and appointment to the role of Prince Regent by describing himself as “Heir and Legitimate Agent of The King My August Father” and also as D. João’s “*Delegado*.” The message is that D. Pedro was merely carrying out the true will of the King, his father. The people themselves perceived their Regent as “attentive to the instructions left in place in the melancholic absence of the King Dom João.” Pedro never evidenced a need to assert himself over the positions of prestige and power that his father held. Instead he embraced the royal hierarchy with deference and used it to evoke an institution that transcended one man or one ruler and effused those royal figures with a sense of power in perpetuity.

Being able to infuse a sense of religious purpose into his position also never hurt: Pedro considered himself “placed by Providence in the midst of this vast and blessed Country.”²¹⁴ The virtually immaculate, bloodless nature of Brazil’s independence had everything to do with the powerful symbol Pedro became to the Brazilians and Portuguese alike. In facing down the Portuguese troops in Rio who were ordered to force him back to Lisbon, “Dom Pedro had an asset worth more than a regiment of troops. He was a Bragança, son and heir of *El Rei*. Veterans who had fought for nation, church, and

²¹⁴ “Decreto de S. A. R. o Principe Regente, ordenando a resistencia às hostilidades de Portugal,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 429; “Manifesto do Principe Regente do Brazil aos Governos e Naçoens amigas,” 528; *Câmaras*, Vol. 2, 9-10, #150.

throne could not turn their guns on the King's son."²¹⁵ No two-year entity could compete with such history.

Restoring the Monarchy: Constitutional Co-optation

By emphasizing the legitimacy of powers delineated in a constitution, the Côrtes inadvertently provided the monarchy with an extra weapon with which to defend itself. Pedro enjoyed legitimacy not just as a Bragança but as the son and heir to a constitutional monarchy as well. With the upcoming promulgation of a new, revolutionary constitution placing the Braganças into a constitutional system of government, the Côrtes itself fused the prestige of the constitution with traditional royal titles. João VI became “His Constitutional Majesty,” the “Constitutional King,” the “Constitutional Prince Regent,” or the figurehead of the “Representative Monarchy” seemingly overnight.²¹⁶ That blending symbolized the Braganças’ acceptance—whether voluntary or not—of the people’s new participation in the political process. Eventually, the legitimacy conferred on the Braganças under the mantle of the constitution would serve them just as much as their historic royal authority.

In terms of the showdown initiated by the Côrtes’ recall of D. Pedro, the notion of D. João’s free will would emerge again, this time in the context of a debate over the Côrtes’ authority to rescind the wishes of its constitutional king. In response to writings in Portugal against Brazil—specifically ones that dismissed the actions of Pedro as a “disobedient prince” doing the bidding of “men without political and legal character”—

²¹⁵ Cavahero, 138-139.

²¹⁶ Brazilian independence would be declared amidst the proceedings of the Portuguese constituent assembly. The constitution that the Côrtes was supposedly operating under was one in theory and not yet promulgated. *Juntas*, Vol. 2, 565, #194; “Manifesto de S. A. R. o Principe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 417, 424.

the *Correio Braziliense* responder does so by saying the following: “Listen...The Prince has not been disobedient to his father because he complies with that which was mandated to him—that he was to be the Regent of Brazil; and this was mandated while the King acted freely.” The author contrasted the King’s seeming compliance with the Côrtes as existent “because the King does not have free will...he is forced to do that which the Côrtes demands.”²¹⁷ The argument was clearly that the free will of D. João was critical to the validity of actions undertaken in his name. Since the King was, in essence, still his own man when he assigned the powers of the Regency of Brazil to Pedro, then Pedro’s authority was valid and incontrovertible. Similarly, the challenges made against D. Pedro’s status as Regent through the decrees of the Côrtes rendered them invalid and representative of compulsion on the part of the Côrtes against D. João.

D. Pedro invoked a constitutional legitimacy not just on the grounds that the constitution ascribed to him certain powers and authority but also by calling into question the much deeper issue of whether or not the Côrtes truly deserved the supreme power it repeatedly exerted. For the Prince Regent and many Brazilians, the Côrtes seemed to be perverting the very system that it had espoused. The Assembly was not composed of honorable legislators committed to the ideals of the constitution; they were “Lisbon Demagogues,” “Despots,” and a “Hydra” that needed to be decapitated. At the core of this perception was a Côrtes not sharing power in a delineated framework but doing everything it could to usurp the executive power. A writer exclaimed “What clear hypocrisy!” it was “that the Côrtes will tie the hands of the King with a Council of State that they named and now these Deputies speak, saying that the power of the *Soberano*

²¹⁷ “Escriptos em Portugal contra o Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVIII, 738.

[*Congresso*] is not divisible.”²¹⁸ The warning was that the *Côrtes* was using the guise of the constitution to usurp for itself unlimited power. In essence, the legislature had become absolutist. The Prince Regent would attempt to wrest some of that absolute power back away from the *Côrtes* by announcing that no decree made by the Assembly would be valid unless formally approved by Pedro. Such defiance made within the constructs of the constitutional system qualified the Regent’s opposition and reflected the nuanced maneuverings of the *Côrtes* itself. It in turn would cancel that decree and attempt to arrest the agitators behind the Regent’s defiance. The cycle continued until the formal rupture of independence occurred.

Pedro also echoed the sense of constitutional hypocrisy as well as the earlier notion of constitutional reform tempered by the perpetuation of tradition. He affirmed the “right to change political institutions,” but he emphasized that that needed to be done “without destroying these foundations” [of Portuguese society such as the institution of the monarchy]. Repeatedly, this Machiavellian nature of the *Côrtes* was condemned as a subversion of the system that the people thought they were getting. An interesting charge within this context was that the actions of the Assembly against the Prince Regent were in fact an attempt to “disinherit” the royal heir from the Dynasty of the House of Bragança.²¹⁹

The question of fair representation in the National Assembly became another significant point of constitutional contention. Portugal’s approach to Brazilian representation reflected the ongoing battle over Brazil’s status in relation to Portugal. If

²¹⁸ “Manifesto do Principe Regente do Brazil aos Governos e Naçoens amigas,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 513-530; “Governo Politico do Brazil, Segundo intentam as Côrtes,” 274.

²¹⁹ “Manifesto de S. A. R. o Principe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 418; “Relaçoes do Brazil com Portugal,” 572.

the Portuguese had their way—a way which was in direct opposition to the stance articulated by D. João before he left Brazil—then only free citizenry would be used to calculate representation. If only based on the free citizenry, representation in the Côrtes would favor Portugal by almost two to one (130 Portuguese to only 70 Brazilians). With such an overwhelming majority, the Portuguese stood positioned to push every part of their agenda through the legislature. While some Brazilian delegates from the northern provinces acquiesced to the Portuguese majority, the São Paulo representatives demanded nothing less than equal civil and political rights, including a more just system of representation. The Portuguese complete rejection of such notions actually caused some delegates—notably those from Minas Gerais—to not even make the effort to travel to Lisbon, especially when it became clear that the Côrtes had no intention of even waiting for the Brazilian delegations to arrive. For most Brazilians, participation in the Côrtes lost its sense of urgency and necessity.²²⁰ The fact that “Brazilians were badly regarded and rudely treated in political caricatures, cartoons, and pamphlets” throughout Lisbon only widened the chasm separating the two groups. Alienated by a constitutional process whose predetermined outcome was a constitution “prejudicial and indecorous to Brazil,” the Brazilian people condemned Portuguese “pretensions of superiority” and dismissed the experience as one that spouted rhetoric with no substance.²²¹ In the end, the constitution being drafted in Lisbon bore no reflection of the popular will of the majority of Brazilians. The dictatorial approach used by the Portuguese only served to further widen the chasm developing between the two societies.

²²⁰ Cavaliero, 132.

²²¹ “Separação de alguns Deputados do Brazil das Côrtes de Portugal,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 562; Bernstein, 224.

The people's internalization of the language and rhetoric of constitutionalism and the Enlightenment also caused them to bristle at the possibility of an all-powerful Côrtes. The author of one letter to Pedro cited the need for natural liberties and laws to fend off "usurpation... violence...tyranny...terror...oppression...and ignorance." He went on to state, in true revolutionary style, that "an increase of shameful sufferings was brought to an end through the forbearance of the oppressed. They broke the chains that forged the Despotism and proclaimed the Liberty that Nature bestows on them." Continuing on, the writer revisited the first formation of civil society, citing the people's choice to place governance and defense in the hands of a central authority in order to protect the people and their rights. Fused onto this ideal of the protection of rights was the role of Pedro as the "Perpetual Defender of our [Brazilian] Laws." The author credited Pedro with "freeing us from such a dreadful future" by defending the "rich and vast kingdom" of Brazil from its "perverse enemies."²²² Brazilians were revolting against the very product of the Portuguese revolution, the Côrtes, and more importantly, Portugal lacked the power to ultimately impose itself and its will on Brazil. Referring to a test of wills and strength, Pedro characterized the situation well: "Portugal, in newly reconstituting itself, could not compel others to accept a dishonorable and debased system, without going against those same principles on which it based its revolution."²²³

With the myth of a Portuguese constitution beneficial to Brazilian interests shattered, D. Pedro then went about wresting away the Assembly's monopoly on representative politics, setting up an alternative constitutional system independent of the

²²² *Câmaras*, Vol. II, 9-10, #150.

²²³ "Manifesto de S. A. R. o Principe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno," in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 418.

Côrtes and its agenda. There had been unity between the Portuguese and Brazilians in the initial *idea* of a constitution, but when it came down to the exact contents of that document, the interests of the two groups were not compatible. Because he recognized the power of Brazil's desire for popular representation, D. Pedro sought to incorporate it into his own government in Brazil. In June of 1822, the Prince Regent issued a royal summons for a Brazilian General Constituent and Legislative Assembly to discuss purely Brazilian interests, and multiple letters from multiple provinces refer to the solemn approach given to filling the posts for that assembly. It was serious work that D. Pedro and the people of Brazil were undertaking, and both were growing increasingly united under their appreciation for the emerging "*sistema constitucional*" in Brazil.²²⁴ In the new internal discussion of the nature of a Brazilian constitution, monarchism still held considerable sway. One article reflecting on the fundamental questions of government that must be answered for Brazil asserted the need for the monarchy as the cornerstone of the political system because "it is the form of government that most conforms with the education, mode of life, religion, and customs" of Brazil.²²⁵ Where the Côrtes had sought to make itself the cornerstone of imperial society, Brazilians overwhelmingly rejected such an attempt in favor of its newly reinvigorated monarchy.

The idea of the "political regeneration" of Brazil through Pedro's defense of his own monarchical authority against an overbearing Portuguese legislature was a powerful and uniting force throughout Brazil. Many Brazilians rallied behind the symbol of their

²²⁴ *Juntas*, Vol. 2, 599, #20; 605, #204A.

²²⁵ "Constituição do Brasil," in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 372-373.

sovereign prince as their protector and legitimate leader. A letter from the municipal council of Vitória to Pedro expresses this concept quite clearly, stating that

The salvation of the land demands that Your Royal Highness cover yourself as soon as possible with the Royal Ceremonial Robe resuming all of the attributes of the Constitutional Executive Power of this Kingdom of Brazil. This is not to lack the Fidelity that we owe to Senhor Dom João VI August Father of Your Royal Highness, it is much more to strengthen the same love and deference that we owe him.²²⁶

D. Pedro echoed this exact sentiment while describing his own intent in “saving from this manner the Royalty, on this grand American Continent, the recognized rights of the August House of Bragança.”²²⁷

Restoring the Monarchy and Brazil: The Fusion of Separatist Interests

At the same time that the Côrtes was attacking the authority of the monarchy under the guise of constitutionalism, the legislative assembly was also actively re-defining Portugal’s relationship to Brazil. The question of how to reconcile the existence of two separate metropolises in two separate kingdoms in only one empire clearly demonstrated the antithetical visions that each side held. Protective of their newly conferred status and privileges and well aware of their prominent position in the empire, Brazilians sought a relationship between equals. Any aspect of being a colonial society had been swept away during the monarchy’s stay and Rio’s function as the metropolis. Brazilians were no longer willing to or even capable of accepting second-class citizenship. However, those Brazilian gains had come at the expense of traditional Portuguese status and power. Before 1808, Brazil had existed only to serve Portuguese

²²⁶ *Câmaras*, Vol I, 193-194, #97

²²⁷ “Manifesto de S A R o Príncipe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 417.

interests, and Portugal had fed off of its resources and vitality. Without Portugal, Brazil could still claim equality with virtually any nation around the world, but what was Portugal without command of Brazilian resources? As a singular entity, Portugal was not Brazil's equal, and this reality drove the two kingdoms' approach to the other.

The role of the Côrtes in taking the reigns of the new constitutional government under the authority of a Supreme Congress in effect began the shift back to Lisbon of the political and administrative control of the empire. With their initiative and in the King's absence, the Côrtes re-oriented power back to Portugal, and their unwillingness to accept the loss of Brazil as a colony and allow it to remain a kingdom dictated that those gains made back by Portugal would be made at Brazil's expense. Although it espoused unity between Portugal and Brazil as a "*grande familia portugueza*" linked together by shared notions of security, religion, constitutionalism, patriotism, virtue, and discretion, the Côrtes nevertheless emphasized the need for one capital and only one seat of government for that "family."²²⁸ The destinies of Portugal and Brazil were linked, no doubt, but the National Congress envisioned a family hierarchy in which it held sway.

The scars from Portugal's experience during the monarchy's stay in Brazil were fresh and powerful. In describing that Portuguese reality to the rulers and people of Europe, the Côrtes referred to the "almost total ruin of its mother country visage...with its reduction to the status of colony," a reduction that undercut the very "dignity of the nation." Of particular note was the idea that "a loyal people of Europe" could be administered to from a place such as Brazil without it being an insult to the elevated status of Europeans. In addition, the Côrtes attributed the "ruin of its population" specifically to the departure of the royal family and court and asserted a profound

²²⁸ "Proclamação das Côrtes aos habitantes do Brazil," in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 186.

perception of victimhood in the conditions that awaited Portugal: “separated from its Sovereign by the vast extension of the seas, deprived of all the recourses of its ultramarine possessions, and of all the benefits of commerce because of the blockade of its ports, and dominated in the interior by an enemy force that considered itself invincible.”²²⁹ That sense of deprivation and injustice would serve as justification for Portugal’s reassertion of its metropolitan status. The Côrtes wanted to return Portuguese preeminence to its levels before 1808: Portugal should return to what it was and Brazil should return to what it was. The following Brazilian sentiment, though, demonstrates the infeasibility of simply turning back the clock: “Brazil does not want to offend against the rights of Portugal, but it rejects Portuguese offenses against its rights.”²³⁰ For Brazilians, there would be no voluntary relinquishment of its gains to Portugal. The intransigence on both sides made outright conflict inevitable, and once again the Côrtes took the initiative in pursuing its goals of re-subordinating Brazil.

Inextricably woven into the Côrtes’ assault on D. Pedro’s authority as Prince Regent was its strategy of stripping Brazil of its status one right and one privilege at a time. Starting in 1821, the Côrtes suppressed Brazil’s legal tribunals thus shattering its sense of autonomy and placing its administration of justice squarely under Portuguese dominion. The Côrtes then closed Brazil’s military and fine arts academies, both of which had been introduced to Brazilian society during the King’s presence in Brazil. The most threatening assault that the National Congress made against the Brazilians, though, was the introduction of legislation to restrict Brazilian foreign trade back to its pre-1808 levels and limitations. The attempt to close Brazil’s economy resulted in large part from

²²⁹ Gasman, “Manifesto da Nação Portuguesa,” 97-98.

²³⁰ “Estado Político do Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 293.

the sense of the Portuguese as being squeezed out of the trade profits of an imperial territory. The number of Portuguese ships in Rio encapsulates this scenario: in 1810, 810 Portuguese ships visited the harbor while by 1820 only 57 were engaged in trade there.²³¹ As a sovereign kingdom Brazil did not greatly benefit Portugal, and the Côrtes acted to remedy that situation.

Brazilians naturally railed against these actions undertaken by the Portuguese government. A decree in March of 1821 granting increased freedom of the press had translated into an explosion of periodical publications, eleven in Rio alone. The result was the “formation of an elite that worked for independence and for the formation of...public opinion.”²³² The publications helped shape the political discourse even further and gave venues for Brazilian responses to the actions of the Côrtes. The Brazilian criticism is an eerie echo of Portugal’s own justifications for its actions and policy. The people of Brazil immediately recognized the Côrtes’ “design to strip this Kingdom of its preeminence, restoring the abolished colonial system, and isolating its provinces to facilitate their submission.” The last charge stemmed from the repeated tactic by the Côrtes of abolishing any administrative oversight that existed within Brazil and replacing it with strict control from Lisbon. Such subordination created a sense of humiliation for the Brazilian people in their treatment as inferiors. Their perspectives described an even beggar-like status of having to look to Lisbon for permission and status. In the eyes of the people of Brazil, that second-rate status was entirely artificial, a function not of Portugal’s actual superiority but of its creation of an unnatural state of dependence on the

²³¹ Cavalhero, 131-132.

²³² Ribeiro, 32.

part of Brazil.²³³ Just as Brazilians increasingly perceived the Côrtes as attempting to leach power and authority from the monarchy, they also began to view Portugal as a parasite on Brazilian dynamism. D. Pedro reflected this view, predicting that “their [Côrtes] ends will be to paralyze the prosperity of Brazil, consume all its vitality, and reduce it to such inertia and weakness” that it is left only in “ruin and slavery.”²³⁴ The sharp contrast between the vitality and resources of Brazil and Portugal seemed also to point to the absence of reality in the Portuguese perspectives regarding Brazil. The Côrtes seems almost oblivious to what was for Brazilians the absurdity of the Portuguese attempt at re-subordinating it. One author cites the following “eternal truths” in regards to political and social relationships:

1. Never does a greater part submit to a lesser; it is the lesser to the greater; it is good to sacrifice a limb to protect the whole body.
2. It is more like criminal egotism that the smaller part of the kingdom prospers at the expense of the part that is more dynamic and integral.
3. The general laws of the Côrtes have without exception ruined the nation of Brazil.²³⁵

The idea of natural laws being violated by the Côrtes’ actions was present in yet another letter. According to the author, “the Côrtes of Lisbon, going from provocation to provocation, and showing off in arrogance...offends all of the laws of decency.”²³⁶ Portugal was operating under an administrative approach that had long since been rendered obsolete and inapplicable to the Kingdom of Brazil. For Brazil and Portugal,

²³³ “Carta ao Redaactor, sobre o comportamento das Cortes a respeito do Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVIII, 473; “União de Portugal com o Brazil,” 166.

²³⁴ “Manifesto de S. A. R. o Principe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 421.

²³⁵ “Resposta do Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 264-266.

²³⁶ “Carta ao Redactor, sobre o comportamento das Cortes a respeito do Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVIII, 473.

there would be no going back, only inevitable separation. Brazilian independence would be an attempt to maintain what had become the status quo, the presence of a royal sovereign in a Brazilian metropolis, not initiate change. Such a situation constituted broad-based appeal to the Brazilian elite and masses alike.²³⁷

United in the defense of their interests against perceived Portuguese usurpations, eventually D. Pedro and the people of Brazil began to see their immediate interests as one and the same. Their sense of mutual defense fused together the separate issues of royal authority and Brazilian status and pointed them to a shared, singular solution: separation. This alliance only further crystallized during the ensuing battle of wills over the recall of the Prince Regent, and this was augmented by Pedro's tactic of making known all of the Côrtes' demands to the Brazilian people. Following the Côrtes' annulment of the Prince Regent's powers, D. Pedro's ultimate decision to stay, declared in his *Fico*, attributed his decision to the popular will of the people of Brazil: "As it is for the good of all and for the general happiness of the nation, I have made up my mind. Tell the people that I stay."²³⁸ The reaction, according to the *Correio Braziliense*, involved a "jubilee of the people" that was "universal" with the people "illuminating all of the city [Rio de Janeiro] for three consecutive nights."²³⁹ The level of intimacy between the people of Rio de Janeiro and Pedro further facilitated their sense of alliance to where the Rio inhabitants were "emboldened to identify themselves with their prince, who had become, unexpectedly, one of them."²⁴⁰ His status was more than just one of them, though. As the

²³⁷ Ribeiro, 36.

²³⁸ Cavalero, 138.

²³⁹ "Revolução no Rio de Janeiro," in *Correio*, Vol. XXVIII, 266.

²⁴⁰ Cavalero, 136.

heir to the Bragança throne, D. Pedro was the most prominent figure in Brazil, and his express alliance with the interests of that kingdom, “the *Causa Pública*,” solidified him as “the First Brazilian” and a symbol that the people could rally behind.²⁴¹ Pedro’s wife and Brazil’s future empress was as infused with that Brazilian cause as her husband. Leopoldina wrote to her father in June of 1822 that she had to cancel a planned visit to Austria and Europe because “the noble spirit of the Brazilian people” had been excited. In the same letter, she also showed her political savvy and commitment to Brazil, insisting that “it would be the height of ingratitude and the most gross political error if all of our forces were not kept in place to guarantee a just liberty, conscious of the strength and greatness of this beautiful and flourishing Empire. It will never submit to the yoke of Europe.”²⁴² The Princess’ passion for her adopted kingdom was clear as was her own expression of American nationalism. It is striking that an Archduchess of Austria and Princess of Portugal would refer to the “yoke of Europe” and Brazil’s noble effort to stand up for itself against its European mother country. While the sentiments expressed by Leopoldina are striking, they were not unique. As early as 1811 the Count of Barca, a minister in *D. João*’s government, held a distinct Brazilian bias. An Austrian consul related that when he “reminded the Count on one occasion of how inappropriate it was to speak slightingly of Portugal, which could lead to separation, the consul was told by way of reply that the government was prepared for such an eventuality. The Count said that he would not be surprised by such a situation, and would willingly renounce Europe and

²⁴¹ “A Independência do Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 469-470; *Juntas*, 590-591, #198.

²⁴² “Carta de D. Leopoldina a seu pai,” Cópia Microfilme. São Cristovão, 23/6/1822, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial: Cx. 4, Pac. 1, Document 7A.

become an American.”²⁴³ Truly the Brazilian identity was a powerful force throughout this time.

The result was that the Brazilian people did in fact rally behind the Prince Regent. Before Pedro made his formal *Fico*, newspapers and brochures helped to mobilize popular support, and Rio generated a petition with 8,000 signatures asking for the Regent to stay in Brazil. The São Paulo junta not only called on D. Pedro to defy the order of the Côrtes but pledged São Paulo blood to defend him. On May 13, 1822—D. João’s birthday—the municipal council in Rio formally invited Pedro to accept the loaded title of “Protector and Perpetual Defender of Brazil.”²⁴⁴ Though he no doubt embraced the symbolism of this act, in a letter to his father Pedro initially balked at the idea of being called Brazil’s “Protector” and thought of only accepting “Defender.” According to the letter, he felt that “Brazil had no need of protection by anyone; it was able to protect itself.”²⁴⁵ This exchange reveals Pedro’s appreciation of the Brazilian potency as well as his ultimate acquiescence to the popular demands of the people, accepting the full title offered. The Junta of Rio Grande do Norte—one of the provinces with traditionally heightened loyalties to Portugal—demonstrated the complete transformation of that northern region to unqualified support of the new “Perpetual Defender”:

Not satisfied with having already declared to Your Royal Highness, in the name of the people of this Province, their due zeal in adding to the Alliance of their brothers of the South, to better benefit working united in the important Continental Brazilian Cause under the auspicious powers of Your Royal Highness, we wanted a manner more solemn and testimonial to make it apparent to the world these our laws, and patriotic sentiments, and by an act of a public oath, to which we were requested by the Militia and the People of this City,

²⁴³ Silva Dias, 93, n 11.

²⁴⁴ Cavalhero, 136, 141; Ribeiro, 36.

²⁴⁵ Ribeiro, 38.

declared in voices of acclamation recognizing in Your Royal Highness, the inherence of the Executive Power in this Kingdom of Brazil.

Referring to happiness over D. Pedro's acceptance of the title of Defender, the Junta went further to describe the new situation as "avenging us of the abandonment and lack of consideration" shown by Portugal as well as their happy anticipation of benefiting from the "liberal intentions" of D. Pedro.²⁴⁶ The constitutional revolution begun in Lisbon had come full circle on American soil.

Inherent in the proclamations of support for D. Pedro was also an increasingly formal repudiation of the sovereignty of the Côrtes. For instance, the junta in Bahia informed the public that it "had declared to the Prince Regent and to the Côrtes in Lisbon, that the will of the people of the Province unites them to the S. A. R. as center of the union of Brazil."²⁴⁷

The Brazilian consensus on the authority of D. Pedro made it possible for the Regent to take measures to actively defend Brazil against Portuguese hostility. In August of 1822 he issued dual decrees: one establishing the rhetoric of the independence movement—citing injustices done to Brazil—and one with practical actions to fortify Brazil against any Portuguese aggression. For example, the Regent ordered the fortification of ports, the prevention of supplies to Portuguese garrisons located in Brazil, and the prevention of juntas from accepting any officials dispatched from Portugal. The provincial juntas each responded to assert conformity to these instructions, demonstrating

²⁴⁶ *Juntas*, 457, #150.

²⁴⁷ "Convocação do Parlamento Braziliense," in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 368.

Pedro's legitimacy as Brazil's leader and the nation's unity behind him.²⁴⁸ Pedro validated that unity by his decisive actions while cultivating it in his rhetoric. In his decree regarding the defense of Brazil, the Regent implored his fellow "Brasileiros" to "Let there be heard from you no other cry but 'Union.' From the Amazon to the Plata let there be no echo but 'Independence!'" His approach to the reluctant regions in the north demonstrated his emphasis and skill in fostering that unity. Calling the provinces with lingering allegiance to Portugal by name, Pedro acknowledged their confliction but asserted that as a collective kingdom, "we open our arms to you."²⁴⁹ Ultimately those provinces did rally behind the symbol of their Regent and advocated for separation from Portugal. Even before the formal declaration of independence came on September 7, 1822, the separation of Brazil from Portugal was a foregone conclusion. In a reflection on the independence movement in Brazil, the author addressed the Côrtes directly, telling the "Senhores das Côrtes" to "look themselves in the mirror. Brazil wants to be free; Brazil can be free; she is already free."²⁵⁰

Conclusion

The relationship between the people of Brazil and their Prince Regent was both symbiotic and synergistic. Their collective will and energy far exceeded the mere sum of their parts as a people and a prince. The fusion of the efforts to restore the prestige and power of the Bragança Dynasty with those to protect the rights and privileges of the Kingdom of Brazil created a union potent enough to defy an imperial government and

²⁴⁸ "Decreto de S. A. R. o Principe Regente, ordenando a resistencia as hostilidades de Portugal," in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 429-431; *Juntas*, 462, #153.

²⁴⁹ Cavalheiro, 146, "Manifesto de S. A. R. o Principe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno," in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 417-428.

²⁵⁰ "Independência do Brazil," in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 477.

force separation. That this separation was between the Brazilian people and the Portuguese Côrtes and not the Royal House of Bragança signifies the unique experience of Brazilian independence and the complexity of the political landscape of the Portuguese Empire in the early nineteenth century. The competing power structures of constitutionalism and monarchism collided, and the setting of the Americas made it possible for a people to usher in political independence under both of those banners and unified by the ultimate symbol of D. Pedro. The decade of Pedro's rule as the first Emperor of Brazil is the subject of Chapter Four, and the symbolic role of D. Pedro and the royal family as the first American monarchy as well as the growing tension between the Emperor and his people over the practical workings of a new constitutional monarchy will be the focus. The chapter will explain how Brazil's romantic liberator could be forced to abdicate the throne that he had so skillfully won for himself and Brazil.

CHAPTER 4

AMERICAN MONARCHY: OLD WORLD INSTITUTION, NEW WORLD THRONE

There were many more challenges facing Brazil than mere separation from Portugal, and the Braganças would remain at the center of Brazilian politics and society for the crucial decades to come. Having been the cornerstone of colonial society, the monarchy's relationship to the Brazilian people was that much more intimate and profound in the newly independent nation due to the preeminent role that Dom Pedro played in Brazilian independence. Pedro served as the very symbol of independence, and the 7th of September, 1822, ushered in a new age for Brazil as well as its royal sovereign. While independence served for the two as validation of their vitality and ascendance, it also opened up a new political and cultural landscape filled with both promise and peril. The promise involved a sense of rebirth and regeneration. In essence, the Bragança Dynasty was reborn as an American dynasty, one that the Brazilian people could call their own. The Royal Bragança life cycle began anew, and it served as the visible juncture of European heritage and American features and promise. Stinging from a sense of betrayal from their mother country, though, Brazilians also incorporated an element of transcendence to that promise. With a confidence that stemmed from a notable past, the fresh start of independence translated into Brazilians' perception of their chance to fulfill the dream of the ideal constitutional monarchy. Simultaneously, the peril of the period

originated from the difficulty in navigating the very same forces that ravaged the Portuguese-Bragançan relationship: monarchism and popular sovereignty. It would be an arduous and turbulent process of reconciling the Old World institution of monarchy with its New World throne, and the reign of Pedro I provides an excellent lens through which to see the nuances of that process. The Emperor himself embodied both promise and peril, and his place in Brazilian history, politics, and culture reflect that inherent complexity.

New Nation, One Symbol

In the period leading up to independence, Brazilians had found a common identity and unity through their collective struggle against Portuguese domination. That unity stemmed not from an inherent homogeneity of beliefs and intentions on the part of the vast provinces of Brazil but was a product of outside conflict and confrontation. With that conflict over, the Brazilian provinces had only themselves, in essence, to deal with to shape the future of the nation. The integrity of Brazil, both territorially and politically, depended upon the reaching of some sort of consensus on that future. For Brazilians immediately following their formal separation from Portugal, there was no more powerful and inspiring symbol than D. Pedro. He and the monarchy were one in the same, and his figure completely dominated the political and cultural landscape of Brazil.

Since cultural identity is based upon the inherited legacy and tradition of a community, the monarchy—an institution based upon the perpetuation of tradition—naturally held considerable sway in the emerging Brazilian identity. Before the arrival of the Braganças and independence, many Brazilians' sense of *pátria* was narrow in vision and application. Their allegiance centered primarily on their local birthplace thus

obscuring the larger national implications of identity. The nature of independence changed that reality, though. The fusion of Pedro's defense of the monarchy with Brazilian interests resulted in a shift in the meaning of *pátria* in the rhetoric of Brazilians throughout the nation. D. Pedro was a national figure and one that captured the imaginations of the Brazilian people, whether they were urban or rural, monarchists or not. He was not just a man; he was a national symbol. This broadening of the Brazilian provincial political horizon translated into a new sense of the nation, a nation that was "incarnated in the monarchy" and specifically in the figure of Pedro. With this shift, being a patriot meant defending the emperor himself as the symbol of Brazil's independent monarchy. A quotation from Joaquim Nabuco at the time of the inauguration of a statue of Pedro shows the interconnectedness of the nation and the emperor: "this statue is in memory of the two grand national events—Independence and the Constitution—events in which the founder of the Empire united himself with the Empire that he founded; in which the glory of the nation was blended with the glory of the leader who directed it."²⁵¹ There was a level of gratitude towards D. Pedro for Brazilian independence that permeated the sentiments of the times and the celebrations of his rule. One letter from a municipal council in Bahia gives thanks to Pedro, "to whom Brazil owes its independence and Bahia its liberation."²⁵² That Bahia faced a lingering Portuguese presence before Pedro led the successful effort to drive them out made this writer that much more grateful. Heightening this appreciation for Pedro and the

²⁵¹The Brazilian Constitution was promulgated in 1824 and will be discussed in more detail; Ribeiro, 11-12, 24-26, 97-98

²⁵² "Impresso endereçado ao Sr. Pedro José de Abreu convidando-o para o Te Deum Comemorativo da Aclamação de Pedro I...ao mesmo, convidando-o para a cerimonia de juramento da Constituição de 1824," Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial: Cx. 6, Pac. 1, Document 82.

symbolism that the monarchy possessed was the awareness of Brazilian elites of the fragility of the new American nations. The ever-present chaos faced by the political elites of the Spanish American republics continually served as cautionary tales to their Brazilian counterparts. That situation also fostered a contemporary sense for the Brazilians as having a superior political class and system. What separated Brazil from the fate of the other Latin American republics was the presence of Pedro I, and the order that that class of Brazilian political elite valued above all else came via the legitimacy and power of their sovereign. The import placed on order also curbed the growth of Republicanism in Brazil. There was a distinct intellectual association in the newspapers and pamphlets of the time, making synonymous the republic and civil war, anarchy, and territorial fragmentation. By contrast, “the symbolic representations of monarchical power evoke[d] historic elements of long duration that associate[d] the sovereign with the idea of justice, order, peace, and equilibrium.”²⁵³ Order and thereby the monarchy were preferable and consequently embraced by the political elite in Brazil.

The Bragança Dynasty was able to secure its powerful place in post-independence Brazilian society to such a great extent because of its history in Brazil. In essence, Pedro I as a Bragança had a running start at ruling an independent Brazil. Beginning with the arrival of the royal family in 1808, the psychological and practical groundwork for Bragança rule was being laid. The imperial government set up administrative services and structures that would prove to be invaluable in countering the fragility of a new nation.²⁵⁴ The intimate presence of the royal family also instilled in the Brazilian people a sense of participation and investment. Even though political separation from Portugal

²⁵³ Ribeiro, 13-14, 36, 104.

²⁵⁴ Ribeiro, 71.

occurred, the bond between the Braganças and Brazil was diminished in no way. This fact, though, added a certain level of complexity to the organizing of the Brazilian state. Pedro was the leader of an independent Brazil, but his and Brazil's Bragançan heritage connected them, voluntarily and happily, to the living King of Portugal. With that, Brazil and Pedro were in the position of having to assert themselves without insulting or seeming to repudiate D. João VI. The answer came in the form of empire. With Brazil's size, its larger sense of self, and a political climate in which empire was still in vogue, Brazil could realistically call itself an empire. Symbolically, constituting itself as an empire also created for Brazil its own niche in the Bragança Dynasty as well as the world political system.

First and foremost, the fact that Brazilians still considered D. João as their king precluded any desire for Pedro to infringe upon that specific status and title. Pedro had never sought to replace or upend his father. In fact the opposite was true: he had gone out of his way to show his own respect and fealty to his King. That would not change with independence, and the writings of Brazilian officials reflected the dynamic of their dual allegiance. They celebrated D. Pedro's acclamation as emperor while always placing him in the context of his father. For example, one writer referred to their new emperor as "Senhor Dom Pedro first son of the August Monarch the Senhor Dom João VI" and pledges faithfulness to "all Your [Pedro] Royal Dynasty." Some even included the King in their formal pledges of obedience in the context of Pedro's acclamation. The Vila da Fortaleza pledged obedience to Pedro, the future legislative assembly of Brazil, "His Majesty the Constitutional King Senhor Dom João Sexto and the Most Faithful House of

Bragança.”²⁵⁵ Once again, the unique dynamic of Brazilian independence being declared against Portugal but not its King created a complex set of loyalties and protocol. Secondly, the historical precedent of empire fit nicely with the Brazilian reality. The Holy Roman, Habsburg, and Napoleonic empires each had an element of election to their emperors that connoted the will of the people behind them. Pedro’s adoption of the constitutional mantle and role as champion of the people coincided with that notion of popular sanction.²⁵⁶ Also, Portugal’s—and by extension Brazil’s—Roman influence provided an historical imperial element. Roman imperial law represented codified law, justice, and practice.²⁵⁷ Its place in Brazilian administration pointed to both continuity, adaptation, and legitimacy.

From Independence to Transcendence

The Brazilians’ awareness of the promise of a “New Age” for themselves and their sovereign culminated with their independence but did not begin with that singular event. Brazil’s unique progression from colony to kingdom to independent empire instead points to the constant evolution of that idea marked by the nuances of each stage of elevation. Although it had been functioning as the de facto metropolis since 1808, Brazil’s elevation to the status of Kingdom in 1818 by D. João VI served to formally and politically recognize that which Brazilians already knew: that Brazil was no one’s subordinate and possessed great potential. That the Brazilian people attributed the release of that potential directly to the presence and actions of the Braganças only heightened

²⁵⁵ *Câmaras*, Vol. 1, 21, #5; 23, #6; 69, #32.

²⁵⁶ Cavalhero, 150; Barman, *Forging*, 99.

²⁵⁷ John M. Headley, ed., “Germany, the Empire and *Monarchia* in the Thought and Policy of Gattinara,” in *Church, Empire, and World The Quest for Universal Order* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1997): 19-20.

their connection to the dynasty. Ignácio José de Macedo encapsulated the optimism that ran through Brazilian rhetoric in 1818:

In its colonial status, from which it just emerged, Brazil was known only because of the products of our abundant Nature; and now with its new status [that of kingdom] within the Empire, it begins to be admired for its political products which foretell its future elevation and long life. The unexpected transference of the monarchy brought a brilliant dawn to these dark horizons... The new day of regeneration, an omen of brighter destinies, will bring long centuries of prosperity and glory.²⁵⁸

De Macedo incorporated three dominant strands of Brazilian thought: disdain for the limits of colonial status, gratitude towards the monarchy for ushering Brazil into a higher echelon, and belief in the promise of greater glory to come.

The renewal of the empire by a dynamic monarch was a concept deeply rooted in European history and culture and often found expression in the notion of the “golden age” of justice, peace, and notoriety.²⁵⁹ The bitterness and resentment felt by Brazilians for their treatment by the Côrtes seeped into their interpretation of the concept following their independence, resulting in the powerful assertion of vindication through superiority over Brazil’s former colonial master. One writer for a municipal council in Ceará goes one step further than the notion of Pedro I merely ushering in “a brilliant epoch in the History of Brazil,” adding a religious component to the anti-Portuguese, pro-Brazilian mix. He describes Brazil as being revived “from the horrible darkness, the weakness, the servitude” and witnessing “the rebirth of the Golden Age, that has already begun to shine like the dawn of our future Felicity, equal to that which the Israelites enjoyed in the

²⁵⁸ Burns, *History*, 115.

²⁵⁹ John M. Headley, ed., “The Habsburg World Empire and the Revival of Ghibellinism,” in *Church, Empire, and World: The Quest for Universal Order* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1997), 97.

Reign of the Son of the Prophet King.”²⁶⁰ While allusions to the experiences of the Israelites—namely their plight yet ultimate favor by God—are not unique in Independence Era rhetoric, they are nevertheless instructive as to how all of those powerful notions swirled together in the drama of the period.

The size of the Brazilian Empire also added to the prestige of it and its emperor. His father may have ruled over a worldwide empire, the “*Mundo Português*,” but Pedro is portrayed as the “true father of the Brazilian Hemisphere” by one municipal council official and the guardian of the “glory of the *Mundo Brasileiro*” by yet another.²⁶¹ That Brazilians could see their nation as a hemisphere and even world unto itself only speaks more to their elevated sense of self as well as the significance of Pedro’s power as the ruler of such a vast realm. It also sheds light onto the ways in which Brazilians’ viewed their place in the world. Brazilian perceptions had evolved with each stage of the land’s political elevation and depended greatly on the size of the stage on which they saw themselves. As a colony, Brazil’s stage was limited to the confines of the Portuguese imperial system, and even though there was tremendous pride in Brazilian preeminence within that system, the mercantilist limitations restricted not just trade but the Brazilian identity as well. The arrival of the monarchy in 1808 opened many doors, but even with kingdom status, Brazil still existed within a larger imperial system. It was not until independence that Brazil became a self-contained and singular entity, and that nuance greatly impacted the Brazilians’ sense of their place in the changing world order. They linked the presence of a “Wise and Prudent Leader” with the ability to promote “national

²⁶⁰ *Câmaras*, Vol. I, 77, #38.; Vol. II, 11, #151.

²⁶¹ *Câmaras*, Vol. I, 18, #4a; 77, #38.

strength and glory in order that Brazil can come to be grand, respected, and powerful, and to show to the World all of its splendor, receiving in due course the homage of the Foreign Nations.”²⁶² Pedro himself cultivated this belief, referring to Brazil as a “grand piece of beneficent nature that becomes the envy and admiration of the nations of the world,” going even further to attribute Brazilian splendor to Providence itself.²⁶³

Although such a level of international acclaim would not come until the reign of Pedro II, this sentiment reflects the intense optimism—of even the inevitability of greatness—that characterized the period immediately following independence.

The land’s size and resources had always been factors in its people’s identity and were underlying threads throughout Brazilian expressions of indignation in the events leading up to political separation with Portugal. Once again, Brazil’s merits were made much more acute by their comparison with Portugal itself. The sentiment that “without Brazil, Portugal must sink into impotence” is one that has already been documented in the previous chapter, but it is also important in the context of this discussion because it lends insight into the confidence that Brazil could stand alone and thrive as that singular entity.²⁶⁴ Brazilian independence was not an artificial construct. It had much organization and coalescing to do to achieve a cohesive, definitive national sense of self, but for the people of Brazil, separation and independence were a function of Natural Law. Pedro asserts this, stating that “Nature dictated that the colonies stopped being colonies” and makes the point that independence was but a step in the evolution of Brazil. Brazil’s

²⁶² *Câmaras*, Vol. II, 10, #150

²⁶³ “Manifesto de S. A. R. o Príncipe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 420.

²⁶⁴ Cavalhero, 123.

human resources were no less touted. The Brazilian people, according to their sovereign, possessed a “majestic attitude” and recognized their “rights of liberty...and felicity.” Pedro cites the power of the combination of the immense resources of the land with the “talents” of its people, talents such as spirit, imagination, and reason, that captured the very essence of “*O Brasileiro*.”²⁶⁵ The people were just as impressed with their sovereign. Despite the uncertainty and apprehension that accompanied the sporadic local insurrections that cropped up immediately following independence, governing juntas found comfort in their belief in Pedro’s ability to navigate the difficulties facing Brazil and serve the “Brazilian Cause.” The emperor’s “integrity, prudence, moderation, bravery, military knowledge, and many virtues” inspired the people to believe not just in their sovereign but the nation as well.²⁶⁶ Brazilians and their emperor were in awe of no one, and through their rhetoric they validated each other and the empire as a whole.

Portugal’s inability to live up to the promise of its own constitutionalism also contributed to the Brazilian sense of superiority and regeneration, a sense reinforced by the success with which Pedro I repudiated the Côrtes’ intentions leading up to independence and then nurtured Brazil’s own sense of constitutionalism. He characterizes Brazil as being the beneficiary of the constitutional and legal legacy of liberty from Europe. Pedro sees not merely a transplantation of those ideals, though. He goes further to assert that Brazil was in the process of *refining* the best that Europe had to offer, thus

²⁶⁵ “Manifesto de S. A. R. o Príncipe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 418, 423; “Conrespondencia: Resposta do Brazil,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXVII, 271.

²⁶⁶ *Juntas*, Vol. 2, 594, #199.

making it able to enter the “grand family of nations.”²⁶⁷ The *tabula rasa* quality of the Americas—whether for British or Portuguese America—accentuated by independence created space in which to test and refine political principles. Letters from governing juntas throughout Brazil are replete with references to the process of “Political Regeneration” taking place in Brazil and guided by Pedro.²⁶⁸ The New World offered much more flexibility, and for Pedro, it insulated Brazil and his rule from the upheavals of European revolutions (granted it was precisely a European revolution that brought the Braganças to Brazil in the first place), thus preserving the ancient traditions and institutions.²⁶⁹ The issue went deeper than just general revolutionary turmoil, though. Pedro and his Brazilian subjects perceived the revolutionary Côrtes of Lisbon as particularly malevolent and indicted it for the perversion of the very system that it espoused. Such a level of indignation and condemnation translated into the belief that Brazil would bring into being a better constitutional system, one that lived up to its ideals and principles. In this context, Pedro maintained his aura as champion of the people. His duty was in “defending the legitimate rights and the future constitution of Brazil.”²⁷⁰

The simultaneous faith that Brazilians held in Pedro and their nation was indeed powerful. One municipal council in Alcântara went so far as to claim in 1823 that

²⁶⁷ “Manifesto de S. A. R. o Príncipe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 424, 426.

²⁶⁸ *Juntas*, 451, #145, 431, #136. Even D. João VI in Portugal evoked the notion of Political Regeneration in December of 1822 as an attempt to align the Portuguese monarchy more with the direction being taken in Brazil in terms of constitutionalism and royal prestige. See “Falla d’ El Rey no encerramento das Cortes Extraordnaria,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 584.

²⁶⁹ “Manifesto de S. A. R. o Príncipe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 424, 426.

²⁷⁰ “Manifesto do Príncipe Regente do Brazil aos Governos e Naçoens amigas,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 526, 529.

Already Brazil will rival Germany, notwithstanding its Golden Bull, Denmark, notwithstanding its Royal Law, Holland, notwithstanding its Union of Utrecht; France notwithstanding its Constitutional Charter and finally Great Britain, notwithstanding its Magna Charta, writing on the first page of the *Código Fundamental* the Adored name of Pedro I.²⁷¹

It is striking that an American nation, independent from its mother country for less than one year, could see itself as capable of rivaling the seminal achievements in European political history. Underscoring that confidence was an interesting mixture of Enlightenment principles and religion. Pedro himself refers to a quality of “perfectibility” granted to man through God.²⁷² Brazil saw itself as enjoying the best of both worlds. It could harness all of the wisdom and practical experience of Europe together with the vigor and vitality of the American landscape. In turn, the product was greater than the sum of its parts. Brazil transcended its European ancestors. Below one of the countless portraits of Pedro hung throughout the cities and towns of Brazil to celebrate the new sovereign was a pedestal with the following inscription:

Without equal in time in creation in Power
To the Vast Empire by virtue of the Just Laws
In Brazil constituting High Gifts
The Monarchy extends to all the World.²⁷³

With such an underlying current of thought, it was no wonder that the Portuguese prince chose to be Pedro I of Brazil rather than Pedro IV of Portugal.

A Monarchy Reborn

With Pedro as its central figure, the royal Bragança life cycle began anew in the

²⁷¹ *Câmaras*, Vol. I, 22, #5.

²⁷² “Manifesto de S. A. R. o Príncipe Regente Constitucional, e Defensor Perpetuo do Reyno do Brazil, aos povos deste Reyno,” in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 425.

²⁷³ *Câmaras*, Vol. I, 14, #4a.

Empire of Brazil. The visibility of the royal family had always served to reinforce their power and status in society, and with Brazil's independence it was especially important that the new emperor and his family establish their own relationship to every facet of Brazilian life. Pedro and his Habsburg wife Leopoldina had always been highly conscious of the symbolic meanings of their actions and words. Before the showdown with the Côrtes they had played their role as heir to the Portuguese Crown. During Pedro's Regency—despite the tension and even because of it—the couple still maintained royal visibility at social occasions. They appeared at all social occasions of the military as well as religious sermons throughout that contentious period, even those events celebrating liberal constitutionalism.²⁷⁴ Skillfully they imprinted themselves onto the identity of their society and cultivated a sense of compatibility with their changing surroundings.

Pedro's dynamic nature certainly helped in that endeavor. Flamboyant, romantic, and dramatic, the prince who would be emperor could declare the *Grito de Ipiranga* with panache and then immediately sit down to compose the Hymn of Independence, all on the seventh of September, 1822. He was larger than life, but his more modest Brazilian upbringing also made Pedro a man of the people. Part of his normal routine as emperor was to ride through the city to “chat with people of all classes,” hear complaints, and personally investigate certain issues.²⁷⁵ This type of interaction reinforced Pedro's natural tendency towards paternalism and gave him the aura of authority yet approachability.

²⁷⁴ Cavahero, 135.

²⁷⁵ Neill Macauley, *Dom Pedro The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1986): 177.

The affection and respect that the Brazilian people felt for their imperial family translated into both celebrations and lamentations for the events that marked the royal life cycle. The birth of Princess Januária in 1822 inspired recounts of widespread celebrations throughout the cities and towns of Brazil. For example, in Paraíba the inhabitants illuminated their porches for three successive nights and even attended a “solemn celebration” where they gave thanks and celebrated with speeches that “energetically demonstrated the advantages that result for the Nation from that happy Birth.” Likewise in Natal there were “demonstrations of jubilee” customary to the occasion.²⁷⁶ Naturally, the birth of Pedro II in 1825 was even more cause for celebrations as Brazil finally had its royal male heir. Accordingly, illuminations throughout Rio lasted for first three days and then four additional ones. The Rio city council proclaimed that “Heaven has heard the prayers and granted the wishes of all the Brazilians giving them a Prince in whom the Line of the August Imperial Dynasty is prolonged.”²⁷⁷ The cultivation of a sense of continuity and tradition were vital to the maintenance of a strong monarchy, and sentiments such as those expressed above show the ongoing success of the Braganças in that act.

Royal death was also a part of that process. Brazilians were as saddened by the death of D. João in 1826 as were the King’s subjects in Portugal. The sentimental place that João VI held in the hearts of his Brazilian subjects dictated that they lament both his loss and their emperor’s grief. Letters of condolence came to Pedro in response to “the death of S. M. I. and King the Senhor D. João Sexto of Glorious Memory.” In what one

²⁷⁶ *Juntas*, 547, #190; 487, #163.

²⁷⁷ Roderick J. Barman, *Citizen Emperor Pedro II and the Making of Brazil, 1825-91* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999): 6.

writer calls a “testimony of Respect,” a municipal council was reaching out to the emperor to convey their “profound respect” for D. João and to send condolences for the “grief that has afflicted the Imperial Heart” of D. Pedro.²⁷⁸ The Bragança father and son link was profound and enduring despite independence.

The untimely death of Leopoldina, also in 1826, struck a chord with the Brazilian people as well. The Empress had always been a steadfast champion of the Brazilian cause, and her inherent nobility had endeared her to her subjects. At the time of her death, she cut an additionally sympathetic figure because of D. Pedro’s well-known infidelity. For all of these reasons, the Brazilian people, especially those in Rio de Janeiro, were quite protective of their Empress. As her health deteriorated, her physical status was chronicled in a series of bulletins. While such attention showed the prominent place of interest she held in the public eye, it also demonstrated the very public aspect of royal life, illness, and death. The entire range of her medical condition was public property, from a description of her mucus to the number of hours she slept at night. After her death, her body laid in state with all of the symbols of power: cross, crown, and scepter. Attendants and torch-bearers guarded her “August Body” while Brazilians began their period of mourning. Military salvos across Rio de Janeiro marked the end of a funeral that incorporated both civil and religious ceremonies. Rio echoed with her death: four brigades of infantry, one of cavalry, one of artillery, and the local forts all paid tribute to their Empress with ten salvos comprised of twenty-one shots each. The public response was characterized as a “profound sentiment” that was seen in the “faces of all” and involved “sincere tributes of tears.” The article in the *Diario Fluminense* describing

²⁷⁸ “Representação da Câmara de Vila Nova de S. José, representada por Agostinho Nunco Montez, Procurador da Câmara de S. J. com votos de condolências pelo falecimento de seu pai, Dom João VI,” Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial: Cx. 4, Pac. 5, Document 32.

Leopoldina's funeral also included two poems in memoriam to honor her. In these, the Empress was referred to as a "Remarkable Heroine, the Flower of the Empire," and each poet repeatedly cited Leopoldina's uncommon virtue. She was "a rare example of the pure immortal virtues" of love, modesty, humor, circumspection, and benevolence. The poets also affirmed her lofty place in Brazilian history by presenting their "profound love to the Immortal Heroine of the New World."²⁷⁹ Both the people and the Emperor lost an important royal symbol with Leopoldina's death.

While births and deaths marked important passages in the royal life cycle, no event was more notable in royal ostentation, symbolism, and visibility than the formal acclamation and crowning of a ruler. The acclamation and crowning of Pedro I in 1822 as first Emperor of Brazil functioned as the formal recognition of Pedro's place in Brazilian society, not just its government. Such a ceremony was profoundly important to the insipient nation. The rites and symbolism of the ceremonies served to assure the continuity of the dynasty and give standing to the royal family, especially the future heir. Every aspect fostered credibility and legitimacy for the emperor. The immediacy of Pedro's acclamation—October 12—aided in his and his administration's ability to bring reluctant pro-Portuguese regions one by one under his rule.²⁸⁰

Pedro's acclamation is telling also because it marked the blending of European monarchical traditions with Brazil's American reality and flavor. It was old and new at the same time, just as Pedro's status as ruler of Brazil was. The act of acclaiming Pedro as Emperor of Brazil did not destroy the sense of his belonging to the Bragança Dynasty

²⁷⁹ *Diario Fluminense*, Vol. 8, December 16, 1826, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial. Cx. 4, Pac. 5, Documents 37A and 38.

²⁸⁰ Ribeiro, 82; Cavalero, 159-160.

because his rule in Brazil was perceived as a branching off of the dynastic line, not a break in it. There were obvious European and specifically Portuguese elements to Brazilian royal ostentations. Pedro's acclamation involved the immediate traditions of the Bragança Dynasty, traditions themselves rooted in European history.²⁸¹ The Braganças followed in the Roman Catholic tradition of rites and rituals while simultaneously reinforcing their secular power as well. The ceremony involved the same five stages as a traditional Portuguese acclamation: the arrival of the ruler, his formal recitation, the journey to the royal chapel, the *Te Deum* religious ceremony, and finally the formal *Beija-Mão* (kissing of the royal hand). Beyond the structure of the ceremony, Pedro's acclamation also cultivated a sense of the continuation of dynastic order. Since D. João had been acclaimed during his stay in Brazil, a continuity of location was possible. Pedro's ceremony would take place at the very location constructed for his father's acclamation in 1818.

The separate ceremony for coronation and sanctification added even more of a connection between Pedro and the European institution of monarchy. The *Sagração* ceremony dated back eleven centuries and thereby endowed Pedro I with the "same sanctity as the European monarchies." Even though as the Constitutional Emperor of Brazil Pedro had lost the absolute power once exercised by his royal predecessors, he retained the mystical-religious authority and power of the sovereign. The coronation ceremony of Pedro I had an equally impressive pedigree. It followed the Holy Roman Emperors' rites and integrated the traditional royal symbols of the crown, shield, and scepter. Pedro's ceremony also borrowed elements from the coronations of Napoleon and the monarchies of Austria and Hungary. In addition, there existed with Pedro's *Sagração*

²⁸¹ Gasman, 109

and *Coroação* an even more symbolic connection to the Bragança Dynasty. While Pedro had been acclaimed on his birthday, October 12, both he and the very first Bragançan King of Portugal were formally crowned on December 1. The dynasty born in 1640 had come a long way indeed. In the end, the continuation of ceremonies connected to Pedro's Portuguese heritage and the institution of the monarchy reflected the internalization of the psychological and emotional underpinnings of monarchical rule into the collective imagination of the Brazilian people, transcending class, education, and political affiliation.²⁸²

While the institutional heritage of the Brazilian monarchy was clearly European, Brazil's American heritage also worked its way into the imagery of the Empire. The very symbols that signified Pedro's royalty in the ceremonies mentioned above were forged in Brazil, not Europe. The Imperial Crown, Shield, and Scepter were commissioned by Pedro I, made by Rio artisans, and paid for by the Brazilian treasury.²⁸³ The Imperial Crown was solid gold, encrusted with diamonds, and with ornamentations of the Brazilian arms, celestial sphere, and cross. Brazil's arms were themselves a mixture of Portuguese and Brazilian symbols. Upon a shield of green—the representative color of the Braganças—were the imperial crown, a representation of the celestial sphere, and a cross of the Order of Christ (the most prestigious Portuguese order). Along with these decidedly European symbols were also two Brazilian additions. The first involved a circle of nineteen silver stars above a blue sky, each star representing a province of the Brazilian empire. The second pointed to the flora of the land. There were two branches:

²⁸² Ribeiro, 13, 73, 75, 80, 97; Barman, *Forging*, 101-102; Cavalhero, 157.

²⁸³ "Autorização de Dom Pedro I a Martins Francisco de Andrade," Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial: Cx. 4, Pac 1, Document 12B

one of coffee and garnered with its flowers and fruits, and the other of tobacco. The intriguing combinations of the symbols of Brazil's arms represent the blending of traditionalism with Brazil's natural resources. D. Pedro's ceremonial robe also paid homage to the flora and fauna of the Empire's American setting. The robe's style was that of the poncho, and the decorations involved rose-red toucan feathers and representations of the leaves and fruits of the palm tree.²⁸⁴ The Emperor would revisit the use of Brazilian fauna in his appearance with a ceremonial cape of parrot's feathers later as well.²⁸⁵ Pedro I was the perfect man to carry off such exoticism because he was both flashy and rugged. In that regard, he had much in common with his adopted homeland. Pedro recognized early on the power of the blended symbolism that would come to represent his American throne, writing on September 18, 1822 that

Having the Kingdom of Brazil, of which I am regent, and perpetual defender, declared its political emancipation, stepping in to occupy in the grand family of nations the place that it justly strives toward, as a grand nation, free and independent; being therefore, indispensable that it have a royal coat of arms, that not only distinguishes itself from Portugal and Algarves up to now reunited, but that may be characteristic of the rich and vast continent. And I desiring that the arms that this Kingdom was given by the Senhor King Dom João VI, my August Father, in the Royal Charter of May 13, 1816, be preserved, and at the same time to remember the first name ascribed to it on its happy discovery, and to honor the nineteen provinces comprised between the great rivers that are its natural limits, and that form its integrity.²⁸⁶

Rivers were powerful symbols themselves and were used often to represent Brazil's joining the community of nations—especially European nations—as an equal. A sermon from the acclamation ceremony itself reflects this sentiment, stating that “the Danube, the

²⁸⁴ Ribeiro, 86, 87, 98.

²⁸⁵ Cavalhero, 157, 162.

²⁸⁶ Ribeiro, 98.

Reine, the Volga will embrace the Janeiro, the Amazon, the Prata.”²⁸⁷ Neither D. Pedro nor the Brazilian people were ashamed of their American-ness. Local celebrations of Pedro’s acclamation demonstrate the pride that the people felt for all aspects of the Brazilian identity. In one celebration, Pedro’s portrait hung on display on a prominent balcony with paintings of Brazil and America on either side of the Emperor and above the Imperial Arms.²⁸⁸ There is no clearer affirmation of the psychological and emotional association that the Brazilian people felt between their monarch and their land than that image.

Pedro I’s acclamation was not just about the reconciliation of abstract ideas and institutions. It was a public occasion to rally the people behind the very concrete image of their new Emperor. It was a chance to harness the power of the will of the people and channel it into the monarchy. Celebrations of the ceremony fell into two categories: scripted and spontaneous. Much in the former category had to do with certain protocol to be followed. Six thousand uniformed men lined the huge crowd present to catch a glimpse of the Emperor, and later there was a 101 gun salute to honor the event. Capping off the international protocol, the British and French ships in the Rio harbor saluted the new Brazilian flag.²⁸⁹ As to provincial protocol, each municipality was expected to have some sort of organized celebration to honor the occasion.

There was an important and distinct element of popular will woven into the acclamation ceremony as well that reflected the environment of constitutionalism in Brazil and that served to draw the Brazilian people that much closer to their new

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

²⁸⁸ *Câmaras*, Vol. I, 13-14, #4A.

²⁸⁹ Cavalhero, 151.

sovereign. This element was responsible for the more spontaneous and personalized aspects of the celebrations. Throughout the writings of the time, there are repeated references to Pedro's being acclaimed in the name of the people. The very oath that he took upon his coronation reinforced this sentiment: "I, Pedro I, by the grace of God and the unanimous vote of the people, emperor and perpetual defender of Brazil, swear to observe and maintain the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion. I swear to constitutionally observe and enforce the laws of the empire. I swear to defend and preserve its integrity with all my strength."²⁹⁰ Because of the element of popular will, the people of Brazil were not mere spectators. Nor were they there to only bear witness. The sentiment of popular sovereignty inherent in constitutionalism dictated that the people were necessary to sanction the act, infusing popular support into the inherited legitimacy of the monarchy. In this climate, the scripted and spontaneous responses blended together in manifestations of broad-based enthusiasm for the promise and prestige that the ceremony symbolized. The people conveyed no sense of compulsion. Celebrations were a combination of royal announcement and the "explicit will of the people." Accordingly, the people cheered, church bells rang, bands played, guns saluted, and fireworks lit up the nighttime sky.²⁹¹ One writer for the *Rio Gazette* affirmed that even before the ceremony was actually finished people were acclaiming the emperor in the streets "already in high voices, and with great enthusiasm." He goes further to describe the day as one of "eternal felicity for Brazil," identifying the overarching sentiments of the day as "joy, love, obedience, and fidelity." The titles given to the Emperor are equally honorific. Pedro I is

²⁹⁰ Macauley, 134-135

²⁹¹ *Câmaras*, Vol. 2, 12, #151, Macauley, 131-135.

referred to as the “object of our admiration,” “our Friend,” and the “Savior of Brazil.”²⁹² That he could be both their savior and their friend speaks to the profound connection that the people felt for Pedro. As for the celebrations throughout the provinces, the municipal councils served as principle organizers. They took their task extremely seriously. They strove to organize festivities that adequately represented their respect and appreciation of the Emperor with an appropriate level of “magnificence.” Vilas throughout the empire celebrated the acclamation with “many successive nights of magnificent illuminations in all the Vila” as well as fireworks displays. There was also a decidedly religious component to the empire-wide celebrations. Religious ceremonies were vital parts of the festivities, and the communities held a special *Espirito Santo* Mass as well as a *Te Deum Laudamus* ceremony. In addition, the local priests performed speeches and songs to praise the moment and “put the ultimate Seal on the happiness of Brazil.”²⁹³

Questions of Power, Authority, and Loyalty Revisited

Despite all of this promise and euphoria, the same political landmines that ravaged the relationship between the Braganças and the Portuguese Côrtes lurked in Brazil’s political landscape as well. A similar, ongoing power negotiation was taking place on Brazilian soil, just as it had done in Portugal, over the relationship between absolutism and constitutionalism. The *Vivas* called out following Pedro’s acclamation demonstrate the complexity of the political and social forces that permeated the Brazilian political landscape:

Viva our Sacred Religion

²⁹² Gasman, ed., *Gazete do Rio*—n°157—Terça-feira, 31 de dezembro de 1822, 109-110.

²⁹³ *Câmaras*, Vol. 2, 11, #’s 150, 151; 13, #151A.

Viva o Senhor Dom Pedro, First Constitutional Emperor of Brazil and its
 Perpetual Defender
 Viva the Constitutional Emperor of Brazil and the Ruling Dynasty of Braganças
 in Brazil
 Viva the Independence of Brazil
 Viva the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies of Brazil
 Viva the Constitutional People of Brazil ²⁹⁴

The order of these forces was not fixed, and their ensuing flux reflected a growing competition and confrontation between the various forces. At the very heart of the ensuing confrontation between Pedro I and the political elite around him was an increasing disjunction between the young emperor's appreciation for the idea of constitutional power sharing and the actual practice of that division of power and responsibility.

In the transitional stage between independence and the convening of the Constituent Assembly, while the constitution was merely an idea and not a specific reality, the Emperor's rhetoric matched the constitutionalist sentiments of his people. Amidst political recognition negotiations in 1824, Pedro avowed that he was

intimately convinced that an emperor who does not cherish the freedom of his country and does not give to the people the just liberty that guarantees the security of their property and persons...is unworthy of being an emperor and must belong to the genre of wild beasts...I love liberty, and if I find myself obligated to govern without a constitution, immediately I will give up being an emperor.²⁹⁵

Such a liberal statement was characteristic of D. Pedro, but the practice of his government was paradoxical. Intellectually, Pedro held decidedly liberal convictions. However, in the practice of governing, he had ruled Brazil as Regent and then Emperor essentially unfettered by any separation of power. He was accustomed to the monarchy's

²⁹⁴ "Acta da Acclamação do Senhor Dom Pedro Primeiro, Imperador Constitucional do Brazil, e seu Defensor Perpetuo" in *Correio*, Vol. XXIX, 577-579.

²⁹⁵ Macauley, 182.

absolute control. This explains how he could simultaneously avow the sentiment yet still be complicit in his ministers' crack down on dissent and the freedom of the press by expelling his political opponents. Pedro I not only had to deal with the different political forces swirling around his administration, he also had to confront dueling predilections within himself.

The circumstances surrounding the creation of the Brazilian Constitution of 1824 provide considerable insight into the underlying power struggles of Pedro I's reign. Having defused the allure of the Portuguese constitution prior to independence by mandating a constituent assembly of Brazil's own, Pedro I ushered in Brazil's constitutional process himself. The assembly opened in May of 1823 with an overall composition of moderate delegates who favored a liberal, monarchical, centrist approach. Nevertheless, from the very beginning questions of power and status cropped up between the legislators and Pedro I. Along with the weighty issues of the organization of the state, the delegates debated over seemingly minute issues such as the placing of the assembly president's chair in relation to the imperial throne—i.e., should the president's chair be level with the height of the throne—and whether or not Pedro I should wear the imperial crown while in the legislature's domain. On the surface these contentions seem petty, but in fact they speak to the very question of sovereignty and would emerge in issues of greater import as time went by.²⁹⁶

Pedro's dynamic place in the power structure of the Brazilian government and society—both before and after independence—translated into great promise but also great potential for power struggles. From the very beginning of the public discourse on the

²⁹⁶ Lydia M. Garner, "Challenges for a New Nation." TMs (photocopy), p27-36, 43-49, Seminar Reading Selection, "Statebuilding in Latin America," History 5323A, Spring 2004, Texas State University—San Marcos, San Marcos, TX, Cavaliero, 109.

constitution, Pedro had warned the people of his unwillingness to be a simple bystander in its creation. The product had to be “worthy of Brazil and of him,” and the unspoken threat was ‘or else.’ Amidst increased factionalization and friction over judicial and regulatory powers, in two months’ time the delegates had only addressed 24 of the 272 constitutional articles. No longer willing to give the assembly the benefit of the doubt that it could accomplish its task, Pedro dissolved the assembly and undertook the task with his Council of State. His course of action subverted the process of popular representation and ultimately resulted in a “rupture between the Emperor and the Legislature, between he and the liberals, and a degree of animosity and distrust impossible to be erased.”²⁹⁷

Preeminent in Pedro’s mind was the end to be achieved, not the means it took to get there. In rhetoric reminiscent of his defense of royal authority against the Portuguese Côrtes, Pedro justified the assembly’s dissolution by condemning the radical deputies: “they sought the ruin of the Country, and their first and certain aim was My August Person, being, to this end, treated with disrespect by all the means which calumny and malignity could suggest.” He goes on to reassert his commitment to the constitution (a constitution that still did not exist), stating “I am desirous of restoring the Constitutional System, the only one which is capable of accomplishing the happiness of this Empire, and which was proclaimed by the Brazilian People.” In Pedro’s eyes, the delegates were putting Brazilian stability in jeopardy, and he had no other choice but to step in “to save the country” much to the “regret and grief of My Imperial Heart.” He concludes his statement with a reaffirmation of his authority and ability:

The Inhabitants of all the Provinces being confident of My Magnanimity and of My Constitutional Principles, and how much I am pledged to promote the

²⁹⁷ Garner, 32-34.

happiness and tranquility of the Nation, will take breath and recover from the commotion caused by this disastrous occurrence, which occasioned to Me likewise great pain; and will continue to enjoy the Peace, Tranquility, and Prosperity which the Constitution gives and secures to them.²⁹⁸

The means by which the Emperor brought the constitution into being, however, undercut the very notions of its separation of powers and checks and balances. The Council of State and Cabinet with which Pedro collaborated were all appointed positions. There was no public debate over the constitutional provisions. The balance of power was tipped towards the monarchy through the articulation of the “Moderative” power, the power of final oversight over the other branches so that the emperor “constantly can watch over the maintenance of the independence, equilibrium, and harmony of the other Political Powers.” The irony of his goals and methods was lost on Pedro, though. He saw no problem with the fact that his liberal constitution was promulgated in an absolutist manner. The solutions to the constitutional questions had been “imposed rather than agreed upon,” and because of that the political climate lacked consensus on the working relationship of the Emperor and the Legislature. That problem would only be truly reconciled with Pedro II, though, not his father.²⁹⁹

Despite the confrontational turn of events with the creation of the constitution, many took Pedro’s justifications and reasoning to heart. The Emperor was, after all, the author of what would become the most enduring constitution of Latin America. On top of that, he was also responsible for establishing some of the fundamental apparatuses of administration. Pedro created the Supreme Tribunal of Justice, customs house, judicial

²⁹⁸ Burns, *Documentary*, “Statement of the Emperor on the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly,” 209-210.

²⁹⁹ Garner, 34, 36; Cavaliero, 123; Burns, *Documentary*, “The Constitution of 1824,” 214.

courts, justices of the peace, electoral codes, and criminal code. With this in mind, some continued to cheer the Emperor and his achievements. Just as the people had celebrated his acclamation, many celebrated Pedro's, and the nation's, constitution. A council in Bahia reports celebrating with "pomp and grandness" the constitution "given by His Imperial Majesty," a constitution in the interest of the "Common Good of Brazilians."³⁰⁰ The level to which the people accepted or even appreciated the Emperor's paternalism correspondingly dictated the level of their support for his actions. One council in Baependi accepted it wholeheartedly. The constitution is referred to as the "Supreme Law of Public Salvation." They recognized the liberalism of Pedro and his constitution, and the linking of the two meant that initially they were mutually reinforcing their validity and intentions. In the people's eyes, Pedro's bestowal of the constitution was proof of his protection of the popular voice: "What more is needed to determine the will of Your Royal Highness as Always disposed towards the benefit of the People?" Furthermore, the people perceived the necessity of Pedro's executive authority in protecting the interests and security of Brazil. For them, it was an "honor to represent their supplication" to Pedro, their "Idol" and "Hope."³⁰¹

While some subjects such as those quoted above would remain fiercely loyal to Pedro I up until the very end of his reign, seeds of discord sewn during the constitutional confrontation began to expand into other issues as well until they exploded into a general indictment of the first emperor. One such issue involved the question of loyalties. Following independence, Brazilians were naturally wary of any remaining Portuguese loyalties of those Portuguese-born who chose to remain in Brazil. D. Pedro's relationship

³⁰⁰ "Impresso."

³⁰¹ *Câmaras*, Vol. 2, 10, #150.

to the undercurrent of anti-Portuguese sentiment throughout his empire hinged on the Brazilian perception of him as the protector of purely Brazilian interests. Early on, Pedro gave the people no cause to doubt him. Recognizing lingering Portuguese interests as a threat to the security of his power, the new Emperor attacked Portuguese assets in Brazil. He sequestered the property of absentee Portuguese landlords, banned investment in Portugal, increased the duty on Portuguese goods, and threatened war against Portuguese shipping if no recognition of Brazil was made by four months after Brazil's declaration of independence. He even went so far as to deny Portuguese visitors the symbolic right to kiss his hand in the *beija-mão* ceremony. Such Brazilianism was short lived, though. Pedro preferred Portuguese advisors, and in his administration Portuguese officials greatly outnumbered their Brazilian counterparts. The most divisive issue, though, was Pedro's relationship to events in Portugal. The first event that sent ripples across the Atlantic was D. João's dissolution of the legislative *Côrtes* in Lisbon. The situation had been disintegrating there, and the King had seized the opportunity to reassert royal absolute authority. With the Brazilian Constitution as yet unmade, the return of absolutism to Portugal naturally made Brazilians wary of Portuguese influence. Pedro had no intention of returning to absolutism, or Portugal for that matter, and his Brazilian Constitution even explicitly prevented its monarch from any crown union with Portugal. Nevertheless, although Pedro formally renounced his succession to the throne in Lisbon, royal intrigue continually swirled around him. This came in large part due to the death of João VI in March of 1826. The Regency Council in Lisbon afterwards proclaimed Pedro as Pedro IV of Portugal. The Brazilian Emperor sidestepped the issue by abdicating the Portuguese throne to his eight year old daughter Maria da Glória, but his insertion into

what became a dynastic struggle in Europe against his brother Miguel was clear to the Brazilian people.³⁰² By identifying himself with Portuguese issues and interests, D. Pedro was methodically stripping himself of the Brazilian people's psychological and symbolic perception of him as Brazil's savior and champion. Brazilians were increasingly likely to identify their sovereign as Portuguese instead of Brazilian.³⁰³ Pedro was losing their trust, losing their support, and ultimately losing his throne.

Pedro's approach to dealing with contentious issues—simply imposing his imperial will—combined with the growing anti-Portuguese sentiment to increasingly alienate the people from their monarch and precluded any chance of reconciling the executive and legislative powers.³⁰⁴ A short but profound statement made by the Emperor encapsulated the impasse: "I will do everything for the people but nothing by the people."³⁰⁵ Such paternalism fit with absolutism but was incompatible with popular sovereignty. The result was a growing indictment and repudiation of Pedro I. What had been public occasions of royal ostentations to reinforce the monarchy's authority became opportunities for Brazilians to strike at the very symbols of that authority. Brazilians stopped paying homage to their emperor in the *beija-mão* ceremony. At the *Te Deum* celebrating the March 25 anniversary of the promulgation of the constitution in 1831, the crowd cheered "Long Live the Emperor, as long as he's constitutional" as well as "Viva Dom Pedro II" as Pedro I entered the church.³⁰⁶ Such slaps in the face cut to the very

³⁰² Cavalhero, 157, 159, 164, 183, 187-188.

³⁰³ Ribeiro, 56-57.

³⁰⁴ Garner, 43-49.

³⁰⁵ Burns, *Documentary*, "The Abdication of Pedro I," 223.

³⁰⁶ Cavalhero, 166; Macauley, 244, 248.

essence of D. Pedro's legitimacy as sovereign. They reflected the growing dissatisfaction with the Emperor's leadership—even his person—as well as the assertion of their own sovereignty and rights. One member of the Republican faction spoke of the disjunction of Pedro I's words and deeds. He indicted the Emperor for acting “with the words of the Constitution and Brazilianism in his mouth” while “being Portuguese and absolutist in his heart.” Turning the Emperor's own rhetoric against him, the republican attributed Pedro's actions as posing imminent catastrophe. D. Pedro was the threat to Brazil.³⁰⁷ While a republican's espousal of such sentiment is not particularly noteworthy considering the natural contention between his and the monarchist ideologies, what is striking is that this sentiment was becoming increasingly mainstream.

With Pedro's Portuguese preferences for his government, the looming specter of dynastic intrigue in Lisbon, and his loss in moral standing with his infidelity and mistreatment of the Empress Leopoldina, the first Emperor of Brazil had lost virtually all semblance of legitimacy and authority. His own people viewed him as expendable, and cognizant of this as well as the very real, the very growing threat of deposition, Pedro I abdicated his throne on April 7, 1831.

In contrast with his heavy-handed approach to the dissolution of the constituent assembly, Pedro I left quietly and immediately. Six years earlier, D. João had formally passed sovereignty over Brazil to his son in the treaty recognizing Brazilian independence. The Portuguese King recognized Brazilian independence from Portugal, but not its separation from him. To accommodate that intricacy in formal recognition, D. João asserted his dominion over Brazil but simultaneously passed it directly to his son.

³⁰⁷ Gasman, “Carta do Marquês de Barbacena a D. Pedro I,” 115.

The King recognized Brazil as an “Independent Empire” and “His most beloved and valued Son Dom Pedro as Emperor, ceding and transferring, of his own free will, the Sovereignty of the aforesaid Empire to his aforesaid Son and his Legitimate Successors.” Now, Pedro I was passing that same empire to his own son, using strikingly similar rhetoric. He left one brief, official statement: “Availing myself of the privilege which the Constitution gives me, I hereby declare that I have most voluntarily Abdicated, in favor of my well beloved and most esteemed Son, Dom Pedro do Alcântara.”³⁰⁸

The abdication of Pedro I marked the end of one chapter of Brazilian imperial history and the beginning of another. The son to whom Pedro had transferred his authority was only five and a half years old. The forces that ravaged the reign of the first Emperor of Brazil remained and would wreak havoc on the Regency period of the young sovereign as well. The monarchy would survive, though, and make a definitive mark on Brazilian history, politics, and culture. Chapter Five will chronicle that endurance and provide a final look to the profound legacy of the Bragança monarchy in Brazil.

³⁰⁸ Burns, *Documentary*, “Portuguese Recognition of Brazilian Independence,” 220-221; Burns, *Documentary*, “Abdication,” 224

CHAPTER 5

BRAZILIAN MONARCHY: POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ENDURANCE

With Pedro I's abdication, conditions were ripe for a descent into political chaos. With only a boy-emperor on the throne of a monarchy yet to reconcile itself to constitutional rule, Brazil's future was very much up for grabs due to the symbolic and practical power vacuum created by Pedro I's exit. Brazil had lost its unifying national symbol, the monarchy its dynamic representative, and the government its driving force. With the loss of all of these, Brazil easily could have followed the path of all of the new nations surrounding it, a path of republicanism, fragmentation, and destabilization. After all, a regency was an inherently vulnerable state for any monarchy, much less one facing the momentous challenges of organizing a new state under a new constitution. Yet with all of these factors at play, the Brazilian monarchy would endure. Pedro II would not just survive his regency period, he—and thereby the monarchy—would emerge as an even more powerful symbol than ever before. As a Brazilian-born Bragança, Pedro II could capture the hearts and minds of his people in a way his father never could. In addition, the young emperor would be raised in a constitutional monarchy with no vestiges of the Braganças' absolutist past. That reason alone dictated that Pedro II's approach to rule be drastically different from his father's. In essence, Pedro II would be able to fit into the system, and under his tutelage that system would produce five decades of imperial rule

characterized by stability and progress. The quiet order ruled over by Pedro II would be no less etched into the Brazilian national identity than the drama of independence and of Pedro I. In fact, it was the complete absence of drama that defined the reign of Pedro II and that garnered appreciation from all who had lived through the tumultuous times before him. The military officers who would ultimately rise against the emperor in 1889 would do so not out of a sense of comparable danger or disorder but ironically instead out of the aspirations and opportunities afforded by the accomplishments of monarchical rule. Pedro II and his monarchy were victims of their own success, cultivating a society that ultimately felt it did not need them anymore. After a century of republican rule, however, the monarchy as a symbol of hope and order would endure. There could be no greater testimonial to the place of the Braganças in the Brazilian national myth than the support for returning to the monarchical political system in a national plebiscite held in 1993. Although the modern-day monarchists would fall short of a majority, their presence and persistence speak to the enduring legacy of the monarchy and its symbolic place in the history of Brazil.

Tenuous Times: Abdication and Regency

The manner in which Pedro I left Brazil had a tremendous impact on the political conditions of the country. The formal abdication simultaneously reinforced both the Braganças' dynastic continuity as well as that of the 1824 constitution in Brazil with Pedro's explicit transference of royal authority to his son. While the people's assertion of popular sovereignty had stripped Pedro I of his mandate to rule, Pedro I was counting on the people's commitment to constitutional government to preserve his son's throne. The first emperor's observations on he and his son's relationship to that constitutional

government show both his optimism and his last use of the constitutional mantle for himself in Brazil: “He’ll [Pedro II] reign without difficulty and the constitution will guarantee his prerogatives. I’ll descend from the throne with the glory of ending as I began, constitutionally.”³⁰⁹ His non-confrontational exit defused the volatility of his opposition by stripping them of a royal villain in the political scenario. Pedro’s abdication within the parameters of the constitution also reinforced that document’s viability and applicability. Ironically, with his last act as emperor, Pedro I had realigned his words and deeds under the liberal tenet of popular sovereignty. The investment of power into the figure of Pedro II meant that the monarchy transcended Pedro I who had been *the* symbol of the nation and its monarchy, and that transcendence was vital to the monarchy’s continuation following Pedro’s exit. The dynamics of the Brazilian monarchy were in many ways forever changed, though.

One of the key changes was the effective Brazilianization of the monarchy and the overall administration of government. The anti-Portuguese sentiment grew increasingly rabid in the final stage of Pedro I’s reign, and it was a factor in maintaining support for the monarchy recognized by the first emperor himself. Upon abdicating he remarked that “my son has the advantage over me of being Brazilian,” and Pedro I was indeed correct.³¹⁰ Pedro II’s birth in Brazil meant that his homeland was not that of his father. Portugal had never been a part of the younger Pedro’s life, and for that his loyalties would never be put into question. Also, there was nothing threatening to constitutional rule in the person of a five year old boy virtually orphaned and left to be raised by the state. The legislature lauded Pedro II’s Brazilian-ness in their proclamation

³⁰⁹ Macauley, 252.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

addressing Pedro I's abdication. They declared that with Pedro I's departure "We now have a country, we now have a monarch, the symbol of our union and of the integrity of the Empire—one who educated among us can receive almost from the cradle the first lessons of American liberty and learn to love Brazil, where he drew his first breath."³¹¹ Brazilianization went beyond just the throne, though. With Pedro I gone, there was no place left in the government for those who still identified themselves with Portugal. The Brazilian patriarchal elite replaced the Portuguese-born who had previously run the government under Pedro I. The people of Brazil looked upon this change in the composition of their emperor and government as the final stage of independence from the mother country. The National Assembly asserted this in its declaration, stating that finally "Brazil will belong to Brazilians."³¹²

Such circumstances guaranteed that there was a distinct Brazilian political elite in place and capable of stepping to the forefront upon Pedro I's abdication. D. Pedro had left Rio de Janeiro with no formal court entourage.³¹³ All Brazilian ministers and councilors of state remained in Brazil, thus there existed a political elite and corps of leaders to oversee what would be a lengthy regency period. These would be the men who would set the course for Brazil away from the path of the Spanish American republics by immediately recognizing the status of Pedro II as Emperor of Brazil and thereby lessening the potential for upheaval. Ironically, the same political forces that agitated against Pedro I also united in support for the continuation of the monarchy "in the name

³¹¹ Barman, *Citizen*, 31

³¹² Burns, *History*, 134, Burns, *Documentary*, "Statement of the Emperor on the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly," 224, 226.

³¹³ Macauley, 255.

of order.”³¹⁴ The very day that Pedro I abdicated, senators and deputies present in Rio (officially the assembly was on vacation) met in the General Assembly to read Pedro’s abdication and elect a tribune regency as prescribed by the constitution. Just two days later Pedro II was formally acclaimed the Constitutional Emperor of Brazil with public, military, legislative, and diplomatic recognition of his status. The popular response to Pedro II’s presence in town for the occasion testified to the people’s willingness to embrace their new emperor. The crowd even unharnessed the horses and carried the royal carriage through the streets to the imperial chapel for the formal *Te Deum* ceremony. According to the Austrian envoy present, “the people cheered him to the echo, smothered him with caresses, and kissed his hands and even his face.” Such demonstrations of affection and fealty show just how ingrained into the popular psyche the monarchy was. The speed with which the ceremony took place reveals the sense of urgency on the part of the political elite to thwart any attempt made by extremist factions to deny the legitimacy of the new emperor.³¹⁵ Pedro II’s place was quickly acclaimed and affirmed by the political elite and the people.

Although the Regency was established and recognized, it was in no way a potent force in the political landscape of the 1830’s. The turbulent nature of the relationship between the governmental powers at the federal and regional levels and Pedro I triggered a backlash during the Regency that effectively and systematically stripped the executive branch of functional power. Emboldened by their comparative advantage in power, the Legislature asserted itself over the executive branch, going so far as to strip the Regency of the imperial powers to dissolve the chamber of deputies and confer royal titles, actions

³¹⁴ Ribeiro, 59.

³¹⁵ Garner, 51; Barman, *Citizen*, 31.

that had both practical and symbolic importance. With such constraints on the Executive, the Legislature—for the first time in its existence—had practically unfettered control of the government. The new reality in turn created political space for experimentation and alternative visions for the future of Brazilian politics. Correspondingly, the forces that gained ground during the time period were those of federalism and representative participation, both of which Pedro I had held in check by the power of the central imperial government. In their new setting, though, the provinces desired more official local autonomy and all over Brazil elected representatives strove for increased power and participation in the political system.³¹⁶ These trends manifested themselves in two primary political and judicial reforms. In 1832 the assembly passed the Procedure Code which introduced the jury system and the direct election of justices of the peace by parish electors, both of which were meant to create judicial independence and increase popular participation. The second major event of the Regency period was the passage of the Additional Act in 1834. It reduced the number of Regents to one and made the post an elected position as well as abolished the council of state (in a liberal move against their conservative opposition). The Additional Act also addressed provincial concerns, mandating local legislative assemblies that possessed actionable powers, thus formalizing a shift towards decentralization. Those provincial assemblies oversaw increased control over the provincial along with municipal positions and increasingly asserted themselves to the point that, when in the context of the Regency's weakened executive, they had more power than the central government, including the National Assembly. It is important to note, however, that amidst all of these political debates and confrontations, moves and countermoves, there arose an unintended consequence. The Additional Act

³¹⁶ Burns, *History*, 134-135.

was a constitutional amendment. This shows that while Brazilians were content to experiment with the direction of their government, they nevertheless accepted the structural framework of Pedro I's constitution. In using it for their own gains, the political factions of the time actually cemented the constitution's place thus legitimizing it and proving its status as a workable document.³¹⁷

Regardless of such consensus on the constitution, the resulting decentralization fueled separatist and factionalist tendencies ever-present in a nation the size of Brazil. With each passing year of the Regency, the climate ripened for rebellion. Adding to the problem was the decreasing ability of the central government to respond to the political separatism growing in the provinces. Brazil increasingly became a quagmire. Different political forces throughout the nation were strong enough to neutralize others without being able to take overall control.³¹⁸ From 1831 to 1835 there were three short-lived rebellions. From 1832-1838 there were five major provincial revolts fueled by a myriad of reasons stemming from continuing anti-Portuguese sentiments, anti-Rio centrism sentiments, and racial motivations.³¹⁹

Within this political context, the Brazilian state raised the young emperor and his sisters left behind by their father. Even after Pedro I abdicated, the ostentations and symbols of the monarchy he established remained. The constitution, flag, imperial arms, royal stamp, and imperial crown all remained, but Pedro II's visibility as the royal sovereign would wax and wane, though, according to the political elite's perception of threats to the stability of the nation's political system. In essence, Pedro II's cultivated

³¹⁷ Burns, *History*, 135, Garner, 56-57, 68.

³¹⁸ Garner, 58-62

³¹⁹ Burns, *History*, 136.

place in the collective imagination of the people would be directly related to the level of disorder and chaos prevalent.³²⁰ Amidst the turmoil of the abdication, Pedro I himself initiated the customary homage shown to the imperial sovereign. On the night that the former emperor left Brazil and after he had written his formal abdication, he visited his son. In his parting act, Pedro I kissed a sleeping Pedro II's forehead and then his hand, taking part in the "child-emperor's first *beija-mão*."³²¹ However, aside from the initial visibility of Pedro II as filling the royal void left by his father's abdication, his upbringing involved more isolation than ostentation. As his guardian, the state could not and did not cultivate the same royal visibility for Pedro II that he would have had as the heir of a ruling, present monarch.³²² As it was, the royal life cycle of Pedro II and his sisters became the domain—more so the business—of the government, and it was overseen as such. Pedro was an extension of the government, not the other way around as it had been in his father's time.³²³ This shift in the relationship between the monarchy and the state was as much a function of the people's preeminent political participation as it was the youth of the boy emperor. In the end, as the people took center stage, Pedro II was delegated to the fringe of society and politics.

That was the situation, that is, until Brazilians began to grow leery of the territorial and political fragmentation that corresponded with the direction in which the legislatures throughout the country were taking Brazil. As the political elite's dissatisfaction with the administration of the Regency government increasingly grew,

³²⁰ Ribeiro, 101.

³²¹ Cavalhero, 190.

³²² Garner, 64

³²³ Ribeiro, 101.

they began to look to the monarchy more and reestablish the place in society that it once held. Accordingly, the state reintroduced pomp and visibility to royal occasions like birthdays and the *beija-mão*. The effort at reviving the monarchy's traditional status was representative of the effort to revive Brazil itself, to recapture the promise and stability of its past.

The campaign of monarchical revival was indeed successful. On March 25, 1838—the anniversary of the promulgation of Pedro I's constitution—a former seminary in Rio that was converted to the *Colegio D. Pedro II* opened to much pomp and circumstance surrounding the symbolic gesture and the young emperor's attendance. The vice-rector of the *Colegio* provided an early glimpse into the shifting perception of Pedro II in his address: "We are patiently awaiting the moment when your Imperial Majesty assumes the reigns of the government, which by so many titles belongs to you, and then we will be sure of the strength and the stability of this good Empire."³²⁴ Likewise, upon Pedro II's birthday in 1839 there were three days of "spontaneous, intense public celebration" characterized by one present as "general ecstasy." Along with the resumption of the *beija-mão* ceremony, Pedro II's portrait was also officially hung in government buildings throughout Brazil and even bowed to on the aforementioned birthday. It was not just the emperor himself, though, who became more visible. The conspicuity of the imperial court in general was also revived with traditional ceremonies and etiquette.³²⁵ With this, all aspects of monarchical symbolism were reintroduced to Brazilian society, a society increasingly thirsty for something and someone to believe in. The monarchy was surviving the Regency and even reemerging with a flourish because it

³²⁴ Barman, *Forging*, 201.

³²⁵ Barman, *Citizen*, 64-65; Cavaliero, 194; Barman, *Forging*, 201

was increasingly being perceived as the “one way of securing the union of the country.” The revived ceremonies and ostentations played a large part in bringing shape to that idea. They gave the idea tangible shape: the figure of a living, breathing, king. The people found reassurance in the calmness and security that that figure and the symbolic rites of the monarchy engendered.³²⁶ At that time, Pedro II’s power as a monarch came not from the actual power he possessed in his minority but from his ability to inspire hope in the hearts and minds of the people. He represented a fresh start for the monarchy, the people, and the nation. A sonnet written to honor Pedro II on his birthday as early as 1836 shows demonstrates clearly that hope:

From amongst the links of the temporal chain
Emerges, the Day, brilliant and majestic
An Angel, a God of Peace, a loving God,
All the pomp of Heaven today boasts.

The mind engrossed, and of hopes full
Rejoices at seeing the luminous Star
From a cheerful and fortunate future
Happily unfolding the threads

Grows Sublime Pedro, Tender Shoot
Formed by the Hands of the Divine
You will be to the people their August

Bases of Your Throne Liberty,
Justice, Reason, they will become Your Bust,
Carrying Your Name to Eternity.³²⁷

Ultimately, the revival was in fact successful, serving to capture the public’s attention and “make the emperor a person almost omnipresent, seen everywhere and by

³²⁶ Ribeiro, 100

³²⁷ “Por Joaquim Antonio de Magalhães, Enviado Extraordinario e Ministro Plenipotenciario de S. M. I., junto a S. M. o Imperador do Brasil, em o Dia de Seus Annos,” datado 12/2/1836, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Casa Real e Imperial: Cx. 9, Pac. 3, Document 133.

everyone.”³²⁸ Pedro and the monarchy were becoming center stage once again.

Pedro II: Emperor Savior

By the time of that birthday celebration in 1836, there was already a palpable and growing sense on the part of the Brazilian people that Pedro II would be the remedy to their political problems. Such hope was only intensified as time went on and things in Brazil continued to disintegrate. On the occasion of his birthday in 1839, newspapers throughout Brazil praised the emperor and expressed hope in his future role in the administration of Brazil. One newspaper captured the juxtaposition of both the fear and hope of the times, exclaiming “Flee days of horrors, days of fear; Flee the discord which ravages the country; Come the reign of D. Pedro the Just!”³²⁹ Even those in direct confrontation with the central government looked to Pedro II. One revolt in Salvador that began in 1837, citing a form of internal colonialism on the part of Rio de Janeiro, resulted in the declaration of a separate, “independent state” in Bahia. What is most striking, though, is that alongside this declaration was the affirmation that “The separation of this State will exist until the coming of age at eighteen of Our Sovereign Lord His Imperial Majesty D. Pedro II.”³³⁰ While they challenged the authority of the Rio government, these insurrectionists never questioned that of their emperor. They embraced it, even looked forward to it as a harbinger of better things to come. Those in Salvador, as well as others throughout Brazil during the entire Regency period, were responding to the “absence of an official symbol of legitimacy” that “denied prestige to the acts of

³²⁸ Ribeiro, 101; Barman, *Citizen*, 64-65.

³²⁹ Barman, *Citizen*, 64-65.

³³⁰ Cavalhero, 195.

government.”³³¹ In the end, Brazilians—even insurrectionists—were waiting for that symbol to reemerge. Pedro I had filled that role leading up to independence. His power as a monarch in Brazil stemmed from the people’s perception of him as both their savior and protector. By the end of the 1830’s, Brazilians were in need of both once again. As his father before him, Pedro II was by official title the “Protector and Perpetual Defender of Brazil” irregardless of his age. The honor had been passed to him along with all of the other rights of Bragança inheritance, and the people of Brazil would look to him just as much—if not more—than they had his father.³³²

The notion of waiting until Pedro II turned of age—eighteen by mandate of the constitution—decreased in popularity and practicality as the nation continued to slide into chaos. Brazilian politicians recognized that conditions in Brazil were frighteningly akin to the chaos in the Latin American republics. The cautionary tales of their neighbors warned that Brazil had ultimately two choices: continue towards the abyss of destabilization or do whatever it took to restore order.³³³ The intellectual impact of this situation was to create the first political consensus in Brazil in almost a decade. Everyone could agree that doom was impending and that Pedro II could help as a “focus of loyalty and identity and as a source of authority.”³³⁴ Pedro’s very age at the time of the pro-monarchy rhetoric serves as an indicator of his importance as a symbol and the elite’s recognition of the precariousness of the Brazilian state.³³⁵ The Brazilian people were

³³¹ Garner, 26.

³³² Ribeiro, 106.

³³³ Garner, 63.

³³⁴ Cavalhero, 202.

³³⁵ Garner, 26.

increasingly pinning their hopes and dreams for the future to a fourteen and a half year old boy.

That Pedro II was an uncommon child only helped his cause. For the people, “His preternatural solemnity and intellectual precocity...indicated that he already possessed the mental and psychological capacity to rule.”³³⁶ Their perception of the young Bragança as being ready for the throne had as much to do with his qualities as it did with their readiness for change. All of these factors combined to create a potent belief in the attainability of an idealized modern king, a “Citizen-King.” One writer in 1838 captured the desire on the part of the people to have

...what all Brazilians want: a strong monarch who curbs the ambitions of the discontented and suppresses the fanaticism of the masses, an able monarch who reconciles liberty with order, with internal peace, with the development of the country, with its artistic and literary glory...An Emperor who knows his duties and his rights, which are, in reality, nothing less than duties in respect to the public order and to the maintenance of the social structure.³³⁷

The liberal experiment with unfettered popular sovereignty was drawing to a close at the behest of the people themselves. In Brazil’s short national existence, it had indeed been a striking testing ground for political ideas and trends. Ultimately, the reign of Pedro I and the Regency period collectively represented a pendulum of political forces swinging back and forth. Pedro I’s unilateral approach to his administration smacked of absolutism—unchecked executive power—while during the vacuum of authoritative executive power during the Regency, the provinces and Legislature overcompensated for their distrust of central, executive authority. That shift was accomplished through measures such as the Procedure Code and the Additional Act, both of which moved Brazil towards

³³⁶ Barman, *Forging*, 203.

³³⁷ Cavalhero, 202.

decentralization. In their attempt to redress prior grievances against Pedro I, though, those actors created an unintentional by-product: destabilization. The Brazilian political elite found themselves—of their own doing—face to face with the very specter of disorder that they had striven to avoid.³³⁸

In light of this reality, the Brazilian political elite moved to end the minority of Pedro II early—at fourteen and a half years instead of the eighteen that the constitution required—and reinstate the full range of imperial authority over the government of the nation. That final, formal move to declare Pedro II's majority was just the final stage in the rejuvenation of the monarchy in the eyes of the people. Support was broad-based in the General Assembly and the general public as well, and "representatives from several provinces spoke in favor [of Pedro's Majority], emphasizing the seriousness of the current disorder, the fear of political dissolution, a weariness with the continual upheaval, and a sense that without order there could be no progress." Brazilians perceived their only viable remedy to be a fully vested Pedro II.³³⁹ All throughout the journey leading to the decision to declare Pedro II of majority age, the people had slowly and systematically reinvested themselves into the symbolism of their Bragança monarchical heritage. That heritage transcended any one figure, thereby Pedro I's forced abdication had not lessened the importance of royal continuity and inherited legitimacy. Demonstrating this, there was even an initial proposal in the assembly to introduce a vote on making Pedro of Majority age on the birthday of D. João VI, "The August Grandfather of His Imperial

³³⁸ Garner, 53-56.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 65-66

Majesty.”³⁴⁰ Two months later, on July 22, 1840, liberals from the General Assembly ironically were the ones to take the initiative and go to Pedro to see if he was willing to assume the throne early and to tell him that his accession “was necessary to avoid disorder.”³⁴¹ The very next day the young emperor stood in the General Assembly and took the oath to uphold the Constitution.³⁴²

That moment washed away any fears and the doubts that the Brazilian people harbored regarding the future of their nation. The Legislature set the tone for the public response to the Majority of Pedro II:

The General Legislative Assembly of Brazil, recognizing the happy intellectual development of His Imperial Majesty Dom Pedro II, with whom Divine Providence has blessed the Empire of Santa Cruz; recognizing likewise the evils inherent in exceptional Governments, and witnessing the unanimous desire of the people of this capital; convinced that this desire is in accordance with that of the whole empire to confer on the same august personage the exercise of the powers which belong to him by the Constitution, have considered it expedient from such weighty motives to declare him of age, in order, immediately to enter on the free exercise of these powers as Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil. The August Monarch has just taken the solemn oath determined by Article 103 of the Constitution of the empire.

Brazilians! The hopes of the nation are converted into realities: a new era has dawned: may it be one of union and prosperity: may we be worthy of so great a benefit.³⁴³

The oath-taking may have been a solemn occasion, but its reception by the Brazilian people was one of pure jubilation. The sight of Pedro II “sparked delirium and cheering among the crowds filling the assembly hall and packing the square and streets around it. The cry ‘Viva Senhor Dom Pedro II, Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of

³⁴⁰ Barman, *Forging*, 206.

³⁴¹ Garner, 67.

³⁴² Burns, *History*, 138.

³⁴³ Burns, *Documentary*, “Proclamation of the Majority of Pedro II,” 231.

Brazil!’ rang out repeatedly.”³⁴⁴ The “general euphoria” of the moment was in stark contrast to the tone of the preceding years. In place of the Regency, for the people and the government there now “existed a single authority, endorsed with inherited legitimacy, exalted by its ceremonial duties, positioned above partisan and personal interests, and possessed of Constitutional powers sufficient to resolve political conflicts.”³⁴⁵ Pedro II’s formal consecration and coronation did not take place until almost a full year later, but they served to place the final religious and imperial stamp of legitimacy and authority onto his fifteen year old figure. A week of festivities celebrated the events and were described by one witness as being of a magnificence unequaled in the history of Brazil. The young emperor also began his formal acts as the royal patron, granting a large number of titles and honors as well as authorizing several symbolic acts of beneficence such as freeing the slaves who performed at the ceremony and founding a hospital for the mentally ill.³⁴⁶ The steadiness, composure, and magnanimity that Pedro II showed throughout the ceremonies previewed what would be the defining characteristics of his rule.

Pedro II’s imperial status reaffirmed the legitimacy of the central government, and a new spirit of cooperation lent a united front against the uprisings and agitations of the period. While the instability of the Regency period had placed the nation in peril, the experience of it proved vital in the long term balancing of governmental interests. The political pendulum had to swing back and then forth between centrism and federalism, between monarchism and populism, before balance could be achieved. Decentralization

³⁴⁴ Burns, *History*, 138-139.

³⁴⁵ Barman, *Citizen*, 74.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 84-85

and the Legislature's flexing of its political muscles cemented legislative authority within the parameters of the Constitution. The absence of Pedro I was necessary for the Legislature and the provinces to carve out their own niches in the system. Those more defined legislative and provincial authorities could then be integrated with a rejuvenated monarchy that possessed a restored central, executive authority. Pedro II's Majority set the government on the path of collaboration and compromise that had not been possible in the first two decades of Brazil's existence.³⁴⁷

The Monarchy *as* the Nation

The coronation of Pedro II proved that the Brazilian monarchy transcended age and youth. Despite his mere fifteen years, Pedro II could step into ostentations of power and authority that reached back centuries into his Bragança and European heritage. The Emperor's first official portraits reflect the transformation of the child into the ruler. Standing in front of the imperial throne and crown and holding the scepter and shield, Pedro II symbolized the fulfillment of the promise and hope that his people had attached to him.³⁴⁸ The royal life cycle would begin anew yet again under the patriarchy of Pedro II, and the very image of the nation would be a reflection of him.

Through the nature of his upbringing, Pedro II had been inculcated with the values of the state and the constitution. Because of this, he would be able to maneuver much more deftly through the confined space of a more defined constitutional

³⁴⁷ Garner, 63-67.

³⁴⁸ Ribeiro, 102.

monarchy.³⁴⁹ A poem that the Emperor wrote in 1852 gives personal insight into how

Pedro II saw his role in the system:

If I am pious, clement, just
 I'm only what I ought to be.
 The scepter is a weighty trust,
 A great responsibility;
 And he who rules with faithful hand,
 With depth of thought and breadth of range,
 The sacred laws should understand,
 But must not, at his pleasure, change.

The chair of justice is the throne:
 Who takes it bows to higher laws;
 The public good, and not his own,
 Demand his care in every cause.
 Neglect of duty, always wrong,
 Detestable in young or old,
 By him whose place is high and strong,
 Is magnified a thousandfold...³⁵⁰

The value of such a poem is not in its literary merit but in its function as the personal expression of the Emperor's approach to governing. The verses demonstrate Pedro's acceptance of the immutability of the Constitution as well as his internalization of his duty to be the caretaker of justice for the nation. Pedro II had captured the essence of the "Citizen-King" and made it his fundamental purpose in life.

The expression of that ideology and philosophy involved a wide range of political objectives. Of immediate concern was the need to recentralize the government, and Pedro II and the federal government's concentrated effort proved successful. At the heart of the Brazilian call for his Majority was the need to bring an end to insurrections and agitation throughout the provinces, and by the late 1840's rebellion ceased to be a viable political

³⁴⁹ Garner, 68-71

³⁵⁰ Burns, *History*, 172

weapon. Such a reality hearkened back to the words of the Salvador revolt: that they would rejoin the national system once Pedro had assumed control of the government. The snuffing out of those uprisings “reflected the acceptance of the legitimacy and authority of Pedro II.”³⁵¹ The turbulence of the Regency made the symbol of the monarchy that much more powerful when it succeeded in bringing back territorial and political order: “those who lived through the centrifugal dangers of the regency period deeply venerated the monarchy thereafter, because it had preserved Brazilian unity during the moment of its greatest stress.” The experience had fostered an entire generation of unquestioned allegiance to the monarchy.³⁵² The Emperor’s regime was also able to restore the Council of State as the Emperor’s advisory board on his Moderating Power as well as reign in the provincial legislatures’ powers and regain control over all police forces. Pedro II also showed a willingness to delegate power, shifting to a Prime Minister and Parliamentary system. Within that construct, Pedro II adeptly used his moderating power to balance the political parties by bringing in new ministries as he saw fit. The Brazilian government needed—and received—a level of “astuteness on the part of the emperor to correctly assess public opinion so that he knew when the nation favored a shift of political parties.”³⁵³ The result was a unique Brazilian blend of monarchical power and popular will.

³⁵¹ Burns, *History*, 140, 141.

³⁵² The generation removed from the uncertainty of the period, that had only known the order and stability of Pedro II’s rule, would not share such a sense of indebtedness or appreciation. Opportunity engendered the desire for greater opportunity. Eventually Pedro II would be perceived by some as a hindrance, not a savior.

³⁵³ Burns, *History*, 139, 140, 141; Barman, *Forging*, 217.

As its symbol, monarch, caretaker, and patron, Pedro II came to completely dominate the social consciousness of Brazil. Even as early as 1846 when the nation was still being brought to order, Pedro II was already assuming the role of father figure for his people. Álvares Machado gave voice to this sentiment, acclaiming “the paternal bond of Senhor D. Pedro II, of the archangel of Brazilians, who opened to his children an honorable door, recovers the traditional representations of sovereignty: father, protector, center of justice and the law.”³⁵⁴ Because of such preeminence in the political and social arenas, the nation became increasingly synonymous with Pedro II and his monarchy. After all, his was the ceremonial, diplomatic, and administrative face of the nation within and without Brazil’s borders. Because of the stability and strength of the imperial regime, Brazil was in a position to compete for hegemony in the region: forcing favorable treaties with neighbors, gaining territory, and exerting influence over the politics of much of Latin America.³⁵⁵ Brazilian society was flourishing inside of its borders as well. A new urban environment was developing, especially in Rio. Literature, journalism, and theater reflected the creative freedom allowed in Brazil. Thomas Eubank, an American visitor, commented on the trajectory of Brazil under its monarch’s rule, stating that “as for the material elements of greatness, no people under the sun are more highly favored, and have a higher destiny opened before them.” Brazilians themselves naturally held their nation in similar regard. There was a level of pride on their part, a pride that transformed into nationalism and a vibrant national identity.³⁵⁶ Brazil, its people, and its monarch had

³⁵⁴ Ribeiro, 103.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁵⁶ Burns, *History*, 146-148.

all come a long way. As Pedro matured and succeeded as a leader, the people's perceptions of him naturally evolved over time as well. One cabinet minister in 1852 reflects that evolution:

The emperor constitutes one of the principal assets of our country. His morality, his superior bearing, his upright judgment and his excellent intentions, united to his prestige and his office, can yet deliver us from many evils, without him inevitable and with him improbable! While I used to like him from self-interest, seeing in him the hope for our salvation, today I am forced to like him from affection and gratitude, as one loves virtue and a benefactor.³⁵⁷

The emperor raised by the state, to serve the state, had become the state.

Changing Times, Unchanging Monarch

That monarchical state was finite, however. In the almost half a century that Pedro II ruled as emperor, the political and cultural landscapes of Brazil had naturally changed. A growing disconnect was occurring between a people moving towards the twentieth century and a monarch deeply rooted in traditional ways. The result was a corresponding loss of administrative and symbolic prominence on the part of Pedro II. Yes, as emperor his qualities of patience, tenacity, and preparedness had helped to harmonize the nation's disparate political groups and consolidate Brazil as a nation-state. Yes, as emperor he had overseen five decades of order, stability, and progress. Yet the fruits of his labor were also the catalysts of his demise. The changes wrought by scientific advancement greatly complicated the administration of the government, adding the need for specialized government institutions. That specialization made it increasingly difficult for generalized administration, and the Emperor's style of overseeing both the overarching policies and administrative minutiae made him more and more incompatible with the changing times. The rise of bureaucratic expertise also coincided with the

³⁵⁷ Barman, *Citizen*, 126.

increased desire and capability for increased political participation. Younger generations of politicians and military officers who had no experience with the chaos prior to Pedro II's majority became ensconced in merit and skill based competition and promotion. D. Pedro's ultimate—and indisputable—control of the system and its workings created the perception of a ceiling detrimental to the continuing evolution of the state and its apparatus. What was at one time an appreciation for the paternalistic skill of the Emperor changed to outright resentment and hostility on the part of some. Too large and complicated a job for one man to hold sway over, the government, according to those discontented—was being held hostage by Pedro II's intransigence and personal attachment to power. His reconstitution of the cabinets and Chamber of Deputies, an act once perceived as the adept balancing of parties, by the 1880's translated into alienation at a level not present before. The Emperor's oversight, detailed involvement, and frequent inspections no longer were acceptable to the heightened sophistication of the Brazilian constituency. The disjunction between bureaucratic expectations and democratic access to power further outdated the role of the Emperor and thereby the monarchy in the new landscape of politics. In terms specifically of the military, a similar professionalization of a younger cadre combined with military success in the Paraguayan War to elevate the expectations of that group as well. That D. Pedro had long done away with ostentations of authority only made the officer corps bolder.

It was within this context that Pedro II grew older and wearier. Instead of representing progress and modernity as he had in years past, he symbolized the old guard to the new generation. The absence of a male heir also meant that there was no attractive alternative within the monarchical system. The monarchy *was* D. Pedro, and

dissatisfaction with one of the two naturally led to dissatisfaction with the other. When a military coup fueled by resentment and republicanism took place in November of 1889, the imperial regime of Pedro II quietly “melted away.”³⁵⁸ Much like his father had before him, Pedro II acceded to the push against him and its ensuing exile. The Braganças had faded into the sunset of Brazilian politics, but they would live on in the national myths of the nation and in its historical identity.

The Braganças in Brazil: Political and Cultural Endurance

Over a century later, the question of the place of the Braganças and the monarchy in Brazilian society and politics was once again revisited in earnest. Against the backdrop of economic crisis and political corruption, in 1993 a constitutionally mandated plebiscite was held to give Brazilians a chance to decide which form of government they preferred: a republican or monarchical structure and then a presidential or parliamentary system. For this discussion, the plebiscite is not noteworthy because of its ultimate result of a majority win for the republican presidential system. What is strikingly relevant is that roughly eight million Brazilians voted to restore the monarchy to power. The confluence of ideas and history that the plebiscite debates represent affords a tremendous opportunity to gain a glimpse of the monarchy’s place in the modern Brazilian psyche. Just as it had done twice before at the times leading up to independence and then to Pedro II’s Majority, the monarchy possessed an attraction that reached across the decades and connected to the same types of fears, insecurities, and hopes as before.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁸ Barman, *Citizen*, 359; Previous information was taken from a summary of Chapters 7-11.

³⁵⁹ James Brooke, “Brazilians Vote Down Kings and Keep Presidents,” *New York Times*, 22 April 1993, A9.

The writings of the time by Brazilian commentators address some of the very same issues and threads that run throughout this thesis and point to their centrality in understanding the relationship between the Brazilian people and their monarchy. The fundamental role of the monarchy in society in general and the twentieth century in particular is one such issue. In rhetoric that echoes that of the 1830's, Antônio Henrique Cunha Bueno defines that role as preserving "the interests and the peace in a nation." As to the question of the monarchy's compatibility and sustainability with the realities of the modern age, Cunha Bueno cites the examples of strong monarchical institutions that have endured in respected foreign countries like Great Britain and Japan. What he finds so alluring is the fundamental level of consensus that the monarchy as a central force affords. The Crown is "the common denominator of the nation and of its permanent interests." For Cunha Bueno, the monarchy is a sound base on which to build.³⁶⁰ The position of the King as a transcendental symbol, not just a man forms a key component of that base. The King serves to "embody the virtues of its people, to be a symbol of the nationality, an example to be followed, a compass that guides the way." What the author is advocating, though, is not for the monarch's authority to be expressed in state power but in national symbolism. While the King would oversee and represent the nation, Parliament would govern in the name of the people.³⁶¹ Rodrigues Pereira also addresses the reconciliation of monarchism with the rights of the people. For Brazilians, he asserts that "the presence of kings, princes, and princesses in the collective unconscious and in the popular celebrations should not be viewed purely and simply as some type of

³⁶⁰ Antônio Henrique Cunha Bueno, *A Solução é o Rei Perguntas e Respostas sobre o Plebiscito de 1993 e a Monarquia Parlamentar*, (Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados, Coordenação de Publicações, 1998): 39, 62.

³⁶¹ Cunha Bueno, 17, 50.

sublimation, but also as the reflection of recondite predilections of the popular Brazilian spirit.” For him, continued Brazilian allegiance to the monarchy was not an issue of power but of historical identity. Even though Pedro II had been forced from power, the monarchy had nevertheless established “a permanent bond, always visible, legitimate and of easy comprehension to all.” A quotation from journalist Artur da Távola in 1987 extends this idea and delves into the deeper issues of the monarchy’s symbolic importance:

The figure of the King functions as mythical and powerful for the people because in it, in addition to all the significations (signs and symbols) cited, is the principle: to be a representation of the royalty is to be a representation of the highest ideas and virtues of being human. Kings are valuable not merely for what they are. They are valuable for what they represent. It is not important the person who serves as the symbol; the symbol is important. In it, the humanity of any latitude, political tendency, or level of development places its best ideas or intentions.³⁶²

The eight million who would vote for the monarchy would do so in either a conscious or subconscious effort to reconnect with a symbol of such permanence and import.

The specific historical image of the monarchy in Brazil naturally played an important role in shaping the discussion as well. The perception of the Braganças was one of backwards glancing, but this reality also dictated that the image of the monarchy be formed in the context of *all* Brazilian history, including its republican phase. In regard to the individual Braganças and their specific niches, D. João VI is repeatedly referred to by Cunha Bueno as the “Grand King.”³⁶³ Pedro I captures the imagination as the liberator and founder of the empire and nation. It is his deeds, not the duration of his rule, that define Brazil’s first emperor. For its second emperor, Brazilian history immortalizes

³⁶² Gastão Reis Rodrigues Pereira, “A Falência da República,” in *O Plebiscito*, ed. Ivan Nunes Ferreira (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1993): 30; Cunha Bueno, 76, 80.

³⁶³ Cunha Bueno, 82.

Pedro II as the embodiment of the imperial state itself.³⁶⁴ Forty-nine of Brazil's sixty-seven year existence as an empire were ruled over by the last Bragança sovereign. With the aforementioned change in the perception of Pedro II in the 1880's notwithstanding, the qualities that modern Brazilian proponents ascribed to the monarchy were the very ones for which Pedro II was lauded: truth, positivity, authority, continuity, and justice. Cunha Bueno describes the reign of Pedro II as the "regime of peace, progress, and stability in Brazil."³⁶⁵ Just as the turbulence of the Regency period had accentuated the monarchy's association with stability for Brazilian in the 1830's, the strife throughout Brazil's existence as a republic similarly colored Brazilian perspectives on the monarchy and inspired a pro-monarchical stance.

The comparisons between Brazil's imperial and republican eras were both natural—due to their stark contrasts—and centered once again on the issue of stability. In the rhetoric of the monarchists in the late 1980's and early 1990's, the Brazil of their times was the exact equivalent of the Spanish-American republics of the Independence and Regency Eras. Whereas under the stewardship of Pedro II Brazil had been an "island of stability in America" marked by "67 years of institutional stability, overcoming, without traumas, grave national difficulties," the republics of Brazil and Spanish America were marked by figurative "darkness."³⁶⁶ To them the Brazilian republic, although born under the guise of increased democracy, had failed in every way. They identified it with a lack of credibility in its institutions and a wracking political and economic instability.

³⁶⁴ Ribeiro, 101.

³⁶⁵ Cunha Bueno, 41, 58

³⁶⁶ Cunha Bueno, 21; Rodrigues Pereira, 19-20, Nunes Ferreira, 18

There was much concrete evidence to support that assertion. Since 1889 there had been the following:

Table 1 Statistics on Political Instability Since 1889

Constitutions	Military Rebellions	States of Siege	Presidents Deposed	Presidential Suicides
7	19	12	4	1
Presidents Impeded from Taking Office	Presidential Resignations	Authoritarian Governments	Long Periods of Dictatorship	Completed Terms since WWII
3	3	9	2	1

The indictments of the republican regimes did not end there. Monarchist proponents also cited the specters of corruption, external debt, and impunity on the part of the civil and military dictators. Governmental violations of the people's rights and liberties scarred the republican records as well. Monarchists pointed to the censure of the means of communication, interventions in trade unions and universities, violations of human rights, and "generalized misery."³⁶⁷ The plebiscite itself was an example of the betrayal of a promise made by the faction that deposed Pedro II to hold a political referendum. It reneged on its promise fearing the monarchy's remaining appeal and even banned monarchist activity for a century. With their last President impeached on corruption charges and a monthly inflation rate of 30 %, it was no wonder that popular support for the monarchy was growing in Brazil.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁷ Cunha Bueno, 31; Don Podesta, "Claimants Dream of New Brazilian Monarchy," *Washington Post*, 20 April 1993, A17.

³⁶⁸ Don Podesta, "Brazil's Latest President Could Also Be Its Last," *Washington Post*, 14 Feb. 1993, A39; James Brooke, "Tired of Presidents? Brazil Can Vote for King," *New York Times*, 29 March 1993, A1.

In contrast with that bleak portrait of the republic, for many the draw to the stability that the monarchy symbolized was that much greater. Pedro II and the monarchy had embodied protection and security, but the experience of Brazilians as evidenced in Table 1 involved no such caretaker figure. Brazilians instead were “orphans in the hands of bad governors” who acted with impunity.³⁶⁹ Cunha Bueno diagnoses the specific causes of current Brazilian political problems as clientelism and the persecution of adversaries within the system. As before, Brazilians wanted someone to step to the forefront, take up the public cause, and rise above the politics of personal power. By its definition, they wanted someone to yield the Moderating Power as the Emperor had, balancing interests and resolving impasses.³⁷⁰ For a society wracked by power struggles and military interventions, the equilibrium of the different political parties associated with Pedro II’s reign was naturally impressive. That the emperor could alternate the parties without bloodshed and upheaval and pursue the public interest with civil and not military power made him the supreme mediator in Brazil’s history. The King could prevent conflict as the intermediary between branches because he could be “above the political passions that, by not being dependent on neither electoral results nor political factions, would be able to secure the stability of the system as well as be able to transfer the Crown into a powerful symbol of national unity.”³⁷¹ Negotiation was the key to mediation, and the waves of regimes taking power in Brazil testified to its conspicuous absence in the administration of the government since 1889. Referring to the skills and

³⁶⁹ Rodrigues Pereira, 25-26.

³⁷⁰ Ivan Nunes Ferreira, “Apresentação,” in *O Plebiscito*, ed. Ivan Nunes Ferreira (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1993): 13; Cunha Bueno, 23, 55.

³⁷¹ Rodrigues Pereira, 24, 28; Celso José da Silva, *Um Rei, um Presidente ou um Primeiro Ministro?* (Belo Horizonte: Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Departamento de Ciência Política, 1993): 15.

climate associated with Pedro II's government, Rodrigues Pereira asserts that "this didactic of negotiation, oriented by the compass of public interest, allowed that Brazil might advance considerably in regards to political questions during the Nineteenth Century. It was important in having the Constitution written...and...that the Emperor took into consideration the petitions of his subjects."³⁷² An added advantage to the monarchical system was the preparation and political grooming inherent in the upbringing of a prince. From birth, a prince is educated to reign unlike those who would grow up to be President one day. History had judged many of the Brazilian presidents to be woefully not up to the task of stabilizing the government as Pedro II once had. Senator Roberto Campos reduced the choice at hand in the plebiscite to an even more fundamental level. He affirmed that he felt "inclined to vote for the monarchy simply because it is the antithesis of anarchy."³⁷³ After all, Spain served for many as an example of bringing order to chaos through the reinstatement of its monarchy. Monarchical proponents in Brazil cited the Spanish king as an "unmatched force able to unite hearts and minds above the political passions and the interests of the moment."³⁷⁴ The king as the only figure capable of transcending and calming the volatility of political factions is certainly a recurring theme of the debate. For Brazilians, such sentiment surrounding the monarchy existed in 1993 not in spite of the Brazilian experience with its Bragançan emperors, but because of it. Even with a forced abdication and a deposition, Brazilians remained connected to the symbols of the past.

³⁷² Rodrigues Pereira, 23.

³⁷³ Cunha Bueno, 43, 45.

³⁷⁴ Cunha Bueno, 39.

One final aspect of the debate driven home by all in support of the monarchy was the Bragançan legacy of the protection of individual rights and liberties. The irony was not lost on the writers that Brazilians actually enjoyed greater protection and a more liberal social and political climate under imperial rule than they did under republican regimes supposedly based upon popular sovereignty. With the administration of Pedro II, order and liberty were not mutually exclusive entities. The liberalism and authority of the Emperor made the two compatible. The individual rights of citizens such as the freedom of the press, of expression, and of thought were not just protected, they were methodically amplified. The accounts of foreign visitors to Brazil and historians confirm a quality of vitality in the Brazilian press of the latter half of the Nineteenth Century. Even more demonstrative of D. Pedro's commitment to the freedom of ideas was his cultivation of a social and political climate that was open even to republicanism. Clubs and newspapers were free to circulate, but in the arena of popular opinion and despite the ultimate success of the military's coup, those ideas were not resonating with the populace prior to 1889. In fact, the last election before Pedro II's deposition saw a decrease in the number of republican elected legislative deputies. There was no clamor for a republic, but the liberalism of the Emperor had in fact opened up the political space of Brazil sufficient for the coup participants to thrust through.³⁷⁵

While under Pedro II "there was a total climate of liberty, and the country was prosperous and progressive, with a respected political-institutional stability and even envied by all of the nations of the hemisphere," by contrast, the Brazilian Republic "came into existence" wiping away the values of the Empire, "closing the Congress, censoring

³⁷⁵ Cunha Bueno, 21.

the press, and, worse, reestablishing an old bad habit, that of conspiracy.” Such a climate of government by force, not consultation and compromise, could only create decisions to the detriment of the community.³⁷⁶ Ruy Barbosa, an imperial minister, poetically captured this disparity between Brazil’s two forms of government as early as 1919. He refers to the “voices” present in the society of D. Pedro’s monarchy while the Republic is characterized by “silence.”³⁷⁷ Popular will had held more sway in imperial politics than in those of the Republic that oversaw “the progressive exclusion of the people from the political arena.”³⁷⁸ There were no inalienable rights, no dissent allowed in Brazil’s new government of the people. Thus the pro-monarchical stance in 1993 involved the interesting assertion that the King was what Brazil needed to permit true democracy once again in Brazil. The argument was that Brazilian politics and society were so fractured and unstable that the nation’s system was in practice undemocratic. One Brazilian journalist went as far as to say that “democracy is a luxury that only kings can sustain.”³⁷⁹ There was certainly no luxury to be found in the Brazil of that writer’s time. The ultimate message of the monarchists, then, was that for freedom and liberty to flourish, there had to exist a base level of stability and order, and the steadying hand and presence of the monarchy could guarantee that foundation. A quotation from the Brazilian author João de Scantimburgo captures the complex reality of the situation:

The Monarchy was the unique liberal period of the History of Brazil—so liberal that it even permitted the prosperity of the forces that overthrew it...Now the

³⁷⁶ Rodrigues Pereira, 23-24, 26-28.

³⁷⁷ Cunha Bueno, 21, 28

³⁷⁸ Rodrigues Pereira, 26-28

³⁷⁹ Cunha Bueno, 45, 50, 85.

measure of almost 100 years of Republic is grievous: only crises, instability, disorder, and abuses of power.³⁸⁰

Taken by itself or in comparison with what was to follow it, the monarchy of Pedro II remained a potent symbol. For those advocating the return to the monarchical political system, a vote for the monarchy was a step toward “the restoration of true democracy—that which has the Crown to protect it from the caudilhos, from the corruption, from the inertia, from the dictatorship, and from the absence of patriotism.”³⁸¹

Conclusion

Central to the image and the history of the Brazilian Empire was the towering figure of Pedro II. He represented the final stage of Brazilianization for the Bragança monarchy in Brazil, and the people’s continued allegiance to the Crown despite the turmoil of the Regency Period served as a testimony to their internalization of the symbolic and sacred authority of the sovereign. Pedro II’s long, stable reign defined Nineteenth-Century Brazil and inspired the calls to return to the Braganças in the Twentieth Century. One final time, the Brazilian monarch was perceived as the nation’s savior. Although the monarchists’ bid to reintroduce to Brazilian politics a “Citizen-King” failed to win majority support in the 1993 plebiscite, the public discussion leading up to that event still affirms the enduring legacy of the Bragança monarchy in Brazil and the monarchs’ places in the Brazilian national myth. Even after a one hundred year physical absence, the monarchy was still very much alive in the *ideas* of the nation: its culture, psychology, and political heritage.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 19.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 10.

CONCLUSION

The debates leading up to the 1993 plebiscite represented the continuation of a process of political dialogue and reconciliation that reached back to the very beginning of the nation. They spoke directly to the nature of the relationships between a sovereign and his state and a sovereign and his subjects. For Brazil, the transfer of the royal imperial court to American soil radically altered every aspect of Brazilian society and validated their sense of ascendancy and preeminence in the empire. Physically and psychologically, Brazil and its people were transformed into a metropolis, a metropolis that considered itself equal to that of any European kingdom or state. D. João's presence in Brazil also marked the beginning of an increasingly intimate relationship between the Braganças and the people of Brazil. In this case, presence made the heart grow fonder, and the King of Portugal endeared himself and his monarchy to his American subjects to such an extent that even in independence they would embrace his royal dynasty.

The entrance of the revolutionary Côrtes onto the political scene and its attempt to assert itself over the monarchy and re-subordinate Brazil to a colonial role in the empire created a unique cauldron of divergent interests and shifting alliances. Through its actions, the legislature made itself the solitary villain in the period leading up to independence. In fusing royal and Brazilian interests together in a state of mutual defense, it brought about the rupture of the imperial ties that bound Brazil and Portugal together but not a rupture between the Braganças and Brazil. Instead, João VI quietly sat

by as his son defied his Parliament, declared independence, and dictated Brazilian freedom without a single battle being fought. The royal authority vested in Pedro by the royal line of Bragança in general and João VI in particular prior to independence made such an immaculate revolution possible.

The reigns of Pedro I and Pedro II of an independent Brazil each also marked new stages in the evolution of Brazilian politics and society, as did the deposition of the monarchy and the installation of the Republic. Taken both separately and collectively, those stages reflect the successes and shortcomings of the process of reconciling monarchical rule with a political and social landscape increasingly influenced by the notion of popular sovereignty. While Pedro I ultimately failed in his attempts to work within the constructs of the constitutional system in Brazil, a constitution he himself created, his abdication served to bring the process of reconciliation to fruition under the symbol of his Brazilian-born, state-raised son Pedro II. The very survival of the monarchy immediately following Pedro I's abdication to his five year old son and during the increasingly chaotic Regency Period of the young emperor's minority serves as proof in and of itself of the recognized legitimacy of the monarchy in Brazil. The Braganças' political and cultural endurance, though, extends well beyond that initial period due to the long, stable rule of Pedro II. As the symbols of independence and imperial order, Pedro I and Pedro II secured the Bragança legacy's place in the national myths of Brazil, giving the nation an ever-present reminder of its cultural and political past and a bar by which to measure today's Brazilian society. The continued admiration of the Brazilian people for the Braganças and the institution of the monarchy is the greatest testament to its enduring function as a symbol of affection, not affliction.

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