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THE  
**HISTORY OF BRAZIL.**

—  
VOL. II.



D.<sup>OR</sup> José Bonifácio.

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THE  
HISTORY OF BRAZIL,

FROM THE PERIOD OF

THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRAGANZA FAMILY IN 1808,

TO

THE ABDICATION OF DON PEDRO THE FIRST IN 1831.

COMPILED FROM

*State Documents and other Original Sources.*

FORMING

A CONTINUATION TO SOUTHEY'S HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY JOHN ARMITAGE, Esq.

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“ It is thus that Legislation and Politics become gradually regarded as experimental sciences ; and history, not as formerly, the mere record of tyrannies and slaughters, which, by immortalizing the execrable actions of one age, perpetuates the ambition of committing them in every succeeding one, but as the archive of experiments, successful and unsuccessful, gradually accumulating towards the solution of the grand problem—how the advantages of government are to be secured with the least possible inconvenience to the governed.” HERSCHEL.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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**THE SECOND VOLUME.**

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THE  
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CHAPTER XXI.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the comparative silence of the press during the period elapsing between the dissolution of the Constituent, and the convocation of the Legislative Chamber, no sooner had this latter assembly commenced its deliberations, than the patriots were again at work, and a number of political Journals, advocating

the opinions and interests of the Opposition, made their appearance. Many of these were alike exaggerated in their tone, and illogical in their conclusions, yet the spirit in which they were written was calculated to please the popular taste, and their influence throughout the entire Empire was prodigious. In Europe, where the means of acquiring knowledge are so many and so various, the influence of the periodical press is everywhere felt and acknowledged : in Brazil, where no standard literature has hitherto had existence, and where the political journals form almost the only vehicles of information, the influence is even more powerful.

The poverty of Portuguese literature is well known throughout Europe. During the last three centuries scarcely a single Lusitanian writer of genius has laid his lucubrations before the public. Yet the language, an idiom derived principally from the Latin, Teutonic and Arabic tongues, is in itself rich, harmonious, and flowing ; and at the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the thirst of enterprise led alike to the discovery of Brazil and partial subjugation of India by the Portuguese, the poets and the historians of the time caught the spirit of the age in which they lived, and a new literature arose coeval with the discovery of a new world. But the establishment of the Inquisition during the following reign, the excessive emi-

gration to Asia, Africa, and America, and the annihilation of the greater part of the Portuguese nobility, who were at this period almost the only instructed class, in foreign wars, and fanatical expeditions, contributed to bring this intellectual pre-eminence to a premature close.

The energies of a brave and enterprising people were suddenly contracted, and in the words of a Portuguese Chronicler, "a State that a few years before had been an object of universal admiration and envy, was ere long held out as a warning and an object of compassion to all Europe." Anomalous as the assertion may appear, the decay of the Portuguese nation may be in a great measure traced to her uninterrupted success alike in Africa, Asia, and America. The first conquests were on the coast of Africa, and it became customary for all the opulent and noble families to despatch either a younger son or a retainer on these expeditions. Hence the proverb, "*meter huma lança em Africa*," (to plant a lance in Africa,) applied formerly as distinctive of the families who had thus contributed to the service of the State, and subsequently through common use, as characteristic of the nobility of the family alluded to. Even in the present day, to say that the ancestors of any individual "*planted a lance in Africa*," is equivalent to an attestation of the nobility of his origin.

On the discovery of the new route to India, and the partial subjugation of this territory, the emigration of all classes of the population, as well as of the nobility, was still further increased. In addition to the thirst for adventure natural to all ardent minds, they were actuated by three of the most powerful incentives which can influence the human breast,—religious fanaticism, the spirit of nationality, and the love of gain. From the highest to the lowest, they were all imbued with the conviction, that whoever died combating with the Moors and other infidels, was certain of salvation, however manifold his crimes; and hence the energy and intrepidity with which these modern crusades were carried on.

To Brazil there was also a large emigration, but the individuals of whom it was composed were for the most part either such as had been banished, or adventurers from the lower ranks of the people. Thus was the foundation laid for the system of colonization, or rather conquest, which eventually became so extensive, that, in the words of Mr. Southey, “the sun never set on the dominions of the King of Portugal.”

Like all other empires based on violence, however, this of the Portuguese appears to have engendered within its own bosom the seeds of its overthrow. Independently of the annihila-



tion of her nobility, whose aristocracy alone could balance that of the Clergy, the too extensive dominions of the mother country drained her alike of her riches and of her population. Had her inhabitants, like the Dutch at the same period, had chiefly a commercial object in view, they might possibly have enriched the parent State; but unfortunately, the "spirit of chivalry" was far too rife amongst them, and conquest was the great and primary object, at a cost which at present appears almost incredible. Of the numerous fleets sent out to India, many vessels in which contained each from eight hundred to a thousand souls, never more than two-thirds returned to Portugal; one-third of their number being ever lost either on the outward, or homeward voyage.

All these circumstances were in the meantime tending both directly and indirectly, to depopulate the mother country. According to ancient writers, the population of Portugal in the reign of Don John II., from 1481 to 1493, amounted to four millions: at the period when the Crown of Portugal fell into the hands of the King of Spain, in 1580, it had decreased to two millions; and sixty years afterwards, on the expulsion of the Spaniards, to one million and a half. Implicit reliance cannot perhaps be placed on the entire accuracy of these statements, yet they receive important corroboration from the

following well-known facts. When, in 1414, Don John I., the first monarch of Portugal who attempted to extend his possessions beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, equipped an expedition against Ceuta, it consisted of fifty thousand men, including soldiers and sailors, and it was prepared without any material effort. When, however, after the revolution in 1640, Don John the Fourth was obliged to take the field against the Spaniards, his utmost exertions were barely sufficient to enable him to muster an army of twelve thousand men; although his object was not, as in the former instance, aggression, but defence.

The decline of the nation was rapidly followed by the decay of her literature; the idle legend of the monk succeeded to the strains of Camoens, and an inflated and periphrastic style of writing to the simple eloquence of the early historians. Works on politics and philosophy have since been entirely prohibited, yet the materials for their construction are already in existence; and happily for Brazil at the crisis in question, these materials were all found at the disposition of her Journalists. From the commencement of their career they were thus invested with an omnipotence, which, whether for good or evil, has perhaps seldom, if ever, been paralleled in any country. The number of readers was comparatively diminu-

tive, yet it comprised within its limits at least one or two individuals in every town and village in the Empire; and the opinions and theories which they adopted, spread around them in concentric circles. Much benefit cannot, however, in the outset, be said to have resulted from this material and vital change. The writers in the ministerial papers were, with few exceptions, individuals of retrograde ideas; possessing but few sympathies in common with the public; and though in the lately established journals of the opposition, many abuses were pointed out, and much information diffused, exaggerated and dangerous theories were at the same time inculcated, with a vehemence which threatened to be, ere long, attended with the most disastrous consequences. Fortunately, however, the same series of events which had led to these results, had also tended to provide their only efficient antidote. Since the revolution, the various countries of Europe had been continually transmitting their scientific and literary treasures to the shores of Brazil; the study of foreign languages had been generalized throughout all the maritime cities, and a new philosophy had gradually superseded the stupid and animalizing "*Magister dixit*" of the Theological Colleges of Portugal. The system of education in Brazil was as yet unchanged; but many of the best English and French authors

were found in the hand of every student, and their effects were at length becoming apparent. During the month of December, 1827, a Journal, entitled the "Aurora Fluminense," was established by a young Brazilian, of the name of Evaristo Ferreira de Veiga. This individual, one of the most talented political writers, not only of Brazil, but in the Portuguese language, was the son of a Portuguese school-master, and at an early period of life he acquired the Latin, and subsequently the French and English tongues. At the period of the Revolution, while a student, he appeared as the writer of some political pamphlets, which attracted but little attention. About the same time he also came forth as a poet, and amongst his earliest productions is the national Hymn of "Brava Gente," afterwards published as the composition of Don Pedro.

Being, however, naturally of a retiring and studious disposition, he met with but little notice, until the period of his undertaking the superintendence of the before-mentioned Journal. Its object was exclusively of a political nature, and its pages were devoted solely to the review of foreign and domestic policy, correspondence, and translated extracts from the works of Benjamin Constant, Duoyer, Bentham, Franklin, Droz, and other equally celebrated writers on politics and legislation.

Disgusted alike with the periphrastic servility of the ministerial papers, and by the licentious and anarchical tone adopted by the patriots, Evaristo commenced the publication of his "Aurora," without any previous overtures of coalition with either party. In principle, his journal was as unequivocally opposed to the policy of late pursued by the Imperial government, as the most hot-headed patriot could have wished; yet the force and closeness of his reasoning, the harmony of his language, and the frequent substitution of a quiet, yet cutting vein of irony for the vague and noisy declamations hitherto in fashion, speedily rendered the contrast between the "Aurora" and its predecessors sufficiently striking.

It need scarcely be said that the institution of an independent journal proved equally offensive to all parties; yet this very pique had only the effect of stimulating public curiosity, and the circulation of the Aurora, was speedily more extensive than that of any other paper. It must be acknowledged that the latter end of 1828, the actual crisis, was one of unusual excitement. Although a preliminary treaty of peace had been signed with Buenos Ayres, an unwillingness to expose all the concessions acceded to, while the Chambers were still in session, had prevented the Government from communicating the intelligence to the public; the establishment of abso-

lute government in Portugal in opposition to the claims of Donna Maria, had given rise to reports that armed interference would shortly be attempted against that country, and the debates in the two Houses regarding the present state of finance and administration were of all-engrossing interest. The Government debt to the Bank had been augmented to more than nineteen thousand contos of reis, upwards of 2,500,000*l.* sterling, and such in the meantime, had been the iniquitous mal-administration of this establishment, that the Directors were not even acquainted with the amount of its issues. According to the books there were not more than six notes, of Rs. 500,000, in circulation, and yet more than sixty made their appearance. A bundle of old notes destined to be burnt, and replaced by new ones, was also known to have been abstracted by one of the officers, yet, although the fact was openly alluded to in the public journals, the delinquent was never impeached.

These enormities, and the approaching expiration of the Charter, at length induced the Government to appoint a Committee for the purpose of examining into the actual state of the Bank previously to the period of its extinction. The most violent outcry was in the meantime raised by the owners of Bank Stock against this interference, yet with little apparent justice.

The institution was in its origin a private one; yet, as the shareholders had thrown all the burthen of its insolvency upon the public, it certainly fell within the attributes of the Government to interfere; not as debtor, but on behalf of the people. The shareholders affirmed that the Bank was solvent, provided the Government would repay them the amount borrowed, yet it must be borne in mind, that they had not contracted for payment in any stipulated time. The Government had transgressed no conditions, yet the Bank had clearly acted in opposition to its obligations towards the public. Such, however, was the complicated state of the affairs of this establishment, that although they repeatedly occupied the attention of the legislature during the Sessions of both 1827 and 1828, no final measures regarding either its future administration, or its extinction were adopted.

The public debt, internal and external, had in the meantime been augmented altogether to the amount of fifty thousand contos, (6,822,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling); the disputed prize claims were estimated at upwards of eight thousand contos, (1,091,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling); the deficit for the ensuing year had been estimated by Calmon the late Minister of Finance, at six thousand, (818,750*l.* sterling,) and his successor, shortly after his accession to office, made a demand to the House of Deputies for

four thousand contos, (545,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling,) as an immediate supply requisite for the expenses of the current year. In the ministerial journals this financial anarchy was ascribed solely to the culpable negligence and ill-judged parsimony of the House of Deputies; while, in the periodicals of the opposition it was with at least more plausibility, charged solely on the improvidence and mal-administration of the Government.

“The Legislative Assembly,” wrote the Editor of the *Aurora*, “cannot fail to regard our situation with grief; its members have noted alike the actual deficiency in the revenue, the condition of the people overloaded with old tributes, and threatened with new ones, and a destructive war devouring the wealth of the citizens; and looking to the future for better times, they have adopted the system of public credit as the only one which could afford instant succour to existing evils. Let us ask ourselves whether it lies within the power of the Assembly instantaneously to heal ulcers of such long duration, and the principal cause of which is still in being? Can their desires or their zeal cause riches to rise up from the bowels of the earth, without any deterioration of the condition of the people? or can they at once suppress the expenses of the war, the army, the navy, or any useless establishment whatever?”



Let us render justice to the representatives of the nation. Their intentions are pure. They have done all in their power to suppress abuses throughout the Brazilian territory, but they cannot precipitate those progressive reforms which are characteristic of the representative form of Government. The scourge of war it is not within the scope of their attributes to take away. In their present position they are situated like one who should attempt to struggle with destiny. May, however, this severe lesson which we are receiving, induce us to banish far from us the mania of conquest, and teach us that the real happiness of states consists in peace, in economy, and in industry."

In the House of Deputies similar doctrines were echoed by the opposition, yet the indifference with which their representations were listened to by the Ministry, gave but little hope of amelioration. In the month of August, during the discussion of the project of law fixing the armed force, Oliveira Alvarez the Minister of War, gave the Deputies to understand that unless they still consented to its being maintained at the number previously authorized, viz. thirty thousand men, he should proceed to fill up the number without their sanction. On another occasion, on the 6th of September, the same individual, being somewhat irritated by the pertinacity with which the Deputies refused

to grant any further supplies, until documents evincing their necessity could be adduced, actually told the House, that being far advanced in years, he could control his warmth, but that he could not engage to guarantee the same equanimity on the part of his *constituents*. Being hereon interrogated by the Deputy Paula Souza, who were his constituents? he replied, his troops!

This absolute language, it need scarcely be remarked, tended only to augment the virulence of the patriots, and by means of the printing presses which were now established in the provinces of Minas, Bahia, Pernambuco, and Maranhã, as well as in the metropolis, this discontent was speedily generalized throughout the entire Empire. Before, however, it had made any further progress in the House of Deputies, the Emperor again brought the Session to a close, on the 20th of September. The principal projects of law which had been discussed, and subsequently passed, were, a measure for the regulation of the provincial Councils, another for the reform of the police, the entire abolition of the law of entail and primogeniture, the equalization of duties on the imports from all nations, an entire reform of the Municipal Chambers, the demarcation of the cases wherein the formalities guaranteeing individual liberty might be suspended, the abolition of a

number of useless tribunals, and the Orçamento, or Budget.

The institution of Provincial Councils was originally one of the most important benefits conceded by the Constitution ; and a law regulating the convocation, functions, and authority of their members had been anticipated with impatience ever since the first assembly of the legislature. Notwithstanding the assumed universality of the Constitution, the dispersed members of the Commonwealth appeared each to indicate a different state of political existence. While in Rio de Janeiro and the adjacent provinces the representative system had superseded the antiquated machinery of former times, Ceará, Maranhão, and other places, were still governed as when under the baton of the old absolute Captains General. The remonstrances and complaints of the people were, from the want of a legal vehicle, either lost in the distance, or perverted by individuals interested in the continuance of existing abuses ; the provincial revenues were indifferently administered, and agriculture, roads, and public edifices totally neglected. During this same year Costa Barros, the individual formerly deposed by Lord Cochrane, and subsequently reappointed President of Maranhão, proceeded to open private letters, to imprison a number of periodical writers whose only crime it was to

have written against the military spirit, and to threaten others with banishment; affirming at the same time, that it was impossible to put the Constitution in force in Maranham. The Legislative Assembly, occupied in important labours, and general measures, and, moreover, at a distance from the theatre of these wrongs, could neither apply any adequate remedy, nor transfer to all the various points of Brazil the spirit necessary for their curtailment. By the creation of General Councils in each province it was, however, anticipated that a new impulse would be given to the representative system, and that from the habit of exercising influence in the affairs of the community, and the publicity of discussion, emulation would be excited, and many whose talents might otherwise have lain in obscurity, be brought forward.

The abolition of the law of entail, which was by the patriot journalists said to be alone worth the efforts of an entire session, but which was, during the ensuing year, thrown out by the Senate, had its origin rather in a determination to obstruct the institution of an hereditary aristocracy, than to remedy any evils at present felt. A suspicion that the elective Senate would, in the end, be superseded by an hereditary chamber, had existed ever since the countenance given to the Absolutists in 1824 had come under the cognizance of the public; and this

apprehension had, of late, been increased, by the frequent concessions of title to the offspring of the lately created aristocracy. Having, however, but little predilection for the supremacy of a Chamber, of which the members would be appointed without any regard to their talents or abilities, the House of Deputies decided on an entire and formal abrogation of the laws in question; under the conviction that, without them, no hereditary institutions could long remain in existence.

The law for the equalization of duties on the imports from all nations, was a measure originating with the patriot Vasconcellos. The manner in which the adoption of representative institutions had tended to develop the intellectual faculties of this individual, the Mirabeau of Brazil, was truly astonishing. He had been educated at Coimbra, but had neither been distinguished by talent nor application during his stay there. Even on his return to Brazil, he had neglected to avail himself of the few advantages which education had given him, nor was it until his nomination as a deputy, at a time when he had passed his thirtieth year, that he evinced that intense application, and those transcendent talents, which have since won him the admiration of even his bitterest enemies. From this period a new principle appeared to animate his entire existence, and day and night

were alike devoted to the acquirement of administrative science. His first essays, as an orator, were nevertheless any thing but brilliant. His words were ill arranged, his utterance difficult, and his gesture unprepossessing. In addition to these disadvantages, there was also a prejudice against him even amongst the patriots, on account of his inordinate ambition. His morals were, moreover, reputed to be corrupt; and a series of maladies, attributed by his enemies to profligate indulgence, but by his friends to the effects of a subtle poison, had given him the decrepid appearance and demeanour of a sexagenarian. His skin withered, his eyes sank, his hair began to turn grey, his step lost its firmness, his respiration became impeded, and a spinal complaint, from which he began to suffer about the same period, became to him a source of the most excruciating tortures. Whilst, however, undergoing this premature wreck of the physical frame, the vivifying principle within appeared to have made a corresponding progress towards maturity. The crude and abrupt orator of 1826, had in 1828 obtained a command of language, a facility of sarcasm, and a development of argumentative talent, unpossessed by any other member in the House; and when, heated by enthusiasm, or roused by indignation, he gave vent to his emotions, his decrepid and curved figure rose like

that of some presiding spirit to its full height ; his eyes again became animated with all their pristine lustre, and every feature of his wrinkled and cadaverous countenance became as it were for the instant illumined with renewed youth and intelligence.

This pre-eminence over his colleagues had naturally constituted him the leader of the opposition, and on the present occasion its principal orator. The subject was one which could afford but little scope for the display of eloquence, yet the reasoning of Vasconcellos becomes in some measure worthy of note, as illustrating at once the motives of the legislature, as well as the slow yet obvious progress of the science of political economy. Up to the present year all the continental nations had paid duties of 24 per cent. on their imports, whilst English commodities were subject to a duty of 15 only. The measure in question, which was accomplished by lowering the duty on continental imports to 15 per cent., was consequently prejudicial to English commerce ; yet unquestionably called for by the interests of Brazil ; and the entire speech of Vasconcellos was at once a master-piece of sound reasoning, of perspicuity, and of economical science.

“By admitting,” observed he, “the merchandize of all foreign powers into our market under equal duties, the condition of the consumer

must necessarily be improved, for all monopoly will be done away with from the unrestricted competition of sellers. Every object will bear its natural price, and the favoured nations who pay the lowest duties will no longer be able to exclude those who pay the highest. The less consumers pay, the richer they must remain; and being a nation of consumers, our national wealth must of necessity be augmented by the measure in question."

The reform of the Municipalities was brought forward by Padre Feijo, also a member of the opposition, and a conspicuous character since the abdication of Don Pedro, yet at this time but little regarded, since he but seldom addressed the House. He had been noted ever since the period of the Portuguese Cortes, of which he was a member, for his firmness of character, carrying this quality even to excess; singular in his opinions, tenacious in his projects, of little erudition except in ecclesiastical matters, yet with a high reputation for probity, and an ultra-republican simplicity of manners. By virtue of the law in question, the new corporations were to be appointed by popular election, and all their Sessions were to be held in public. The authority and jurisdiction of the Assemblies were also extended; yet, guided by the great principle that good deliberations can only be taken by many, and good execution alone en-



sured by placing the powers for this end in the hands of one individual, the Assembly did not consent that the new Chambers should execute their own deliberations and measures. The fiscal officers were to be the executors of all decrees, through the medium of subordinate agents.

Such was the spirit and tendency of the principal legislative measures passed during this session. Taking into consideration the short space of time allotted to the deliberations of the Assembly, the Acts of its members were many and important ; yet their unwillingness to adopt any measures for increasing the amount of the revenue, gave cause for the reproaches of the Emperor on occasion of closing the Chambers. The Emperor complained that neither the affairs of finance, nor those of justice, had met with the attention which he had anticipated ; and expressed a hope that his often repeated recommendations on this head might in future meet with more explicit attention.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Emigration of the leaders of the Constitutional party in Portugal—The Miguelites obtain possession of Oporto—Further protest on the part of the Marquis de Rezende, and the Viscount de Itabayana—Donna Maria placed under the protection of his Britannic Majesty—Negotiations of the Marquis de Barbacena with the Duke of Wellington—Proclamation of Don Pedro to the Portuguese nation—Opposition of the Brazilian patriots to any interference with the affairs of Portugal—Reply of Lord Aberdeen to the representations of the Marquis de Barbacena—Measures adopted by the Viscount de Itabayana—The Portuguese emigrants in England forcibly prevented from landing in Terceira—Irritation of the patriot party with the Viscount de Itabayana—Extraordinary convocation of the Legislative Assembly—Disturbances in Pernambuco, and measures adopted in consequence by the ministry in Rio—Opening of the Legislative Assembly—Speech of the Emperor, and its acceptance—Proposition of Calmon relative to the affairs of the Bank—Amendment proposed—Denial of the Ministry of any interference in the affairs of Portugal—Effects of this declaration on the popularity of the monarch.

No sooner had Don Miguel dissolved the Cortes than measures were taken for reducing the city of Oporto. Several vessels of war were despatched from Lisbon for the purpose of blockading the Douro, and Royalist troops were marched on Coimbra and Oporto. The Constitutional force was superior in infantry, but

the Royalists had the advantage in cavalry, and nearly all the skirmishes which took place terminated in their favour. The Junta of Oporto having, in the meantime, been made sensible that the multiplicity of its members had tended only to the prejudice of the cause in which they were engaged, dissolved themselves on the 2nd of July, and installed another Junta of four members only, at the head of which was the General Saldanha. This resolution was, however, adopted too late to be of any avail. Many of the leaders and other individuals engaged in the late insurrection, becoming hopeless of success, embarked for different ports abroad; the troops finding themselves abandoned, refused any longer to bear any arms against the Royalists, and these latter, under the command of General Povoas, succeeded in obtaining possession of the city of Oporto without firing a single shot. A tribunal was shortly afterwards appointed for the trial of the rebels, and by virtue of its sentences several individuals were publicly executed.

These arbitrary proceedings gave rise to a further protest on the part of the Marquis de Rezende, and the Viscount de Itabayana; and on the arrival of the young Queen at Gibraltar, the Marquis de Barbacena resolved on placing his royal charge under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, in preference to conducting

her to Vienna, the Court of which had given unequivocal demonstrations of sympathy with the cause of Don Miguel. The squadron was in consequence directed to England, where her Most Faithful Majesty was received with all the honours customarily allotted to royalty. A short time nevertheless served to evince that these ceremonies were no more than a mere formula of etiquette ; the existing Cabinet, if not opposed to the claims of Donna Maria, being at least indisposed to the re-establishment of the Constitution in Portugal. Shortly after the proclamation of Don Miguel as absolute sovereign there, the island of Madeira had followed the example of the mother country ; yet Terceira, the chief island of the Azores, remained firm in adherence to the cause of Donna Maria, and became henceforward the great rendezvous of the Constitutional party. About three thousand emigrants had, in the meantime, taken refuge in England, but learning that it was improbable that the administration of the Duke of Wellington would long consent to their residing there, their commanding officer, Lieutenant-General Stubbs, in a proclamation dated the 7th of September 1828, required them to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Brazil, where *he was authorized to assure them*, that they would meet not only with hospitality, but even protection and further resources. The arrival

in London of an agent from the provisional Government of Terceira, however, prevented this projected embarkation from being carried into effect. The refugees in the island being apprehensive of an attack from the overwhelming forces of Don Miguel, resolved on reinforcing their numbers with all the military at present in England, and on the 15th of October, 1828, the Marquis de Barbacena addressed a confidential note to the Duke of Wellington, containing an intimation to this effect.

The Marquis was still under an erroneous impression that the English Cabinet might finally be induced to espouse the cause of Donna Maria, but he was at length undeceived. In an answer to his communication, dated the 18th of the same month, the Duke replied that "the refugees in England were regarded as private individuals, and not as soldiers. We know not," his Grace continued, "of any body of Portuguese troops in this country; if there were any, they ought to quit it instantly. The Government of his Britannic Majesty cannot permit England to become either an arsenal or a fortress, whence any one can make war whenever he chooses; nor can any individuals, with whatever character they may be invested, come to prepare expeditions in its ports for distant contests. Still less can it allow such expedi-

tions to be convoyed by vessels belonging to the British Navy."

In addition to this explicit declaration, the Duke, in a despatch to the Marquis de Palmella, dated on the 20th of the same month, demanded that all Portuguese officers and soldiers, as well as all the students of Coimbra, or volunteers of Oporto, resident in Plymouth, should be invited to quit that port; and finally, in a third letter, he also reiterated to the Marquis de Palmella the representations which he had previously addressed to the Marquis de Barbacena.

These demonstrations on the part of the British Government were necessarily productive of much disquiet to Don Pedro. Independently of any natural bias on the part of the Emperor towards the representative form of Government, the Portuguese constitution was, in a manner, his own production; he himself having, with the aid of his Private Secretary, Francisco Gomez da Silva, transcribed nearly all its provisions, word for word, from the Fundamental Code of Brazil; and his self-love, as well as his philanthropy, was thus interested in its preservation. On the 25th of July, 1823, immediately after the departure of Donna Maria, he had addressed a Proclamation to the Portuguese nation, ascribing the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and the subsequent establishment of absolute Government, solely to a fanatical

and hypocritical faction, by whom the Regent was imposed upon, and compelled to act contrary to his natural disposition. On this account, his Majesty called on all good Portuguese to persist in defending their constitutional charter. On the other hand, the supporters of Don Miguel in the mother country, invariably spoke of Don Pedro as the unwilling instrument of a democratical party; and the Gazette of Lisbon bewailed with bitterness the coercion exercised over the Emperor, "who, surrounded by a horde of revolutionists, had been compelled to sign a Proclamation, which even Robespierre would have refused to dictate."

The ministerial journalists in Rio, in the meantime, became most suspiciously constitutional in their theories, and began gradually to prepare the public for seeing Brazil involved in the question of the Portuguese succession; at one time with intelligence relative to the affairs of Portugal and the Portuguese emigrants, at another with exhortations and pathetic jeremiads. To all such interference, the patriots were, nevertheless, inflexibly opposed. "Why should we," inquired they from each other, "why should we attempt to play the part of the celebrated Knight of La Mancha, and sustain in other countries that representative *regime*, not very firmly implanted in our own?—If, after all, Don Miguel should remain on the throne, shall

we not be running the risk of re-colonization, by thus rushing into war without any national motive? Less predilection for bayonets, and more respect for spades, or disastrous will be the future awaiting Brazil."

Similar opinions were also echoed in the journals of the same party, and more particularly in the *Aurora*. "After paying twenty millions of cruzades for peace," asked the Editor of this paper, "shall we again enter upon a new war, without any cogent motive; a war of invasion, of conquest, across the Atlantic? What motives can urge us to this? National glory? The national glory of Brazil does not consist in practising follies, and in compromising her decorum: it consists in estimating her means and position with caution, and in labouring to augment our internal riches and resources, by industry and economy; in looking less to the surface, and more into the reality of things; in having fewer bayonets and more labourers,—fewer frigates rotting, and more productive machines in activity; it consists, finally, in the reverse of all that has been done, and all that continues to be done. Such, and such alone, is the glory which we desire for our native country, with all the fervency to which an attachment and an anxiety without limits can give birth."

As yet, it must be acknowledged that all these



anticipations of interference with the affairs of Portugal were resting on hypothesis only; yet they were finally confirmed by the conduct of the Emperor's agents in Europe. In the month of November, 1828, the Marquis de Barbacena, notwithstanding the repulse which he had a few days before received from the Duke of Wellington, transmitted to Lord Aberdeen, who at this period held the seals of the Foreign Office, a communication, stating that the news of the usurpation consummated in Lisbon, had overwhelmed the heart of the Emperor with just indignation; and that, in the full determination to refrain from entering into any terms with the usurper, and to support the rights of Donna Maria, he had deemed himself authorized to require the aid of his Britannic Majesty, already guaranteed by virtue of the ancient Treaties existing between England and Portugal; Treaties dating from the first epoch of the Portuguese monarchy, and the reign of Edward the Third.

At the same time, the Marquis demanded from his Lordship the expulsion of the agents of Don Miguel from England, and stated, that he was provided with instructions, and the full powers necessary to conclude *a Convention, in which the succours to be furnished by his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and also by his Britannic Majesty, to the Queen of Portugal, were to be fully specified.*

Lord Aberdeen, who had but little sympathy with the interests of Don Pedro, and the constitutional cause, contended on the other hand, in a reply which was shortly after published, "that if a neutrality had, on occasion of the independence, been deemed in accordance with existing Treaties, it was no less so in the present instance; and that the British Government had no authority whatever to take cognizance of the internal dissensions of Portugal." "Even in 1826," urged his Lordship, "when his Britannic Majesty, acceding to the requisition of the Ambassador of the Emperor, sent to Portugal a body of troops, the justification of this measure was expressly based on the fact, that the Portuguese refugees had acquired a foreign character, from their incorporation, arming, and preparation in Spain, and that the commanding-officer of the English troops was strictly commanded to avoid entering into any contests with the parties in Portugal, and to direct his operations solely against foreign invaders, or those united under their banners.

"In 1822," continued his Lordship, "the King of Portugal regarded the independence of Brazil, and the determination of his son to assume the supreme authority, as acts of triumphant rebellion. The Portuguese Government frequently appealed to the Treaties with England, and to the obligations of the guarantee insuring

the integrity of Portugal and her Colonies. But the British Government, admitting in all their plenitude the obligations of the guarantee, maintained that these related only to dismemberment effected by a foreign power, and were inapplicable to the results of intestine division. By a *Note Verbale*, presented to the Portuguese Government by the British Chargé d'Affaires in Lisbon, in the month of December, 1822, his Britannic Majesty declared that, in the events which then divided the House of Braganza against itself, he was determined to observe the most exact and scrupulous neutrality. By a fortunate arrangement with the Emperor, concluded through the mediation of England, the independence of Brazil had been finally acknowledged and secured; but this was so far from weakening the effect of the guarantees given by Great Britain, for the conservation of Portugal and her remaining Colonies, that his Britannic Majesty acknowledged himself obliged to protect them as well against the unjust aggression of Brazil, as against that of any other foreign power, and at present Don Miguel had the support of the Portuguese nation. No foreign influence supported him on the throne against the will of the people."

His Lordship afterwards proceeded to analyze at length the obligations contracted by the British Government, in the conferences of

Vienna and London; and, after pointing out a number of circumstances, tending to prove that the steps, wherein the Brazilian Government had compromised itself, had in no manner originated in the preponderance of Great Britain in their Councils, he concluded by requesting permission to ask, "whether the promises of abdication and transmission of the young Queen to Portugal, had been fulfilled? Had not the Emperor continued to interfere in all the details of the Portuguese Government? Had he not created Peers? Had he not promoted Military Officers? Had he not interfered in the choice and nomination of Ministers, and in all the internal policy of the kingdom? The Portuguese nation was frustrated, in its hope and expectation of a final separation from Brazil; and its disappointment in this respect was confirmed, by the retention of the young Queen in Rio de Janeiro. In the meantime, the disgust and the discontent produced by the Constitution sent from Brazil, were daily augmenting, and finally broke out in acts of violence and open rebellion."

"In this state of affairs the Emperor, having, in the first place, ordered his brother, the Infante Don Miguel, to quit Vienna for Rio de Janeiro, and having sent a line-of-battle ship to Brest, for his conveyance, suddenly revoked this order, and without being solicited by his Britannic

Majesty, nominated the Infante his Lieutenant in Portugal, and Regent of that kingdom. This decision was, in the opinion of the writer, Lord Aberdeen, justly required by the disorganized state of the country, and was, in fact, subsequently recommended by His Britannic Majesty; yet, at the same time, he requested the Marquis de Barbacena to observe that, from all herein established, it was clearly manifest that the abdication of the Crown, the organization and gift of the Constitutional Charter, the promise of sending Donna Maria to Portugal, the unfortunate delay in the execution of this promise, the want of attention to the pledge virtually given on occasion of the abdication, that Brazil should cease to interfere in the internal administration of Portugal, and finally, the nomination of the Infante, Don Miguel, as Regent, were all acts emanating spontaneously from the will of the Emperor, Don Pedro; that they had in no manner their origin with Great Britain, and that His Britannic Majesty could not, therefore, be held responsible for their effects. It had, on the contrary, been a frequent subject of regret, that the counsels of Great Britain, when offered, should ever have been received with coldness and distrust. They had never been adopted until events had rendered any other alternative impracticable, and when this reluctance and delay had, in a great measure,

deprived them of their beneficial influence. So far," asserted his Lordship, "from England having been the cause of the evils now afflicting Portugal, they ought to be attributed only to the want of a frank, coherent, and straightforward policy, on the part of the Government of Brazil."

Notwithstanding this explicit and discouraging language, the Viscount de Itabayana suspended the payment of the dividend on the Portuguese loan, and proceeded to purchase arms and ammunition, and to apply funds to the support of the Portuguese emigrants. Having at length succeeded in equipping and arming four vessels at Portsmouth, on board of which were six hundred and fifty-two men, officers and soldiers, he despatched them nominally for Brazil, but in reality for Terceira. The suspicions of the English Government had, however, been excited, and Captain Walpole, commanding the English station before the Azores, received orders to prevent the disembarkation of the troops on board the four vessels on any of those islands. These orders were punctually fulfilled. An attempt was made on the 16th of January, 1829, to effect a landing in Terceira, but the boats were fired upon by an English frigate, several individuals were killed, and others wounded, and the vessels in question were finally compelled to retrace their course to England.

The want of good faith which led to this catastrophe, gave cause to immediate remonstrance on the part of the British Government, and subsequently to the recall of the Viscount de Itabayana. In Brazil, also, the intelligence of the event was productive of the bitterest mortification, as well to the patriots as to the partizans of Donna Maria. The late disgraceful peace with Buenos Ayres, was, by the former party, attributed chiefly to the supposed necessity of employing the squadron on other seas; and rumours were circulated, that three frigates were on the point of sailing for Terceira, and that seamen were being engaged, and officers appointed for the expedition. At the same time, the individual conduct of the Marquis de Itabayana, gave rise to the liveliest animadversion. "Who can have authorised this Envoy," was the inquiry, "to suspend the payment of the dividend on a loan for which the nation has rendered itself responsible? After having pledged ourselves for the payment of the amount, shall we not be regarded as fraudulent debtors? By what authority has our diplomatic agent fitted out vessels for Terceira, with arms, ammunition, and money, and exposed our flag to insult by this hostility against a friendly nation? More than all, how can he have ventured to designate Brazil as the destination of these troops, while, by the dictates of the Constitution, it is one of the

exclusive attributes of the Legislative Assembly to permit or refuse the entry of foreign military into the Empire? Does this functionary imagine that he can also usurp the Legislative power? Surely," it was urged, "unless the Constitution were merely a vain word, the Ministry would be made responsible for all these violations of it, and this extravagance with the public money!"

The urgency of removing the Portuguese emigrants from England, was, in the meantime, becoming imminent; and being, for the present, cut off from Terceira, circumstances appeared to indicate Brazil as their only asylum. Aware, however, of the tumult which might be excited by the admission of a body of troops, many of whom had borne arms against Brazil, during the struggle for independence, Don Pedro, in the month of February, 1829, made public his intentions of convoking the Legislative Assembly, extraordinarily, on the 1st of April, in order that the assent of its members might, if possible, be obtained for the admission of the unfortunate refugees.

During the interim preceding the Session, an insurrection took place in Pernambuco, trifling in itself, yet subsequently productive of important results. A riotous assemblage of about seventy individuals succeeded in breaking into the prison of that city, when, after releasing the



prisoners, they seized a quantity of arms in the barracks. Before, however, the revolt had made any further progress, it was suppressed by the authorities in the place; yet, the Ministry in Rio issued two decrees, dated the 17th of February, the one suspending the exercise of the formulas guaranteeing individual liberty, and the other creating a military Commission for the purpose of judging without appeal the leaders of the conspiracy. The military Commission was an Institution similar to the Cour Prévotale of the French; and being constituted by the Government on the occasion, for the purpose of inspiring additional terror, was, on that account, extremely odious. These unconstitutional measures, thus proved an additional cause of irritation to the patriots, who, both in their private clubs, and through the medium of their journals, immediately began to clamour for the impeachment of the Ministers who had signed these decrees.

Such was the state of public excitement, when, on the 2d of April, 1829, the Assembly opened, and its members were harangued on the occasion by the Emperor. His Majesty stated that he had thus, extraordinarily, convoked the Legislature, for two motives; first, the unexpected news that a foreign force, consisting of Portuguese emigrants was on the point of seeking an asylum in Brazil; and, secondly, from a regard to the

affairs of finance, and to the necessity of some salutary and efficacious arrangement relative to the Bank. The deplorable state of the Treasury, he said, was apparent to all; and much it pained him to prognosticate, that, unless the evil were remedied during this present Session, disastrous must necessarily be the future preparing for the Nation. The Minister of Finance, continued the Emperor, would shew to the House the necessity and the urgency of a prompt legislative measure, which, by destroying at a single blow the principal cause of existing evils, might ameliorate the unfortunate circumstances of the Empire, and render assistance to the Government; and this same Minister would also shortly lay before the Members a proposal regarding this object. The importance of its nature, asserted the Emperor, in conclusion, gave him the fullest hope from the result of their deliberations.

Unfortunately, however, the entire tenor of his remarks on financial matters was so very vague, that they became susceptible of interpretations utterly at variance with each other. The ministerial papers, of course, spoke of them as inculcating the necessity of at once fixing increased imposts; while the opposition journals, on the other hand, contended, with whimsical pertinacity, that the legislative measure called for by the Emperor was, on the contrary, neither more nor less than a law authorising the Govern-

ment to do away with the Bank, and to put a stop to the continued extravagance of the public functionaries. The entire document, argued they, was one of the keenest sarcasms that had ever been thrown out against a series of Ministries, whose incapacity and whose unworthiness they took occasion to point out, while they at the same time extolled to the skies the supposed constitutional virtues of the Sovereign.

“How,” exclaimed Evaristo, when commenting on this topic in the *Aurora*, “how must these unworthy Ministers blush, if blush they can, when, after having satiated their caprices, closed their ears against the voice of public opinion and reason, and after having, in the short space of five years, plunged this country into debt to a degree which the unskilful ministers of Don John VI. would never have accomplished in a dozen years of absolute sway,—how must they recoil from the biting censure conveyed in the words from the throne? “Unless the evil (of finance) be remedied, disastrous will be the future preparing for us!” “What must be the feelings of those who have so far contributed, and who still contribute, to the derangement of our finances, and who have prepared for us this disastrous future, on thus hearing the sentence of their infamy?”

The Legislative Chambers, meanwhile, proceeded to the exercise of their functions, and

Calmon, who had been reinstated in office as Minister of Finance, on the 4th of April, laid before the Deputies his anxiously expected proposition relative to the National Bank. The substance of it was, that the Bank should henceforward be administered by a Committee of seven members, four of whom were to be appointed by the Government, and three by the assembly of the Bank itself; and that on the installation of this Committee all the transactions of the said establishment should cease; that the office of the Committee should be to withdraw from circulation the existing notes, whether paid into the Bank, or received as the price of the metallic fund remaining in the coffers, which was to be sold at the best price obtainable; to verify the quantity of notes in circulation, substituting for them others of a new type; to conclude all the pending operations of the Bank and examine into the state of the branch Banks in Bahia and San Paulo; and finally, to take measures for the immediate liquidation of both. The nation was to guarantee the actual notes of the Bank, and those substituted for them, receiving them as money in all the public offices, until such time as they were redeemed. Both before and after the liquidation of the administrative Committee, the shareholders were to receive interest on the entire amount of the Government debt at the rate of one per cent. per annum. For the pur-

pose of subsequently withdrawing the notes from circulation, it was proposed that the Government should be authorized to contract a loan in precious metals, equivalent to three-fifths of its actual debt to the Bank, and that this loan should be applied exclusively to the purchase of the existing notes, according to their market value.

On the whole, the project fell far short of what had been expected from the talents of Calmon. The proposal for a further loan at the present crisis, was regarded as involving in its adoption a necessity for those subsidies which it had so long been the manifest wish of the Government to impose on the public; and the Committee entrusted with the examination of the project, proposed, as an amendment, that the Bank should be at once extinguished, and the paper currency verified, and taken to account by the Government.

Should the amount of the Government debt exceed the actual issues of the Bank, the Government were to pay the excess to this establishment in Apolices, or shares of the public debt, consolidated by the law of the 15th of November, 1827; if, on the contrary, the Bank issues were found to be larger than the debt owing by the Government, the Committee of management were immediately to withdraw the excess from circulation. On the completion of

this measure, the notes in circulation were to be gradually redeemed by the Government, with funds to be obtained from the disposal of the Government property, and from that belonging to all monasteries and convents. As a compensation for the latter, the religious orders, whose property was thus appropriated, were to receive in lieu of it *untransferable* Apolices of the consolidated fund. The Executive power had already prohibited the entry of novices into the monasteries, and the untransferable Apolices were thus, on the death of the existing race of monks, to revert to the nation.

The advantages of this amendment, which was subsequently adopted, with the exception only of the clause relative to the appropriation of the property of the religious orders, were sufficiently obvious. By means of it the *Bank paper* was converted into *Government paper*, for which the Government became responsible; all necessity for the payment of interest was done away with, and the urgency of a loan at the present crisis avoided.

Before, however, any thing definitive had been decided on this point, the attention of the House was called off by the affairs of Portugal. The patriots accused the Ministry of having interfered in an unconstitutional manner in the political concerns of that country; whereas the Ministry, to the surprise of even their own ad-

herents, denied that they had interfered in any manner whatever. On the contrary, they stated, in the most positive manner, that they had re-proved all the acts of the Brazilian diplomatic Agents in Europe regarding this object, and had absolutely dismissed the Marquis de Itabayana in consequence of his proceedings.

The propositions made to the English Cabinet by the Marquis de Barbacena were certainly undivulged at this period; yet such was the conviction on the part of the patriots, relative to the interference of late exercised either by Don Pedro or his Ministers, that this unqualified exposition on the part of the latter, naturally led to the immediate conclusion that all the various acts to this effect had had their origin solely with the Emperor. The private Cabinet in San Christovão, whence the Portuguese Constitution had issued, and of which the Secretary was F. G. da Silva, (Chalaça,) came thus to be designated as the focus where all this interference had its origin; and the effect of this universally-accredited rumour on the popularity of the head of the administration, may be easily conceived.

By a fiction, essential to the nature of constitutional monarchy, the Sovereign can do no wrong; since being supposed to act only through the agency and at the instance of his Ministers, they alone become responsible for his acts; yet could this theory hold good in the instance of

the secret Cabinet? Could the Ministry be called to account for acts of which they had not even any cognizance; for the unauthorised expenditure of public money in the affairs of Portugal, or for private correspondence regarding these objects? Was not the Emperor himself the only real culprit?—Such were the questions hourly interchanged with the utmost anxiety among all reflecting individuals.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

Speech of the Emperor on opening the ordinary session of the Legislature on the 3d of May, 1829—Excesses of the press—Singular speech of Vergueiro—Rejection by the Senate of the law repealing the privilege of primogeniture and the entailment of property—Accusation of the Ministers for having signed the decrees of the 27th of February, 1829—Disgraceful conduct in the galleries on the occasion—Currency—Discussion of the budget—Reductions of expenditure required by the opposition—Reduction of the stipend of the Deputies—Resistance of the Senate—Close of the session and laconic speech of the Emperor on the occasion—Aspect of each Legislature from 1826 to 1829—Public discontent—Club of Columnas in Pernambuco—Arrival of great numbers of Portuguese emigrants—Their meritorious conduct.

ON the 3d of May, 1829, the day appointed by law for the opening of the extraordinary session, the Emperor again addressed the Assembly, informing its members, that a preliminary convention of peace had been entered into with Buenos Ayres ; that, on the arrival of the Queen of Portugal in Europe, she had found the throne usurped, but that, notwithstanding the determination of the Emperor, not to assent to this usurpation, he remained firm in the resolution, not to compromise the tranquillity and interests

of Brazil on this account : that order had been maintained in all the provinces except in Pernambuco, where the Government had been compelled to adopt extraordinary measures against the anarchists ; that the abuse of the liberty of the press had unhappily been propagated throughout the Empire, and that it became urgent that the Assembly should take means for its repression, and also some immediate measures regarding the affairs of finance and justice, and the colonization of Europeans.

In these strictures of Don Pedro on the excesses of the press, there was doubtless some foundation, yet the ministerial papers were at least fully as reprehensible as their antagonists. Not only were they in the habit of advocating doctrines in utter variance with the spirit of the Constitution, but nearly all the leading members of the opposition were repeatedly, and often grossly, insulted in their pages.

The patriots were, however, aware that these remarks from the throne were aimed solely at them, and the "Aurora" replied somewhat indirectly, by translating and publishing in full, two of the Letters of Junius to the Duke of Grafton, and challenging the ministerial writers to point out, in any of the liberal journals, language equally acrimonious. In the House of Deputies similar language was held by the opposition, and even in the Senate, by Vergueiro,

formerly one of the Deputies for the province of San Paulo.

This individual, a Portuguese by birth, had long been conspicuous in Brazil. He was a skilful debater and a sincere friend of liberal institutions, respected by all for the excellence of his private character, but disliked among the old Royalists on account of what they deemed the too democratic tendency of his ideas. Previously to his nomination as a member of the General Assembly, he had been one of the Deputies from Brazil to the Cortes of Lisbon, and had there distinguished himself above all his colleagues for the open and explicit manner in which he defended the various interests and privileges of the land of his adoption. On the present occasion, he spoke in apparent vindication of the sentiments enunciated by the Emperor; yet, at the same time, with a very different application of the same theory. The Marquis de Queluz, a Counsellor of State, one of the individuals who had assisted in the organization of the Constitution, and an Ex-Minister, owing his elevation entirely to the adoption of the actual system of Government, had the disinterestedness to affirm, in the Senate, that the constitutional regimen was inappropriate to countries where the communications were difficult, and that he had drawn up a treatise wherein his opinions on this head were deve-

loped at length. Vergueiro, in reply, (on the 9th of May, 1830,) contended strongly that the publication of any such treatise was inadmissible. "While," exclaimed he, "abuses of political power are repressed by the Legislature, abuses of the press ought also to be repressed in the like manner. I, myself, cannot at all concur in the opinion of the noble Senators who wish the liberty of the press to be carried to such a height, that the system of Government which we have adopted, and which has been sworn to by the heads of the nation, may be attacked with impunity. If we are obliged to maintain the monarchical, constitutional and representative system at the peril of our lives, shall we allow the press to attack it? The noble Senator (the Marquis de Queluz) informs us, that he has drawn up a pamphlet, wherein he shows, that the constitutional system is not adapted to countries where the communications are difficult. And will the legislative body allow such a publication to circulate amongst us?—a publication accusing us of having adopted and made oath to a system impossible in practice! No!—writings attacking our oath, and tending to subvert the foundations of our association, ought to be proscribed with all the vigour of the law: by opening one entrance we should be prevented from closing others, anarchy would invade us, and it is impossible to perceive the

termination of the evils which this unrestrained licence would bring down upon the nation. All our efforts ought to be devoted to the support of the form of government adopted, not consenting that it be interfered with, even from veneration for sound principles.”

“ Civil societies must either be organized in a forcible manner or from conviction, and from force results tyranny, and from tyranny slavery. From convention results the representative Government,—the Government of the law,—the Government truly legitimate, and that which we have happily adopted. And shall we consent that this fundamental principle of social organization be attacked? No!—let us defend it as we would the dogmas relative to the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul.”

The majority of the Senate were, however, far from participating in the feelings and opinions of Vergueiro. The law abolishing all privilege of primogeniture, and the entailment of property, which had passed through the House of Deputies during the preceding year, was this session thrown out in the Senate by a majority of one vote, a result principally owing to the extraordinary exertions of the Visconde de Cayrú, an individual previously spoken of under the name of Jozé de Silva Lisboa. He was a magistrate, nearly eighty years of age, of

unsullied integrity ; poor, when he might have been rich had he only acted like many of his fraternity, amiable in private life, and of great erudition ; but with ideas on religion and government at least a century behind the prevailing ones at the present period, and at the same time he was but too often violent and fanatical in the expression of these ideas. The influence of such an individual among a body of which the members were nearly all far advanced in years before the establishment of the representative system, may be easily conceived.

The leading members of the minority in vain called the attention of their opponents to the fact, that the laws which they were proposing to abrogate, had their origin in the necessities of the feudal times, when the estates of the nobility were held by the tenure of military service, when the nobles were in perpetual warfare with their neighbours, and when a division of property would have been ruinous ; since the proprietors of the weakened and divided estates would have instantaneously fallen a prey to their more powerful neighbours. The laws in question had thus, they contended, been adopted for general safety, yet as no state of society at all analogous to the foregoing had ever had existence in Brazil, their introduction into this country had been inappropriate, and their maintenance, in fact, unconstitutional. By the pro-

visions of the fundamental code, the law was declared equal to all, and all privileges, except such as were entirely and essentially attached to office, for public utility, were abolished. Now where, inquired they, was this boasted equality, when an entire family might be reduced to mendicity, in order that a single individual should be enriched, or what was the public utility resulting thence? Any such institutions were, they urged, altogether exotic in Brazil, and were, in the actual state of society, contrary alike to reason, to sound policy, and to the dictates of nature.

The House of Deputies was in the meanwhile still actuated by a spirit materially at variance with that evinced by the Senate. On the 29th of May, a Committee of Members gave in a report relative to the conduct of the Ministers who had signed the two celebrated Decrees of the 27th of February, exonerating the Minister of Justice for having suspended the guarantees, but denouncing the Minister of War for having violated the Constitution, in creating a military Commission. Vasconcellos opposed the former part of the report, which was deferred, and ordered to be printed, and a further Committee, consisting of Vasconcellos, Lino Continho, and Galvão, was in the meantime appointed for the purpose of drawing up the indictment of the Minister of War. A long and

violent series of discussions were, however, brought to a term on the 18th of June, the order of the day being adopted by a feeble majority of seven votes. The Deputies defending Alvarez contended that he had been guided in his conduct by precedent during the period of the "Confederation of the Equator," and as the Military Commission which he had appointed had never proceeded to the exercise of their functions, they were unwilling to proceed any further with the accusation.

During the latter days of the debate, the galleries were crowded with military officers, who, on the 18th, visibly testified their sentiments by beating on the parapet, and, on one occasion, by echoing the cry of "Order!" This disgraceful conduct naturally led to some altercation. One of the patriot Deputies called upon the President to close the Session; and Vasconcellos, after intimating to the galleries, that they had been wanting in respect, turned to the Ministers and told them, that if they thought in this manner to silence the friends of the people, they were much mistaken. Finally, he required that the law for the regulation of the galleries should be read, which was done, and quiet accordingly restored. During the course of these discussions, it may also be mentioned, that Don Pedro had the imprudence to present himself daily in one of the balconies of the Palace, over-



looking the House of Deputies, evincing in his deportment the irritation under which he laboured, and even publicly venting his wrath in personalities on the leaders of the opposition; an indiscretion calculated to compromise him even with the rabble who were in the habit of congregating in the vicinity.

To the foregoing object of discussion succeeded the budget, a topic of equally engrossing interest. Notwithstanding the peace and the reforms said to have been introduced into the department of finance since the administration of Calmon, His Excellency, in his report to the Chambers stated the deficit for the ensuing eighteen months at no less than seven thousand contos, an amount equal to more than one-third of the actual revenue. Instead of retrenchment having taken place, the army was still retained at twenty thousand men; the marine establishment still amounted to near eighty vessels of war, and various public establishments were conducted on an equally extravagant scale. The excess of the expenditure over the revenue, was in the meantime defrayed principally from the extraordinary profits arising from the coinage of copper in the mint of Rio de Janeiro, and up to the latter end of 1829 by further loans of paper money from the Bank.

In order to explain clearly what is meant by the profits arising from the coinage of copper,

it may be necessary to enter upon the following explanation. All the coins of Brazil, with the exception of the gold half-doubloon or Rs.6||400 piece, have from motives of false economy been depreciated in weight by the Portuguese Government. This system had its origin during the reign of Don Pedro the Second of Portugal, between the years 1690 and 1700, and it has since been perpetuated up to the present period. The gold coin of four milreis was reduced in weight one-twentieth part, or in other words, the coin of—

(Four Milreis) Rs. 4||000 in gold in Brazil, was made equivalent to 3||800 in Portugal.

(A Pataca) || 320 in silver in Brazil, was made equivalent to ||240 in Portugal.

(A Vintem) 20 rs. in copper in Brazil, was made equivalent to 10 rs. in Portugal.

And this depreciated currency was termed *colonial money*. At the same time it is of importance to note, that the intrinsic value of the silver and copper coinage bore a less proportion to its nominal value, or to the value stamped upon it, than even the reduced gold coin of “four milreis.” This latter was intrinsically worth 20*s.* 3*d.* in English money, whereas four milreis in silver were intrinsically worth only 18*s.*, and four milreis in copper no more than 6*s.* The gains which the Government made by the coinage of the two latter metals were consequently enormous. Yet

they were far from satisfying the rapacious Government of Don João VI., who in an Alvará or ordinance dated on the 18th of April 1809, decreed that the copper coins of 40 rs. should, when re-stamped in conformity, pass current as 80 rs., those of 20 rs. as 40 rs., and those of 10 rs. as 20 rs., a measure rendering the 80 rs. of Rio equivalent to 20 rs. of Portugal. By an Alvará of the 20th of November of the same year they also decreed that Spanish dollars (worth each about 4*s.* 3*d.* English money), should, when re-stamped with the arms of Portugal, pass current at ||960 each, a measure still depreciating the silver currency. During, however, such time as these two metals were used only for small change, no inconvenience arose from the above alterations, yet as any amount of money in them was a legal tender, and the temptations to fraud were increased, an immense quantity of Spanish dollars re-stamped in imitation of those issued by the Mint of Rio, were illicitly introduced by private speculators. The exchange of these dollars for the gold half-doubloons gave a profit of about 28 per cent. to the importers, and not only all the half-doubloons but also all the pieces of "four milreis" were very soon either exported, or circulated within the country at a premium. At the same time, the Government, as though determined to have their full share of the spoil, increased their issues of silver to an

extent greater than ever. This metal thus took the place of gold, and the metallic par of exchange fell in a proportionate ratio.

The subsequent enormous issue of copper during the reign of Don Pedro was a measure similar in principle, but far more fatal in its consequences, inasmuch as the discrepancy of value was greater. This copper was even in 1829 current up to any amount at three times its intrinsic value, and was still freely circulated in all the various provinces of the Empire. The inhabitants looked only to the amount stamped on the coin, without reflecting that if melted down it would not be worth one-third of the sum for which they received it. Of course it was impossible that the deception could be carried on for ever, yet it was an expedient for helping the Government out of their existing difficulties, and they adopted it with but little regard to its ruinous effects on the relative value of property. Nearly all the Ministers since the Independence, had availed themselves of this resource to a limited extent, yet it was reserved for the bold temperament of Calmon to quadruple all that had been done in this line by his predecessors. During the years 1828 and 1829 nearly six thousand contos of this base copper were coined and thrown into circulation, solely as means of relieving the Government from its pecuniary embarrassments.

Here was a fearful subject of apprehension, yet the Deputies could not be induced to levy any further imposts. "If," inquired they, "the revenue were already thus insufficient, how much more would it be found so when the prize claims came to be paid off? Our opponents tell us of taxes in England, but they overlook the contrast between a mercantile and industrious people assisted by the highest efforts of human intelligence, and one as yet in the infancy of civilization. May not enormous imposts, by exceeding the means of the people, tend to diminish capital and consequently the revenue, which can only be based in a permanent manner on national wealth? Even if not, what taxes can suffice where there are no limits to expenditure? Any increase of the resources of the Treasury would be but an inducement to further extravagance."

Influenced by these and similar considerations, the Committee appointed for the examination of the budget for the ensuing eighteen months, insisted on the necessity of reducing the expenditure within the limits of the presumed receipt, and on the 4th of August presented a project containing the following enormous reductions from the estimate given in by the Ministry.

The Sum demanded was for	The Reduction made by the Commission.	
The Interior . . . . . Rs.	1,165:114  000	.. 934:710  000
Ministry of Justice . . . .	801:857  000	.. 725:288  000
Foreign Affairs . . . . .	771:133  000	.. 540:000  000
Marine . . . . .	4,920:895  000	.. 3,142:400  000
War . . . . .	7,800:000  000	.. 4,400:000  000
Finance, Civil List and Interest of Debt . . . . .	14,011:713  000	.. 9,929:825  000
Totals . . . . . Rs.	29,470:712  000	Rs. 19,672:223  000

Altogether, a reduction amounting to near ten thousand contos. Instead of a deficit of seven thousand contos, they made out a surplus of more than three thousand, capable of being devoted to the diminution of the debt, and to the purpose of averting the disastrous future intimated in the speech from the throne. Vasconcellos in fact, sent up an amendment proposing that it should be applied to this end. Clemente Pereira, on the other hand, asserted that there was not in reality that excess which the Commission had pointed out, since their calculations had been founded on uncertain bases, and the expenses, principally in the marine and war department, must necessarily exceed the sum allotted; that he spoke plainly in order that the nation might not be illuded with false hopes, and concluded by denominating the amendment superfluous. To this Vasconcellos warmly replied, that the budget fixed the expenses, that the Government had no authority whatever to

exceed them, and that to affirm the contrary was nothing less than a proclamation of absolute Government, since the only difference between a constitutional and an absolute administration, consisted in the former being subject to the law.

As, however, the clamours of the Ministerial party, both in and out of the Chamber, were violently excited by all these sweeping reductions, and an outcry raised relative to the expenses entailed by the Deputies themselves on Brazil, they determined on such a corresponding reduction of their own stipend, as would, at least, justify them from the charge of being attentive solely to their own interests, and on the 17th of August, reduced the amount from Rs.2,400,000 per annum, to Rs.10,000 per diem, during the entire session, ordinary and extraordinary. This last measure, which appeared to be called for at once by prudence, by the circumstances of the Treasury, and by that impartial justice which dictates that all reforms ought to begin at home, was, however, rejected almost unanimously by the Senate. The subsidy appointed to the members of this Chamber was, it must be recollected, fixed at half as much again as that of the Deputies, and, as was indicated by the Visconde du Cayrú, who spoke with considerable warmth on the occasion, a certain decorum and equipage, at least on the

part of the Senators, was deemed altogether inseparable from the interests and greatness of the Empire.

The time appointed by law for the termination of the Session was, in the meantime, fast approaching; and, notwithstanding that nothing had as yet been decided relative to the budget, and that the actual Session was the fourth and last of the existing House of Deputies, no intimation had as yet been conveyed of any intention to prolong the term of its duration. Vasconcellos, on the 27th of August, proposed that a deputation should be sent to the Throne, for the purpose of communicating the state of various affairs of public interest, and of praying that the House might be permitted to terminate the labours in which its members were actually engaged. But this indication was over-ruled, on the ground that the head of the State was already well acquainted with these circumstances, and that it therefore behoved the House to abstain from all interference, to conduct themselves according to the Constitution, and to proceed in their labours until the expiration of the appointed time.

The majority were nevertheless, with justice, apprehensive that these labours would be brought to a premature close. The deliberations had, ever since the commencement of the Session, proved little else than a source of mortification



to Don Pedro ; and, on the 3d of September, he cut short all further debate, in the following extraordinary and laconic speech :—

“ August and most worthy Gentlemen, Representatives of the Brazilian Nation :

“ The Session is closed.”

“ Constitutional Emperor, and Perpetual Defender of Brazil.”

Such was the somewhat abrupt termination of the sessions of the first House of Deputies. Feeble and vacillating in 1826, querulous in 1827, exacting in 1828, they at length ventured to station themselves as a barrier to the aggressions of the supreme power in 1829. The discussion on the budget being still unfinished when they were thus dismissed, the Ministry were, in consequence, left uncurbed by any legislative restraints as to their expenditure. Though, however, they were thus temporarily relieved from embarrassment, the public were alarmed, and the results on the popularity of the Administration were fatal. The unconstitutional decrees of the 27th of February, the retention of a foreign force in time of peace, the nomination of Presidents and Governors-at-Arms of retrograde principles, the honorary insignia bestowed as a means of corruption, the language of the Ministers, and that of two journalists in Pernambuco, who openly preached absolute Government, the advo-

cacy of the incorporation of the Portuguese Emigrants with the Army of Brazil, by the Ministerial papers in Rio, and, finally, the rejection of the bill repealing the laws of entail and primogeniture by the Senate, gave rise to an almost universal belief, that some important and vital changes in the Constitution were intended. "Representative forms," observed one of the patriot journals," may still be permitted to subsist; yet, if the will of the people be in any manner influenced by terror, our liberty will necessarily be reduced to a mere shadow."

The apprehensions on this head were still further augmented by the cognizance of the late formation of a powerful club in Pernambuco, who, under the denomination of "Columnas," or, "Pillars of the Throne," began to labour for the overthrow of the republicans, as all opposed to the Ministry were indiscriminately denominated.

The Portuguese emigrants were meanwhile arriving from England in great numbers. As, however, they came as private individuals, and not in the capacity of troops, the necessity of any legislative enactment for their admission was avoided, and they were allowed to land without molestation. As might naturally be anticipated, many false rumours and insinuations were thrown out regarding them by the

ultra-patriots, yet their conduct must be acknowledged by all impartial individuals to be entitled to the highest praise. Finding that they were regarded with jealousy, they cautiously abstained from all interference with Brazilian politics, and thus succeeded in gradually obviating the unfavourable impression entertained against them on arrival. Many were received in the dwellings of private families, and enabled them to make advantageous marriages, others applied themselves to industrious occupations, while others less fortunate, or perhaps with less worldly prudence, were succoured by means of lotteries conceded by the Government, and by the subscriptions of private individuals.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Return of Donna Maria—Second marriage of Don Pedro on the 17th of October, 1829—Creations of nobility on the occasion—Currency—Theories regarding the balance of trade—Change of Ministry—Accident occurring to the Emperor—Animosity between Barbacena and “Chalaça”—Dismissal of the latter—Change of policy—Assassination of the Viscount de Camamú—Convocation of the newly elected House of Deputies, in May, 1830—Speech of the Emperor—Reply of the House of Deputies—Spirit of the Assembly—Discussion of the Budget—Extraordinary Session opened on the 8th of September, 1830—Accounts received of the French Revolution—The effect of this intelligence—Further change of Ministry—Expenses incurred on behalf of the Portuguese Emigrants—Arrival of ten thousand stand of arms from Europe, in October, 1830—State of the public mind at this period.

**THE** diplomatic talents of the Marquis de Barbacena were more successfully employed in negotiating a marriage for Don Pedro, than in his previous attempt to obtain the intervention of the British Cabinet in favour of Donna Maria. This last object appeared as impracticable as ever, and Don Pedro, in consequence, determined on the recall of Her Most Faithful Majesty to Brazil, where she arrived on the 16th of October, 1829, accompanied by the Bavarian

Princess, Amelia de Leuchtemberg, the betrothed bride of the Emperor. The marriage took place on the following day, and notwithstanding that the rain fell in torrents, the streets were hung with tapestry, several triumphal arches were erected, and the ceremony was performed with much pomp and magnificence. The city was afterwards illuminated for several nights in succession; a corvette, which received the name of Amelia, was launched on the occasion, and the Emperor instituted a new order of knighthood, "The Order of the Rose," of which he declared himself Grand Master. An extensive concession was also made of the various honorary insignia, formerly in existence; principally among the ministerial deputies, and several additions were made to the existing nobility. As for the patriots being, with few exceptions, excluded from any participation in these honours, they preached philosophy, and denounced all such empty distinctions as puerilities fit only for the amusement of grown children. A correspondent in the "Aurora," who took a statistical view of the matter, wrote, however, in a very different strain. "The Portuguese monarchy," urged this ingenious logician, "was, according to the authority of the Almanack, founded seven hundred and thirty-six years ago, and had, in 1803, an epoch in which several titles had been renewed, and others re-

cently created ;—sixteen marquises, twenty-six counts, eight viscounts, and four barons. Brazil, in the eighth year of her existence as a nation, already contains in her bosom, twenty-eight marquises, eight counts, sixteen viscounts, and twenty-one barons. Now, going on as we have hitherto done, which is to be hoped, we shall have A.D. 2551 (that is, when our monarchy will have the same antiquity with that of Portugal, in 1803,) no fewer than two thousand three hundred and eighty-five marquises, seven hundred and ten counts, one thousand four hundred and twenty viscounts, and one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three barons: this, by the simple rule of proportion. Thus we have no occasion to fear for the future, since, as there is no nobility without wealth, our descendants ought necessarily by that time to be revelling in riches.”

Between, however, the present crisis and this resplendent future, there was a great gulf fixed. The continued augmentation in amount of the circulating medium, in the first instance, by issues of Bank paper, and latterly by additions to the copper currency, had of necessity been attended by a corresponding augmentation in the price of commodities. The imports had, in consequence, increased, and gold and silver, the only exportable part of the currency, had been sent abroad to a large extent, as a means

of payment. Paper and copper had thus become the only currency throughout Brazil, and not only was the rate of exchange on foreign countries depressed, but all the relations of debtor and creditor were correspondingly deranged, and much individual suffering occasioned. Many who were dependent on fixed salaries, or stipulated wages, were reduced to the extremity of distress; and, although no very clear ideas were entertained regarding the precise nature of the evil, an opinion that it had its origin with the Government, gained ground daily. A number of the ministerial writers, the Editor of the "Brazileiro Imparcial," and others, contended, nevertheless, that the unprecedented low rate of exchange, and the disappearance of the precious metals, were owing principally to the balance of trade, or, in other words, to the excess of importation over exportation, and they pointed out, as the only efficient remedy, the formation or protection of manufactories in Brazil, and a more vigorous enforcement of the law, prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver. "The country," argued they, "would thus be rendered less dependent on foreigners, the precious metals would again appear in circulation, and the balance of trade would be restored to its proper equilibrium. It is almost needless to add, that these arguments were utterly futile. With regard to the depen-

dence on other countries, it is sufficiently obvious that it must have been mutual, and that also the original cause of the absence of gold and silver, lay not in the excess of importation, but rather in that augmentation of the currency and rise of prices, which had led to this excess of importation. The doctrine in question, nevertheless, met with many supporters, a fact which can excite but little surprise, when it is recollected that, under the title of "The Mercantile Theory of Wealth," a similar hypothesis has for centuries formed the basis of nearly all the commercial legislation of Europe. Fortunately, however, the patriot journalists took up opinions of a contrary tendency, though it must be owned, in many cases, rather from a spirit of opposition to the Government, than from any very intimate convictions on the subject.

The unpopularity of the Ministry in the meantime went on increasing to such a degree that the Emperor, early in the month of December, decided on their dismissal, and on their substitution by a Ministry composed exclusively of native Brazilians. Clemente Pereira, the late Minister, was, as it has been before stated, a Portuguese by birth, and to this circumstance the retention of foreign military, the promotion of Portuguese of anti-constitutional principles to public offices, to the exclusion of Brazilians, and the suspected coalition between the admi-



nistration and the secret Cabinet of San Christovão, were principally attributed. In the new Ministry, the Marquis de Barbacena was appointed to succeed Calmon, as Minister of Finance; Calmon was created Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Marquis de Caravellas was elevated to the Ministry of the Empire, the post held for the last eighteen months by José Clemente Pereira.

Ere, however, the entire organization of the Cabinet had been completed, an accident occurred, which, by threatening to precipitate all Brazil into a premature revolution, gave rise to the most serious alarms. The Emperor, who had a predilection, somewhat singular among the Brazilians, for being his own charioteer, in driving through the Rua de Lavradio, unfortunately overturned his carriage, and fractured two of his ribs by the fall. Donna Maria, the Empress, and her brother the Duke de Leuchtenberg, were also in the carriage, and the Empress was the only one who escaped unhurt. Donna Maria received a considerable contusion in the face, and the Duke de Leuchtenberg was considerably bruised. Don Pedro himself was conveyed to the house of the Marquis de Cantagallo, near at hand, and, ere any long period had elapsed, bulletins were issued of his gradual recovery.

The nomination of the new Ministry in the

meantime proved any thing but agreeable to F. G. da Silva, the private Secretary, who is said to have boasted that the five *creoles*, of whom it was composed, would not remain five months in the administration. The keenest animosity had arisen between this individual and Barbacena. The latter had availed himself of the ill feeling existing between the late Cabinet and the House of Deputies, to represent to the Emperor the urgent necessity of forming a more popular administration. Otherwise, urged he, an everlasting war must take place between the Ministry and the Legislative body, or, in other words, between the government and the nation. At the same time, while giving this advice, he avoided all appearance of being actuated by personal ambition, by continually alleging that the ravages which his health had sustained, during his late arduous and anxious embassy in Europe, had rendered a temporary retirement from the fatigues of public life, and a corresponding regimen, matters of absolute necessity. The Marquis had, however, in the end, the magnanimity to make a patriotic sacrifice. He undertook the formation of a new Ministry, and, on its completion, urged Don Pedro, as the surest, if not the only means of regaining public confidence, to break up the secret Cabinet at San Christovão, and to

remove Gomez da Silva from the vicinity of His Imperial person.

About the same time, one of the most widely-circulated journals adopted a similar style of language; and after quoting, word for word, a certain despatch of the Secretary, couched in most villanous grammar, remarked, that from the perusal of the document, it became fully evident, that the great interests of nations did not require to be treated with that consummate talent which was often supposed; that audacity, an insolent air, and profound ignorance, were occasionally the characteristics of the statesman, and that it was altogether a false idea that the world was governed by intelligence. "The men," concluded the Editor, "on whom the fate of monarchies depends, and who judge themselves qualified to fulfil important commissions by the side of the monarch, are those who, without having received any kind of literary education, pass their life in continual dissipation, who turn from pleasure to pleasure, and cannot reserve for reflection, or the ordeal of self-examination, two minutes of their existence."

The Emperor, at first, repelled with indignation the idea of dismissing his favourite, but was finally induced to acquiesce in the step, and Gomez da Silva was despatched to England shortly afterwards, in an official capacity. A

Decree was also issued for the indictment of the society of "Columnas," instituted in Pernambuco, and hopes were at last excited that the Government would, by entering into a more national path, acquire that confidence and esteem, which it had hitherto failed in inspiring. These modifications of system were, however, slow and uncertain in their operation, and the excesses of the press, and consequent exasperation in the provinces, were attaining a height, which only the most energetic measures could have checked. This was evinced in Bahia, where the President, the Viscount de Camamú, was assassinated on the 28th of February, 1830, by a man on horseback, who, after firing a pistol upon him, escaped with impunity. The Viscount, while a commoner, had been called to Court during the ministry of Clemente Pereira, on account of reiterated complaints against him, yet, instead of being dismissed, he had been honoured with his title. This had tended materially to the mortification of the ultra-patriots, or, as they were termed, "the exaltado party;" and though attempts were made to represent his assassination as the result of private pique, there appears every probability that it had its cause in political motives.

Public attention meanwhile, in the absence of other objects of importance, became fixed on the proximate convocation of the newly-elected

House of Deputies. They were for the most part reputed to be of constitutional sentiments, and much curiosity was excited as to whether the Ministry would at last be able to obtain the command of a majority. The two Houses were at length assembled, on the 3d of May, 1830, and were, according to custom, addressed by the Emperor, who announced his marriage, and the arrival of Donna Maria the Second, who was at present under His Imperial protection. "Though," observed he, "as the father and guardian of the Queen, it became him to defend her rights, he would be faithful to the promise given to the Assembly not to compromise the tranquillity and interests of Brazil, through interference with the affairs of Portugal. As to the Portuguese, who had preceded and accompanied Her Most Faithful Majesty, and who were at present suffering from actual want, he recommended them to the care and philanthropy of the members. He congratulated the Assembly on the maintenance of peace and tranquillity both at home and abroad, but stated that the Minister of Justice would give in an account of some dissensions which had led to a temporary suspension of the guarantees in Ceará. He again urged the members to restrain, by legal measures, the abuses arising throughout the Empire from the liberty of the press, and again urged on their attention the affairs of finance

and justice, which were, he remarked, of vital interest for the prosperity of the Empire. Further measures he also declared to be requisite for the vigorous and regular organization of the army, and the reform of abuses existing in the navy. The geographical situation of the Empire, observed His Majesty, indicated the conservation of the marine and land forces, as both prudent and necessary. The slave trade had, he informed the members, ceased, and the Government would henceforward employ all the measures required by good faith and humanity, to prevent its continuance under any pretext whatever. On this account he alluded to the necessity of laws for the promotion of colonization. The education of youth had, he continued, ever been the object of his solicitude, and he pressed it on their attention, remarking at the same time, that it was of necessity that the precepts of the Catholic faith should be carefully taught and practised in the elementary schools throughout the Empire. After finally expressing his high confidence in their wisdom and patriotism, he concluded by exclaiming, "Show that you are Brazilians! and that you have only in view the general interest of Brazil, the consolidation of the monarchical, constitutional, and representative system, and the splendour of my Imperial throne!"

The reply of the House of Deputies to this

oration, was drawn up by Deputy Martin Francisco de Andrada, who, as well as his two elder brothers, had returned to Rio in 1828, and after a cursory detention in the prisons of the Ilha das Cobras, had received the full pardon of the Emperor. From the feud still subsisting between the Andrada family and Clemente Pereira, the late Minister of the Empire, the reply in question may have received a tincture which would not otherwise have been given to it, yet it was on the whole a sufficiently appropriate exposition of the feelings and opinions of the Deputies. In it they stated their persuasion that the army and the navy required such reforms as would be compatible alike with the geographical situation of the Empire, with the actual state of peace, and, above all, conformable with existing institutions. On the other points alluded to in the speech from the throne, they promised to bestow their attention, and thanked the Emperor particularly “for the dismissal of a *Ministry which had lost the public confidence by continual violations of the Constitution and the law, as well as by the apprehensions which they had excited of the resumption of absolute Government*,—an apprehension, if unfounded, apparently justified by many acts of a Cabinet, under whose administration the Chambers had seen a Session concluded without any law regarding the budget;” a fact qualified (though incorrectly)

as altogether unparalleled in the history of representative monarchies. At the same time the House supplicated from the Emperor, that he would endeavour to suppress the exaggerated factions by which Brazil was agitated, whether tending to anarchy or to despotism, and begged to assure him of their cordial co-operation.

The majority of the newly elected Deputies brought with them from the provinces a strong prejudice against Don Pedro, and they had but little confidence in the new Ministry. It must also be owned that in many instances they were far from being exempt from that very exaggeration which they thought proper to deprecate. On this point they were even more culpable than their predecessors. They were too much in the habit of declaiming at length, and in general terms on every petty trifle submitted to their consideration. Fluent speakers were unfortunately in great preponderance over acute thinkers, and much valuable time was unnecessarily lost. As was observed by Evaristo, who this year took his seat as a Deputy for Minas Geraes, the existence of the Legislative Assembly ought to have evinced itself in acts, rather than in long speeches, which by leading to the procrastination of important affairs, proved of material detriment to the general welfare.

When in 1826 and 1827 the Legislature first met, Brazil found herself so ignorant regarding



her rights and privileges, and the press so materially nullified, that it became in some measure necessary that the House of Deputies should minister to the wants of the people, and that the orators should occasionally expatiate at some length on these topics. Truths were there enunciated to which no one durst have given utterance elsewhere. In 1830, on the contrary, political knowledge had been continually and progressively advancing, the operations of the press were free even to licentiousness, and it became worse than useless for the Deputies to occupy the time of the House with common-places, which a host of periodicals were repeating and re-repeating daily.

The "Orçamento" or Budget, was amongst others a fruitful topic of discussion for all parties. The contest which had been cut short by the premature close of the Chambers in 1829 was again entered upon with redoubled eagerness, and it terminated only in the complete triumph of the opposition. The Marquis de Barbacena in vain strained every nerve for the purpose of obtaining a majority; waiting personally on all the most influential patriot Deputies, and endeavouring to conciliate them by the most flattering language. His efforts were unavailing. He succeeded in diminishing the prejudices entertained against the ministry, but was altogether unable to accomplish his great

object. The marine force were reduced from 7,000 men (the war complement) to 1,500; all the foreign troops, except such as had served during the struggle for the Independence, or had since been mutilated or severely wounded in the service, were disbanded; and it was also decided that the future enlistment of sailors and soldiers should only take place in case of the expiration of engagements. The Marquis de Paranagôa, who had on the formation of Barbacena's ministry been reinstated as Minister of Marine, also in vain exerted the whole of his eloquence in opposition to these sweeping reductions. "Gentlemen," urged the noble Marquis in the heat of discussion. "a large body of men are at once more useful and less dangerous than a smaller force. When few in number they can be more easily corrupted, and allured to overthrow the constitution."

Notwithstanding the undeniable force of this argument, the House persisted in carrying their designs into effect. Altogether, the result of the labours of the Committee entrusted with the supervision of the "Orçamento," was a reduction of 3,760 contos from the amount demanded by the Minister. The entire expenditure authorized by the House amounted to 12,452 contos, and the revenue being estimated at 15,000 contos, a surplus became apparent, which it was pro-

posed to apply to the redemption of a corresponding portion of the paper currency.

The final decision on these matters was, however, incomplete, and the representations of Don Pedro on other points had met with but little attention, when the 3d of September, the day appointed by law for the close of the session, arrived. In his speech on the occasion, the Emperor proceeded to reprove the members, with more appearance of justice than on any former occasion, and stated that as the head of the state, and consequently the individual more interested than any other in the welfare of the Empire, he had resolved on an extraordinary and immediate convocation of the House, with the end that its members might take into consideration the objects indicated in his speech at the opening of the session.

This extraordinary session was opened on the 8th of September, 1830. The principal measures indicated to the Assembly by the Emperor, were the conclusion of the law of the "Orçamento," a prompt and efficacious measure relative to the circulating medium, the organization of a national Bank, and the discussion of a code of penal legislation and criminal procedure. The necessity of these measures, urged the Emperor, was obvious, and the critical circumstances of the State, required them immediately and imperiously.

On the 14th of this same month, intelligence arrived of the unforeseen revolution of the three days of July in Paris. The shock was electric. Many individuals in Rio, Bahia, Pernambuco, and San Paulo, illuminated on the occasion. The hopes of the patriots, and the fears of the Corcundas, were alike excited, and the sensation was instantly communicated throughout the entire Empire, through the instrumentality of the public journals. The number of these publications had been augmented to fifty-three, fifteen of which were published in Rio de Janeiro alone, and out of the entire total, only eleven could be enumerated as the advocates of retrograde principles. At the present crisis, another, entitled "O Republico," made its appearance, preaching openly the principles of republican federation. A subscription was also opened for the purpose of transporting to Europe the Portuguese emigrants, many of whom were buoyed up with the hope, that as a result of the late events in Europe, the cry for a Constitutional Government would again be raised in Portugal.

The public attention was, however, again recalled to affairs of more direct importance, by the dismissal of the Marquis de Barbacena from the Cabinet. A dispute had arisen between Don Pedro and this nobleman, on occasion of the settlement of the enormous sums expended by the

latter during his late mission to London, and a decree, dated the 30th of September, made its appearance in the "Diario Fluminense," stating, "that it being expedient to liquidate, as before, the debt of Portugal contracted by the Treaty of August 29, 1825, and it being necessary for this end, that an examination should take place of the great expenses incurred by the Marquis de Barbacena, both with Her Most faithful Majesty, with the Portuguese emigrants, and especially with the late marriage of the Emperor; and these accounts not admitting of legal verification during the time that the said Marquis held the office of Minister and Secretary of State, the Emperor had thought proper to dismiss him."

Only a few weeks before, the Marquis de Barbacena had declared in the House of Deputies, that the Government of Brazil had interfered in no manner whatever with the affairs of Portugal, and that so far from having forwarded any money either to the emigrants or to Terceira, he had, on the contrary, suspended all the payments to Portugal, and this assertion had been caught up and echoed in all the ministerial journals. The real state of the case was, that the sums alluded to in the Decree, had been paid to Donna Maria, or her agents, and by them again to the Portuguese refugees, so that the Marquis, though guilty of flagrant and ma-

nifest equivocation, had not asserted any direct falsehood. By the terms of the secret convention attached to the Treaty of peace with Portugal, it will be recollected that Brazil was engaged to pay 600,000*l.* sterling as an indemnification to the Portuguese Crown. Of this amount Don João IV. received 250,000*l.* sterling, there yet remaining to be paid to his successor, 350,000*l.* sterling; and from this last amount all the expenses incurred with Donna Maria and the emigrants had been paid. The only charges, therefore, which can be brought against the Government, are, extreme imprudence in making any such payment before the question relative to the Portuguese succession was settled, and secondly, bad faith, in having applied to this object, funds remitted to London for the payment of interest, and part liquidation of the public debt, and this too without announcing the fact to the Legislature.

All the foregoing was, however, an enigma to the Brazilians, and might have remained so much longer, had not the Marquis de Barbacena, irritated beyond measure, by the blundering language of the decree for his dismissal, (a decree which appeared to charge him alike with falsehood and with fraud,) published an exposition of the whole transaction. Along with this document were, also, extracts of some private letters from Don Pedro, certainly never

intended to meet the eyes of any one but the individual to whom they were addressed; and the feud between the Marquis and the Emperor became, in consequence, irreconcilable.

Such was the existing state of affairs, when, in the month of October, 1830, ten thousand stand of arms, amounting in value to more than 500 contos, (nearly 50,000*l.* sterling,) arrived in Rio de Janeiro, for account of the Government. These had been ordered during the ministry of José Clemente Pereira, without any authority whatever from the Chambers, and at a moment of profound peace. Independently of the dissatisfaction caused by this needless expenditure, the long-suspected intention of Pereira's ministry, to substitute the constitutional system by a military despotism, was henceforth regarded as clearly apparent. Fortunately, however, if such were the intention, the season for carrying it into effect was gone by. The public were almost unanimously resolved both on maintaining all their existing privileges, and on checking the unprincipled extravagance of the Administration. "After all our enormous expenditure," inquired the *Aurora*, "what have we left? Old artillery, useless frigates, and a Court, whose tinsel splendour insults the public embarrassment. But reform is inevitable; and not even these ten thousand stand of arms, ordered from Europe, (Heaven knows

with what ends,) are sufficient to maintain the continuation of the abuses which have afflicted Brazil, and against which the voice of the Deputies and liberal writers is to-day vainly raised.”



## CHAPTER XXV.

New penal Code—Its chief features—Rejection of the Projects for a New Bank—Report of Committee on the Circulating Medium—Amendments of the Senate to the law of the “Orçamento”—Characteristic difference of opinion between this Body and the House of Deputies—General Session of the two Chambers, in November, 1830—Speech of the Emperor on its close—Assassination of Badaró—Spirit of corporation existing among the Magistracy—Outcry for Republican federation—Opposition of the Moderate Party—Reflections on the actual position of the Administration—Instance of the exaggeration of the ideas and sentiments of the Public—Calumnies and sarcasms thrown out against the Emperor—Journalism—Real Secret of Don Pedro’s unpopularity—Journey of the Emperor to the province of Minas Geraes.

**DURING** the course of the extraordinary Session, the penal code, recommended by the Emperor to the attention of the Deputies, was passed through both Chambers, and forthwith constituted the law of the land. The original project, which had been in hand ever since 1828, and for which the public were indebted to the Deputy Vasconcellos, had been subsequently submitted to two different Committees, formed for the express purpose of systematizing the code, and annexing all necessary amendments. The ne-

cessity of superseding the old Portuguese Code, the worthy offspring of the barbarity and ignorance of the times in which it was organized, had long been urgent. The new one was necessarily far more lenient in its nature, and the penalty of death was abolished in all, except two cases, viz.—in case of the insurrection of slaves, to the ring-leaders; and in voluntary homicide, under aggravating circumstances.—Political errors were no longer admitted as the pretext for either capital punishment or the galleys. The penalties hitherto decreed in case of abuses of the liberty of communicating thought, whether by words or writing, were diminished; and those formerly attached to concubinage, to licentious habits of life, and other offences of such a nature as were deemed to belong rather to the reform of manners, than the jurisdiction of penal laws, were entirely abrogated.

The section on the responsibility of public officers, though far from perfect, was at least of acknowledged utility, and was indispensable under actual circumstances. In all other cases penalties analogous to the crimes were imposed, and in those of theft, burglary, and maiming, these penalties were judiciously graduated according to the greater or less degree of evil inflicted by the delinquent. All temptation to barbarity in the commission of crime

was thus done away with, whereas under the old legislation, the contrary was the case. The guarantee of Habeas Corpus was admitted into the Code; penalties were imposed on all violating it, and finally, all criminals, though sentenced, were in the cases in which the sentence was revocable, to be permitted to participate in the benefits of the new legislation. With all these advantages the Code must nevertheless be acknowledged to have been in many points defective. As experience has since evinced, its framers paid far too blind a deference to the Codes of other countries under entirely different phases of civilization, and in their respect for certain abstract theories, had but little regard either to the peculiar necessities, circumstances, or localities of Brazil. Many crimes were also imperfectly defined, and the penalties attached to them were often so trifling and disproportionate, that its dispositions may in certain cases be said to have been rather in favour of the criminal, than of society at large.

Regarding the organization of a National Bank, the intimations of the Emperor met with less attention than in the foregoing instance. There were four different schemes proposed, one already offered by Calmon in 1829; another given in by the Marquis de Barbacena, while Minister of Finance; a third more amply developed from Martin Francisco de Andrada, and lastly,

one indicated by two members of the Committee on the circulating medium, and brought forward by the Deputy Ledo. All these various projects were, however, successively rejected by the Deputies, who were too much discouraged by the misconduct which had taken place in the administration of the late Bank, to be at all anxious for the immediate organization of another.

With regard to the circulating medium; the different projects presented for its amelioration were referred to the Committee alluded to in the foregoing paragraph. In their report, which was subsequently published, they frankly stated, that "while they by no means regarded the existing state of financial affairs as irremediable in the abstract, provided a corresponding sacrifice were made by the nation, and a faithful execution ensured on the part of the Government, yet taking into consideration a recent purchase of fifteen hundred barrels of copper blanks, while there had been such an outcry against any further coinage of this metal, and after the House of Deputies had appointed limits to the revenue and expenditure, and looking also to the late arrival of arms from London in a time of profound peace, to the contract of a further loan of 400,000*l.* sterling for illegal ends, to the retention and engagement of public officers known to be hostile to the Constitu-

tional system, and finally *to the general distrust of the existence of a secret ministry in addition to the ostensible and constitutional one*, they did not venture to propose any measure requiring sacrifices from the nation, *from a fear that the funds provided might be diverted from their real object and turned to the prejudice of the people and their guarantees*. On any such a statement all comment must be superfluous.

The law of the "Orçamento" having in the meantime been passed through the House of Deputies was remitted to the Senate, where however many amendments were annexed to it, and amongst others, one whereby the land forces were augmented by more than 2,000 men, and the marine by more than 1,000.

Being an elected body not chosen from any privileged caste, but from among the sons of proprietors and tradesmen, it might have been concluded that the members of the Senate would have been animated by a spirit similar to that of the Deputies. It was nevertheless a fact which even the Senators could not controvert, that they had, on the contrary, appeared on repeated occasions, as the sustainers alike of the vices of the old Government, of the abuses hitherto noted in the new one, and of the interests opposed to the prosperity of the nation and to the dictates of the Constitution. By the patriots this phenomenon was attributed to the epoch in

which the Senators were chosen, to the elements of which their chamber was in consequence composed, and principally to the appointment of its members for life. "It was evident," they contended, "to every one, that while Brazil had been continually making progress from 1824 until the present period, the Senate, which was for the most part composed of sexagenarians, whose habits of thought were fixed, had remained perfectly stationary. It was thus possible," urged they, "that in 1824 this body might have represented Brazil, but that at the actual period it represented only the old prejudices which were daily losing their force and influence throughout the entire National Association."

Under various pretexts the Article of the Constitution ordaining the union of the two chambers in case that either should reject the *amendments* of the other, had hitherto been evaded, and it lay not within the attributes of the House of Deputies to enforce its execution, since the Senate could on any other question than the "Orçamento" obviate the necessity for its observance, by throwing out the objectionable bill altogether. Various doubts had even been expressed by members of the Senate relative to the genuine signification of the Article, and it appeared somewhat problematical whether they would at length accede or not to

the union, on behalf of the amendments added to the law of the "Orçamento."

A deputation was, however, sent by the House of Deputies to the Senate, on the 9th of November, for the purpose of requiring the union in question, and on their making known the object of their appearance, they were told that the Senate would immediately treat of the object of their requisition. On returning, the deputation were greeted with acclamations, the horses were taken from their carriages, and they were dragged back in triumph by the populace. The Senate meanwhile declared themselves in secret session, and a debate ensued of four days' continuance, during which period they received a message from the Emperor, praying them to accede to the manifest determination of the Deputies. This they finally agreed to do, and the required union accordingly took place on the 17th of the same month in the Senate House. The spirit of the Senate was however broken. Many of their number absented themselves from the general session, and of those who remained, but few thought proper to sustain their previous amendments. The Viscount de Cayrú was the only one among them who defended his previous opinions with eloquence and boldness. Nearly all the amendments proposed, in consequence fell. During the general session, which lasted only four days,

an immense concourse of people gathered round the edifice, giving "Vivas" in favour of the patriot Deputies, and even insulting many of the Senators as they retired from the House.

On the 3d of November the Emperor terminated the Session. He thanked the members of each House, separately, for the faithful execution of the article relative to their union, and the General Assembly for the completion of a great part of their labours. The penal Code, the law of the "Orçamento," and the law fixing the number of the land and marine forces, were, he stated, full and unequivocal proofs of their interest in behalf of the nation which they represented. He, nevertheless, expressed his regret that, during the entire period of the ordinary and extraordinary sessions, no opportunity had been found for the amelioration of the state of the circulating medium, and again expressed a hope, that during the future ordinary session, the Assembly would treat of this important, urgent, and vital matter, on which were alike dependent, the well-being of his faithful subjects, the consolidation of the monarchico-constitutional system, and the glory of the national Assembly.

"How different," exclaimed the patriot journals, "from the laconic and insulting speech which the unworthy counsellors of the throne dictated in 1829!" The contrast was certainly



striking, but unfortunately this modification of language and sentiment, had only been adopted when too late.

During the rejoicings in the city of San Paulo, on account of the late revolution in France, a large concourse of people, headed by the students of the lately instituted University, had walked the streets in procession. This proceeding proved highly displeasing to the Ouvidor, who, under pretext of its being a tumultuous assemblage, called a number of the young men engaged in it before the tribunals. The cause of the individuals arrested was in the meantime advocated in the "Observador Constitucional," a periodical edited by one Badaró, an Italian exile. Badaró was a physician, who, having been compelled to quit his native country, from political motives, had sought refuge in Brazil, where he dedicated his leisure hours in part to the study of natural history, and in part to the management of the before-mentioned journal. Some little scientific knowledge and enthusiastic ardour for political freedom, animated this publication, which was possessed of much real merit, notwithstanding such defects of language as might easily be pardoned in a foreigner. On the night of the 20th of November, four Germans awaited him at the door of his dwelling, and on his return home, approached him and told him, that they had a correspondence against

the Ouvidor, which they hoped he would insert in his paper. He replied, that it might be done, but requested them to return on the following day, whereon one of them discharged a pistol into the bowels of the unfortunate man. On receiving the wound, he cried out, that it was the Ouvidor himself who had caused his assassination, and the moment after fell down insensible. Some students in the meantime came to his assistance, and subsequently procured a surgeon. On the following morning, an immense crowd of people, including all the medical men in the city, came to visit him, when it was discovered that the wound was mortal. The dying man received the intelligence with calmness, and requested his friends partaking the same political opinions with himself, to abstain from all thoughts of revenge. His last words, “Morre hum liberal, mas naõ morre a liberdade,”—(“A liberal dies, but liberty dies not,”) were inscribed on his coffin. The Ouvidor accused was subsequently arrested, and sent for trial to Rio de Janeiro, where, however, from a want of evidence, he was absolved by the sentence of a Court of Justice, composed of his fellow Magistrates.

No allegation can, in consequence, be brought against him; yet it was not, by any means, an easy task to persuade the ultra-patriots of his innocence. Indeed, the spirit of cor-

poration, and the undisguised corruption of the bulk of the magistracy, were so notorious, that the prejudice existing against them, can excite but little surprise. Fortified with the independence guaranteed by the Constitution to the judicial power, and bound together by a species of mute but formidable masonry, the members of this body were alike insensible to censure or to sarcasm. The Government, instead of giving a preference in its choice to such as were distinguished by their honourable character and attainments, had, in too many instances, looked only to the political opinion of each. The best courtiers, and consequently the worst magistrates, were appointed to the most lucrative offices, and all attacking the corporation were pointed out as anarchists and demagogues. There were some honourable exceptions to this censure, principally among the young men, yet it was only too obvious, that while the adoption of the Constitutional system had in every other department of the administration been attended with benefit, here it had, on the contrary, been productive rather of prejudice.

The sympathy of all the patriot journalists was forcibly excited by the death of Badaró. Their spirit of corporation was also alarmed, and the result was a counter-action manifesting itself in corresponding violence of language.

Henceforward the Exaltado or ultra-patriot party knew no bounds. Another journal, the "Luz Brasileira," began, like the "Republico," to preach the doctrine of federation, as the only system at all appropriate to the actual circumstances of Brazil, and to assert, that the existing fundamental code had served only as a cloak to traitors and absolutists. The Editor of the "Republico," a young man of the name of Borges de Fonseca, was at length summoned before the jury, for having held this unconstitutional language, but was acquitted by a unanimity of voices, and both his own style, and that of his colleagues, was ere long more virulent than ever. Unable to content themselves by attacking what was said in the Constitution, relative to the unity of the Empire, there were various other articles, which, according to their theories, ought to be immediately amended. One was the suspensory veto of the Emperor, the abolition of which they required; another, the right of property, to which they requested certain restrictions, somewhat at variance with the economical ideas at present admitted; and, finally, one journal denominated, "O Tribuno," declared it indispensable to do away with hereditary monarchy altogether, and to substitute an elective government.

It need hardly be remarked, that the moderate party, at the head of which was the "Aurora,"

were far from partaking these exaggerated sentiments. While acknowledging many of the advantages of federation in the abstract, they were yet aware that it could be effected only by a revolution, and they were apprehensive lest this revolution might terminate in an entire social disorganization. The heterogeneous nature of castes, imperfectly amalgamated, the vague enthusiasm for ideas, ill understood, and the rivalry of the respective provinces, were all as many causes of alarm, and they were moreover aware, that the present clamours for federative Government, far from having had their origin in the provinces most likely to be benefited by the system, had been excited only by a number of officious theorists, resident in the centre and capital of the Empire. "The provinces," observed Evaristo, in his journal, "ought to know their interests better than these residents in the metropolis, who really render us distrustful of the soundness of their reason when they propose a change of this importance in the midst of abuse, insults, and threats. Every one differing from them in opinion, though he may have given frequent proofs of his attachment to his country, is an imbecile, a traitor, an egotist; in a word, a *Unitarian*,—a mysterious epithet found out two months ago, and applied to all disposed to maintain the existing order of things.

"It is not criminal to propose alterations in

the Constitution.” “ Human institutions are not eternal. In proportion as the ideas, habits, and interests of a people change, their laws, and their social and political organization ought also to be modified, and our Constitution has pointed out the means for obtaining this result in fit time. . . . . Neither the best desires nor the warmest patriotism are, however, sufficient to qualify us for this task. Experience, a profound knowledge of our social state, and of the necessities of the population, are indispensable, and the times of enthusiasm and reciprocal suspicion are the least fit for political changes. Where oppressive laws bind down a community, and the dissemination of knowledge is prohibited, all efforts may be rational, and every imprudence permitted ; but where there is a Representation of the nation, an especial Representation of the provinces, a free press, and a guarantee for the citizen, why hurry on that which must come tranquilly and without violence, in case it be really required ? Why seek to operate a change (which, after all, may be frustrated by acceleration) among perils and amid the frenzy of parties, when time and the extension of political wisdom, must alone suffice to produce the same results ?”

The moderate party were, in fact, more anxious to render the Constitution a reality, than to go on in the pursuit of other systems ;

yet the manner in which elements were at the present moment disposed for a revolution threatened to render much longer continuance of neutrality impossible.

An inevitable necessity of the representative system is, that under it, it is impossible to govern without the majority. The Ministry can make no way, nor do any thing of importance, without the co-operation of the Chambers, and more especially of the one directly elected, which being more adherent to the mass of the population, reconstructed at periodical epochs, and, therefore, progressive like public opinion, is the one which represents best the interests of the civil association and its necessities. In England, where, at this period, many members of Parliament were nominated by the Peerage, and, in France, under the Bourbons, where the double vote of the grand Colleges, and the small number of electoral capacities, maintained a factitious representation of the country, it became possible for a Ministry to have a majority in the House, without having it in the nation. But in Brazil, where the base of the elective system was more ample, and where nearly all the free population were entitled to the privilege of voting, this was impossible. The Ministry were, in consequence of their anti-national policy, ever in the minority ; the body denounced as republicans ever led the Government, and

from it emanated all the secondary laws on which Brazil could as yet congratulate herself. It may be said, in the fullest sense of the words, that the opposition were the Government. But what inconvenience, and what embarrassments, were the results of this false position, must be evident. The law-makers had naturally constructed the various codes developing the Constitution, with a view to their own peculiar position, and by means of the increased privileges conceded to the municipalities and to the elected Justices of Peace, the members of the central administration and the Presidents of the provinces alike found themselves hemmed in by insuperable barriers. Both the municipalities and the Justices of Peace were, from the circumstances of their election, the result or expression of a party. Where this party was in the interest of the Government, all was well, though the administration were ever under the necessity of treating these authorities with a delicacy and attention, without which no individual could be expected to retain an unpaid office. Where, however, the opposite party were the strongest, the authority of the Government became little more than nominal. Its members might issue edicts, but they could not ensure obedience. Under their own eyes, in the metropolis, they were still enabled to obtain at least the semblance of respect, but at a dis-



tance, in the provinces, the Presidents had less weight, since, ere certain acts of their administration could be executed, it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the Provincial Councils, and these Provincial Councils were, like the municipalities, elected bodies, often influenced in a similar manner by considerations of party.

In some of the articles of the criminal code, the same spirit, on the part of its framers, was abundantly evinced. By the disposition of Article 110, the qualification of the crime of rebellion, was rendered dependent on the assemblage of upwards of twenty thousand individuals, a clause rendering the punishment imposed on the offence altogether illusory. Either Don Pedro ought to have employed his own partizans in the organization of these secondary laws, or if it was his intention to maintain his own authority, he ought at least to have refused his signature to the foregoing, unless the obnoxious clauses were withdrawn. His Counsellors must either have been culpably imprudent or amazingly deficient in penetration. Ministers were ever placed under the necessity of executing laws enacted in opposition to their own ideas and sentiments; ill-will between the Cabinet and the Legislature succeeded, and, shortly after, between the Cabinet and the people. Hence, apparently, the existing state of affairs,—a Government regarded with aver-

sion,—its Delegates in the provinces unpopular, —an irritability in the public mind, and an exaggeration in the ideas and sentiments of the populace.

Of these two last traits, a remarkable exemplification may be given. At an early period in the year 1830, two naval officers in the French service, were, while on a sporting expedition in the neighbourhood of Rio, found trespassing on the estate of an individual of the name of França, who not only deprived them of their fowling-pieces, but subjected them to other ignominious treatment at the hands of his negroes. The consequence was, that nearly all the comrades of the officers insulted made common cause with them, and on the following morning they landed in considerable force, near the spot where the outrage had occurred, seized França himself, conveyed him to one of their boats, and, after tying him down, there subjected him to a severe castigation.

This circumstance, which might, at a period of perfect tranquillity, have met with but little attention, was, like the mal-treatment of Pamp-lona on a former occasion, magnified into an insult to the people; the Government were stigmatised as having, by their anti-national policy, encouraged foreigners thus to insult and maltreat the Brazilians; and to such an extent was the prejudice carried, that no Frenchman could

walk the streets in an evening with safety. For months all the French coffee-houses were deserted,—the business usually carried on in the shops belonging to individuals of the same nation, was suspended, and even the *Danseuses* at the Imperial Opera House were, on repeated occasions, absolutely hissed off the stage. The native Portuguese, in whose hands the chief part of the retail trade in Rio is concentrated, favoured, rather than otherwise, this prejudice against the French, as they found it advantageous to their own private interests; nor was it until accounts afterwards arrived of the revolution whereby the Bourbons were overthrown, that commerce returned into its natural channels.

The Exaltado patriots, in the meantime, began to turn their hostilities from the administration to the Monarch. In their journals, and more especially in “The Republico,” calumnies and sarcasms were alike employed against him, and were swallowed in the provinces with all the blind credulity characteristic of a simple and half-instructed people. In such discredit had not only the administration, but also the head of the executive power, fallen, that the honorary insignia conceded by the Emperor were, even by the moderate party, regarded rather as a matter of reproach, than as an enviable distinction. By the Corcundas, these pheno-

mena were attributed chiefly to the seditious efforts of the journals of the opposition, but with little apparent plausibility. The journals of the opposition were at this period well received, because they went in accord with the almost unanimous sentiments of the people, yet, with one or two exceptions, they restricted their censures to the administration, and never even named the Monarch.

If the plain truth must be spoken, neither the progress of intelligence, nor the seditious efforts of the Journalists, nor the extravagance of the Administration, nor the irregularities of the private life of Don Pedro, were the main cause of his own personal unpopularity throughout the entire Empire. For this there was another cause, apart also from the mal-administration of the Cabinet; a cause never openly alluded to, yet universally felt, and this was in his never having known how to become the MAN OF HIS PEOPLE,—in his never having constituted himself entirely and truly a Brazilian. He was often heard to express his conviction, that the only true strength of a Government lay in public opinion; yet, unfortunately, he never knew how to conciliate the public opinion of the people over whom it was his destiny to reign. At the period of the Independence, he had, when excited by enthusiasm, given utterance to sentiments calculated to

flatter the nascent spirit of nationality, and his sincerity had been credited ; yet his subsequent employment of a foreign force, the terms on which he effected the Treaty of August, 1825, his continued interference in the affairs of Portugal, his institution of a Secret Cabinet, and his appointment of naturalized Portuguese to the highest offices of the State, to the supposed exclusion of the natives of the soil, had, among a jealous people, given rise to a universal impression that the Monarch himself was still a Portuguese at heart. The native Brazilians believed that they were beheld with suspicion, and that the Government looked principally for support to a party which they regarded as a foreign one. This struck directly at self-love, a very fastidious judge, and no nation ever pardoned such offences. This was what originally lost the Government of Don Pedro, what first caused its policy to be regarded as anti-national, and what took from it all moral force, reducing it to the state of a passive spectator of all the insults daily directed against it by its opponents.

In the province of Minas Geraes, one of the most important and populous in the Empire, the public discontent had augmented even more materially than in Rio de Janeiro, and the Emperor finally determined on a journey thither, with the double motive of checking, by his pre-

sence, the spreading outcry for federation, and also of obtaining the re-election of Maia, a deputy whom he had elevated, to the post of Minister of the Empire. The Ministry was at this crisis composed of the Marquis de Paranagôa as Minister of Marine, the Count de Rio Pardo as Minister of War, the Viscount de Alcantara as Minister of Justice, Maia Minister of the Empire, Francisco Carneiro de Campos of Foreign Affairs, and Hollanda Cavalcanti as Minister of Finance. An individual of the name of Lisboa had succeeded the Marquis de Barbacena in this last department; but he was found so utterly incompetent to the duties of the office, that the Emperor was compelled to substitute him immediately, by Hollanda Cavalcanti. Of the foregoing number, only Carneiro de Campos and Cavalcanti bore the reputation of patriots.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Unfavourable reception of the Emperor in the province of Minas—  
 Proclamation issued in Ouro Preto—Its analysis, and the effect  
 produced by it—Despondency of Don Pedro—His increasing  
 unpopularity—Rejoicings in Rio, on occasion of his return—  
 Collision between the Exaltado party and the Portuguese residents—  
 Its effect—Entry of Don Pedro into Rio—Pseudo-patriotism—  
 Revolutionary Associations—The Lima Family—Disaffection in  
 the Army, fomented by the Patriots—Representation addressed to  
 the Emperor—Appointment of a new Ministry—Characters and  
 aim of the Leaders of the Revolutionary party—Don Pedro appears  
 unexpectedly among the Patriots—His reception—The plans for a  
 Revolution continue—On the 6th of April, 1831, the Emperor,  
 reduced to desperation, dismisses his Ministry—Members of the  
 new Cabinet—State of the Army—Tumultuous assemblage in the  
 Campo—Proclamation of the new Ministry—Requisition for the  
 re-instatement of the Ministry just dismissed—Refusal of the  
 Emperor—The Troops revolt, and the Populace take up arms—  
 The Emperor sends to ask for the co-operation of Vergueiro, in the  
 formation of a new Cabinet—Calmness of the Emperor in these  
 reverses—Being finally abandoned by all his troops, he signs the  
 decree of his Abdication on the 7th of April, 1831, and appoints  
 José Bonifacio de Andrada as the Guardian to his children—  
 Appointment of a provisory Regency—Subsequent Proclamation  
 of the 8th of April—Aspect of the Revolution—Analysis of the  
 policy, administration, and character of Don Pedro.

**DON PEDRO**, the Empress, the Minister Maia,  
 and a numerous suite, left Rio on the 30th of  
 December, 1830, for Ouro Preto, the capital of

Minas Geraes. The Emperor had hoped that the enthusiasm which his presence would cause in this province, and the co-operation of its inhabitants might enable him even yet to subjugate the patriot party; but in this respect he was in error. In the towns and villages, where every knee had been bent as he passed through in 1822, and where, a few years ago, his name had never been uttered without an obeisance, funeral obsequies, in honour of the murdered Badaró, were celebrated under the very eyes of the Imperial suite. On several occasions, the municipal authorities presented complimentary addresses; but these were far too pompous and elaborate in their phraseology to be thought sincere. Even if the Emperor could, for one moment, have believed them to be such, the result of the elections must have undeceived him; all the efforts made to obtain the re-appointment of Maia, as a deputy, proving utterly abortive.

Don Pedro, nevertheless, persisted in setting the patriots at defiance. The individuals whom he received with most urbanity, were such as had become unpopular, from the known illiberality of their principles; the only counsels to which he lent a willing ear, were those emanating from the same party; and, finally, on the 22d of February, 1831, he issued in Ouro Preto the following Proclamation, indicating at



once a full conviction of the dangers of his position, yet manifesting, at the same time, an inflexible determination not to accede to any important modifications of system, even though legally and constitutionally required.

“Inhabitants of Minas.

“This is the second time that I have had the pleasure to find myself amongst you ; this is the second time that the love which I consecrate to Brazil has conducted me hither.

“Inhabitants of Minas,—I will not address you alone, for the interest is general ; I speak, therefore, to all Brazilians. There exists a disorganizing party, who, availing themselves of the purely peculiar circumstances of France, strive to illude you with invectives against my inviolable and sacred person, and against the Government, for the purpose of enacting in Brazil scenes of horror and misery that may enable them to arrive at power, and to satiate their vengeance and their egotistical passions at the expence of their country.

“They write without restraint, and excite the people to federation, thinking to screen themselves with Article 174 of the Fundamental Code, an article which permits of no change in the essential part of the said law.

“Can there be a more direct attack on the constitution which we have sworn to defend and

to sustain, than thus to propose altering it in its essence? Will not this be a manifest attack on the solemn oath which we have made to it before the altar? Dear Brazilians! I speak to you now not as your Emperor, but as your cordial friend. Do not be illuded by pernicious and seductive doctrines. They can only concur to your ruin, and to that of Brazil, and never to the general felicity. Aid me then to sustain the Constitution such as it exists, and such as we have sworn to it. I shall rely on you, and I hope that you will also rely on me.

“Imperial City of Ouro Preto, 22d February 1831.”

In reprobating the excesses of the press, the Emperor was certainly justified, yet that the circumstances which had led to a revolution in France, were far from being altogether peculiar to that country, appears erroneous. The assertion also that Article 174 of the Fundamental Code could not screen the agitators of the federation, *since this article did not permit of any alteration in the essential part of the same law*, was equally incorrect. It was for the reform of the essential articles of the Constitution that Article 174 had apparently been provided, since by virtue of another article (No. 178) all such dispositions as had no immediate relation to the limits and attributes of the political powers, and the poli-

tical and individual rights of citizens, might be altered without any of the formalities indicated as necessary for the reform of the Constitution.

The Fundamental Code, in other respects Unitarian, had already admitted the federal element into its bosom, in giving General Councils to the provinces and elective Chambers to the Municipalities. It was discussed whether this element ought to be more amply developed, and a more numerous class both among the *Corcunda* and the moderate party were of opinion that any such development would be inexpedient, yet it could not on this account be deduced that the individuals proposing the change were acting illegally.

Far from producing the effect intended, the proclamation contributed to aggravate *the ill-will already existing towards the Emperor, not only in Minas, but in all the other provinces*. In Rio de Janeiro especially, the principles avowed caused the document to be regarded as an open declaration of war. Violent measures were, it was apprehended, on the point of being carried into execution against the reformers, and the consequence was that Evaristo, and many others who had hitherto opposed further changes as imprudent, being actuated either by anger, or by a wish to avoid injuring themselves in the public estimation, became all at once silent as to the inexpediency of change, and thus ap-

peared to make common cause with their former opponents.

Don Pedro meanwhile directed his course to Rio de Janeiro, disappointed, disgusted, and sick at heart. The demonstrations of coldness and disrespect with which he was every where met, had, in conjunction with the unfortunate success of his proclamation, completely undeceived him, and he several times during his journey down, spoke of an intention to abdicate in favour of his son, and to retire for ever from Brazil.

His unpopularity was in fact daily increasing. The calumnies of the Exaltado journals, however absurd in their nature, were believed in the provinces; the "Republico" never spoke of him except by the title of "Our *very dear* Emperor," obviously alluding by the word *dear* to the exorbitance of the civil list, and at the same time giving all the petty details of the journey to Minas, in such a manner as to render the Emperor ridiculous. On the other hand, the ministerial papers were written without talent, and had but few readers. It was sufficient that an individual accepted any office under Government, for him to become unpopular. In Bahia and in Pernambuco the same spirit prevailed. In the latter city the club of Columns was suppressed, and in San Paulo, after the death of Badaró, the students adopted and

began to preach the theories of the Exaltado party. The most indifferent acts of the Emperor were distorted to his prejudice, and all the failings of his private life brought before the public, often by individuals to whom he had been a benefactor, but who perceiving that his star was on the wane, had the baseness thus to contribute to his overthrow.

He was in general regarded as being devoted principally to the interests and hostile passions of the Portuguese. This idea had penetrated all the lower ranks of the free population, consisting principally of people of colour, and as it has been before stated, had been the original cause whereby he lost the esteem and the affection of the Brazilians. At the same time it had naturally tended to endear him to many of the Portuguese, and adopted Brazilians, who on the occasion of his return to San Christovão, on the 11th of March, illuminated their houses, kindled bonfires, collocated bands of music in the streets, and adopted all the customary symbols of rejoicing. It is nevertheless worthy of note, that these demonstrations were not altogether spontaneous. The proposal for the festivities and a subsequent subscription towards the expense had their origin solely with a circle of parasites and private friends of Don Pedro, who were anxious to remove his despondency, and to convince him that the sympathies of the inhabi-

tants of the metropolis were still with the Government. By, however, one of those singular dispensations which from time to time appeared to baffle the shrewdest calculations of human prudence, and yet which, when regarded as part of a more extended sphere, will be found as so many demonstrations of the utter folly of attempting to make head against the obvious progress of events, these very festivities which had for their chief object to cheer and to re-assure the Monarch, became throughout Brazil the immediate signal for his overthrow.

A number of young men belonging to the Exaltado party, in conjunction with a number of military officers (for the general disaffection had communicated itself even to the army), sallied out into the streets, giving *vivas* to the Constitution, to the General Assembly, to the Emperor while constitutional, &c. Similar scenes occurred on the two following nights, yet no material infractions of order took place. On, however, the night of the 13th, which was expected to be the last of the rejoicings, the Exaltados had the imprudence to extinguish several bonfires, a proceeding which was resented on the part of the Portuguese by a shower of missiles. A struggle hereon commenced, in which the Brazilians, who were unprepared for attack, were routed, and many of their number severely wounded. The field was

thus left clear to the Portuguese, who, armed with bludgeons and missiles, paraded the streets for some hours in triumph, and surrounded the dwelling of the editor of the *Aurora*, who had refused to illuminate, crying "Death to the Republican Deputies!" "Death to those who have not illuminated!" "Death to the Editor of the *Republico*!" and giving *vivas* to the Emperor, and to all good Portuguese, while the patrol in the vicinity abstained from all interference. Evaristo had been repeatedly urged to illuminate, but he had remained firm in his refusal, and in the present agitation of the public spirit, this circumstance and the insults addressed to him by the Portuguese gave him a popularity far exceeding all that he had hitherto reaped in reward for previous services.

All the ancient odium and rivalry against the Portuguese meanwhile revived. The offence to the nationality, and consequently to the self-love of every Brazilian, united, as though by miracle, individuals of every variety of political creed. Each felt himself insulted, and they joined together in crying, that it was necessary that the insolence of the foreigners should be suppressed.

Don Pedro was not, however, as yet directly compromised, for he had remained at his habitual residence at San Christovão, during the entire progress of the foregoing events, and he

did not make his public entry into the city until the 17th of March. On this day he made his appearance with considerable pomp, but preceded by a band of low Portuguese, who voluntarily constituted themselves a part of the procession, and thus not only managed to throw upon the Monarch a considerable share of the odium which they had incurred, but by their officious maltreatment of a young Brazilian, who gave a "*Viva* to the Emperor whilst constitutional," they succeeded in irritating, still further, the Exaltados.

Doubtless, among these latter, there was much pseudo-patriotism, as was in some measure evinced by an incident which took place shortly after. The Brazilians of all classes, at the instance of Evaristo, again adopted the national cockade, not worn for many years, as a distinctive badge. In any of the old States of Europe, this distinction might possibly have been with justice regarded as puerile, yet, in Brazil, where the spirit of nationality was of more recent growth, and where all the associations connected with it were much stronger, the effect was powerful.

The Portuguese faction, compromised in the disturbance of the 13th of March, instantaneously found themselves encompassed by a hostile force, the members of which were innumerable, and their consternation, on making



the discovery, was such as to induce the majority to abstain henceforward from all interference whatever. It so happened, however, that the Exaltados, in the exuberance of their patriotic warmth, had adopted a different formation of the cockade, with the end of designating themselves as federalists. This innovation proved even more offensive to the Portuguese party, than the one recommended by Evaristo, and as the federalists were comparatively few in number, some resistance was made to its adoption. A young man, a student, wearing it, was violently assaulted, and had it torn from his hat, a circumstance which was alone sufficient to induce a number of those who had been amongst the most prominent and noisy in their declamations in favour of other systems of government, to drop the cockade altogether. Whatever may have been the sincerity of their conviction, it certainly cannot, in the majority of instances, be said to have been based on any superabundance of either moral or physical courage.

The cause of the revolution had, however, by this time, other and more energetic advocates. Upwards of twenty Deputies, including in their number all the liberal party at this period in the metropolis, and one Senator (Vergueiro), assembled in the house of Jozé Custodio Dias (a priest, and also a Deputy for the province of

Minas), for the purpose of taking into consideration the existing state of affairs. Here it was proposed, that the patriots should at once take up arms, and, with the co-operation of the officers of artillery, who were already regarded as having been won over to the popular cause, declare for the revolution. This was, however, over-ruled, but the meeting decided on addressing to the Government, such an energetic and threatening proclamation, relative to the affair of the 13th of March, as might either ensure the instant formation of a patriot cabinet, or otherwise tend to prepare the public mind of the provinces for the intelligence of that revolution, which it was their fixed determination to attempt, in case other means were found unavailing.

In addition to the officers of the artillery, the conspirators also counted on the co-operation of the Lima family, consisting of three brothers, at this period holding the most important posts in the army. Francisco de Lima, the commander-in-chief, and the eldest brother, was the officer who had been sent against Manoel Carvalho, in 1824. He had formerly been devoted to the interests of Don Pedro, but being of irresolute character, and discontented from the circumstance of his having for a short space of time been deprived of his command, he was easily drawn into the cause of the revolution

through the influence of his family. Jozé Joaquim de Lima, the second brother, had, it will be recollected, commanded the force despatched to Bahia, in 1822. Since then he had been made aid-de-camp to the Emperor, but being of a jealous disposition, he was irritated and dissatisfied from the preference with which he deemed that the Emperor treated the Portuguese. Manoel de Lima, the commander of the battalion of the Emperor, and the youngest brother, a young man of little talent, yet with considerable firmness of character, had for a long time made common cause with the patriots.

It appears impossible that the Emperor could have been ignorant of the disposition of the Lima family, yet, with a singular want of judgment, he neither took care to obviate the causes of their dissatisfaction, nor yet dismissed them entirely. With that temporising policy which he had manifested in many previous instances, he allowed the evil to go on augmenting, nor was it until the time for remedy was past, that he became fully aware of his error. The conspirators had thus a facility for the accomplishment of their plans, which has seldom been paralleled. Incendiary publications were, by their subordinate agents, distributed among the common soldiers, who, being for the most part, men of colour, entertaining

strong prejudices against the Portuguese, were not at all difficult of seduction, more especially as a number of their officers had been arrested for having co-operated with the Exaltados in the affray of the 13th of March.

The representation to the Government, which was drawn up by Evaristo, was in the meantime published, with the signatures of twenty-three Deputies and one Senator. In it a reparation was required from the Government for the affront of late sustained, and punishment invoked, as well on the authorities, who, through connivance or indifference, had abstained from interference, as on the persons of the delinquents comprised in the assault. "Sire," continued the representation, which was addressed directly to the throne, "these seditious individuals, under the shelter of the august name of your Imperial and Constitutional Majesty, continue to execute their nefarious plans; insults increase, the nationality suffers, and no people tolerates without resistance, that foreigners impose on them in their own country, an ignominious yoke. Of foreigners, who pique themselves on being some of them vassals of Don Miguel, and others, subjects of Donna Maria, were composed in great part those groups, who, on the nights of the 13th and 14th instant, insulted and assaulted our fellow-countrymen under the pretext that they were federalists; on account of a

political question, the decision of which appertains solely to the Legislative power, and not to the insensate and sanguinary fury of uneducated individuals, whose minds have been alienated by perfidious suggestions. The Brazilians then offended, the Brazilians even now threatened with partial and unjust imprisonment, are still justly and highly indignant, and it is impossible to calculate the results of this indignation, unless the Government in future repress all such disorders, and take means that instant reparation be made for the late affront to the nation. Confiding in the wisdom and patriotism of your Imperial and Constitutional Majesty, the undersigned hope that this may be done, in despite of the traitors who may surround the throne, but who cannot suffocate the clamours which arise from hearts that are lacerated, yet which are patriotic and just. Circumstances are urgent, and the slightest delay may be fatal. The confidence which ought to be reposed in the Government is almost lost, and if perchance the misdeeds pointed out remain unpunished, it will be equivalent to a declaration to the Brazilian people, that it is for themselves to avenge the stain which has been cast alike on their character and their honour.

“This language, Sire, is frank and loyal, and the undersigned hope that your Imperial and Constitutional Majesty may listen to it under

the persuasion that flatterers are not those who protect empires, but those only who have sufficient strength of mind to speak the truth, however disagreeable it may be to the hearer. Public tranquillity, the state, and the throne are alike threatened, unless the representation, which the undersigned respectfully address to your Imperial and Constitutional Majesty, be attended to, and their requisitions fulfilled."

The effect which this document, and the intelligence of the circumstances which gave rise to it, had in the provinces, was electric. In Minas and San Paulo, political associations were immediately installed, arms were purchased by the patriots, and preparations were made for either aggression or defence. In Bahia an open revolt took place, and in many other points of the Empire an equally discontented spirit was manifested.

In Rio de Janeiro it also gave cause to an immediate change of Ministry. On the 20th of March, Don Pedro dismissed all the members of the Cabinet, with the exception of Carneiro de Campos and Hollanda Cavalcanti, yet, instead of calling around him characters possessed of influence in the Chambers, he made choice of four individuals, neither popular nor possessed of the esteem of any party. They were Brazilians by birth, but, in one or two instances, stigmatised on account of their previous con-

duct, and altogether unfit for a time of crisis. Striving only to escape the animadversions of the discontented, one of their first acts was to liberate the Brazilian Officers, who had been arrested on account of their participation in the disturbance of the 13th of March. A note was also despatched by Carneiro de Campos, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Count de Sabugal, the Portuguese Minister Plenipotentiary of Donna Maria II., requiring the latter to prevent, by all the means in his power, any future excesses on the part of the Portuguese, or the Government of Brazil would, he stated, certainly have recourse to such measures as circumstances might render necessary. With these measures they however contented themselves. Not a single step did they take, either to restrain or to turn aside the revolution already in progress.

The leaders of the popular party in the meantime, finding, as they had indeed anticipated, that their representation had failed in producing any radical change of system, proceeded, day by day, in the organization of their plans. The Senator Vergueiro, who, though a Portuguese by birth, was yet possessed of the full confidence of the people, was the leader around whom all the conspirators rallied. Ever passionless and unruffled, tranquil in his manners, and yet bold and democratic in his ideas, advocating, with the coldness of a fatalist, theories and pro-

jects calculated to startle even the most enthusiastic; he was well qualified alike to fix the timid and the wavering, and to awe and overrule the ardent and the indiscreet. Next in importance was Evaristo, decidedly the most talented writer, and one of the most promising orators in Brazil. Up to the 13th of March, he had been steadfastly opposed to any attempts at revolution; but the insults which he then received, and his subsequent conviction, that the shock had at length become inevitable, had placed him in the files of the conspirators. Odorico Mendes, a young man of enthusiastic character, honourable principles, and sincere attachment to the cause of constitutional liberty, was also one of their number, and was appointed to treat with the officers of the army, who, countenanced by the example of Manoel de Lima, were easily brought over. The Marquis de Barbacena, whose open enmity to Don Pedro has already been alluded to, would also, it was expected by the conspirators, have allied himself to their party, and he was, in fact, explicitly invited to join them. He, however, stated, in his reply, that he could take no part in the Revolution, but that he regarded it as a necessity, and that *he knew* that Don Pedro might be easily induced to abdicate. Vasconcellos Feijó, and the other prominent political characters, were at this



period in the provinces, and took no part in the Revolution, further than by the impulse which their known opinions and influence gave to the public mind.

In this state of menacing indecision fluctuated the affairs of Brazil until the 25th March.

On this day, the anniversary of that on which oath was made to the Constitution, the patriots caused a solemn *Te Deum* to be celebrated in the Church of San Francisco de Paulo, where the Emperor suddenly made his appearance, though neither expected nor invited. On his arrival he was greeted with *vivas*, "while constitutional," and with some few cries of "Viva Don Pedro II." "I am, and have ever been, constitutional," was his quick reply to the first cry, and to the second, alluding to his son, "He is but a child yet:" yet these were given with such an appearance of perturbation and disquietude, that he scarcely appeared to be conscious of what he was saying.

It was, in the meantime, undecided in the club of the conspirators, whether, in case of the overthrow of Don Pedro, they should declare a republic or a constitutional monarchy. Happily, however, for Brazil, this last opinion triumphed, and it was, in consequence, agreed to suspend operations until the opening of the Chambers, which had been convoked extraordinarily for the month of April, when one of the

Deputies engaged to bring forward a motion declaring Don Pedro disqualified for the future government of Brazil.

This plan, which was necessarily divulged beyond the limits of the club, failed in meeting with the approbation either of the military (men of action) or that of the Exaltados. These latter, since they found themselves supported, had become as heroic as they had on a previous occasion evinced themselves pusillanimous. Not only did they proceed to organize themselves in bodies of a hundred each, but under pretext that the cannon were to be taken away from the regiments of artillery, they went, in conjunction with a crowd of the populace, to the barracks in the "Largo de Moira," (a square near the military arsenal,) and a number of their orators there proceeded to preach the most exaggerated doctrines, to the infinite satisfaction of both the multitude and the regiments of artillery, who were loud in their demonstrations of applause. Several justices of peace were at the same time present, but they were evidently in connivance with the conspirators, since they contented themselves with looking on. The consequence was, that these seditious meetings were often repeated, and the troops altogether secured, without the ministry interposing their authority in any manner whatever.

At length on the morning of the 6th of April,

the Emperor, reduced to desperation by the joint aspect of affairs, and the evident incapacity of his Ministers, dismissed them altogether, and called to his Cabinet six of his titled Aristocracy, the Marquis de Paranagôa, the Viscount de Alcantara, the Marquis de Baependy, the Count de Lages, the Marquis de Inhambupe, and the Marquis de Aracaty, all of whom had at various periods already been in the Ministry, and already earned a considerable share of unpopularity. Along with the intelligence of this, there was also a rumour afloat that there was an order out for the imprisonment of Vergueiro, Evaristo, and some others of the patriot leaders. The Count de Lages, the new Minister of War, was, however, fully aware of the difficulties of his position, and his first step was to send over to the officers of the different corps to inquire whether he could rely on the fidelity of the troops. To this the answer was, that he might on the fidelity of the individuals personally applied to, but that they could not answer for that of their men. They might have replied with more truth, that they were equally unable to answer for themselves. That very army which Don Pedro had raised at such an immense sacrifice, which he had maintained, even to the prejudice of his popularity, and on which he had unfortunately placed more reliance than on the people, was at length fated to betray him, and those

whom he had distinguished by benefits, were not more scrupulous in their disaffection than the rest. The character of one officer, holding a distinguished post in the artillery, an officer whose name will not be mentioned, but who, should this ever come under his eye, cannot fail to recognize his own portrait, was, to the disgrace of the army, that of a very numerous class. This individual owed not only his advancement, but also various honorary insignia to the especial favour of Don Pedro, yet, no sooner did he perceive the authority of his Imperial patron on the decline, than he began to make interest with the patriots, flattered both parties alike, until the 6th of April, when finally, in the last hour, he threw off his former allegiance, affecting, at the same time, a warmth and an exaggeration in behalf of the popular cause, strikingly in contrast with his previous servility.

A crowd of people, in the meantime, began to congregate in the Campo St. Anna, calling out for the dismissal of the new Ministry, and the reinstatement of the individuals who had on the same morning been dismissed. They were, for the most part, the very dregs of the populace, yet in their numbers were remarked, Odorico Mendes, Soute, the editor of the "Astrea," a long established opposition journal, and a few other individuals of influence. The apprehensions of the patriots at the head of this movement, were,

however, great, for their reliance on the troops was not implicit, and there were not altogether more than 600 men connected with the movement, in the Campo. The plans in agitation were not matured, yet the report that the chiefs of the conspiracy were on the point of being arrested, urged them thus to act with promptitude.

Don Pedro, on being informed of the assemblage, and its object, issued a proclamation, signed by himself and all the existing Ministry, assuring them that the Administration was perfectly constitutional, and that its Members would be guided only by constitutional principles. This was read to the people by a Justice of Peace, yet, scarcely had he concluded, when it was torn from his hands and trampled under foot. The cry for the reinstatement of the late Cabinet became louder, the multitude increased every moment in numbers, and about six o'clock three Justices of Peace went to the palace, at San Christovaõ, with a requisition, that the "Ministry who had the confidence of the people," as the late Cabinet were designated, should again be appointed.

The Emperor listened to their representation, but refused to accede to the request. "I will do every thing for the people, (said he), but nothing by the people."

No sooner was this answer made known in the Campo, than the most seditious cries were raised,

and the troops under the command of Francisco de Lima, began to assemble there, with the object of making common cause with the populace. Lima himself, who was still irresolute, was hereon induced to wait on the Emperor, in person, in order to explain to him the state of affairs, and, if possible, to induce him to make the concession required. His representations were unavailing. Don Pedro refused to dismiss his Ministers, but his firmness was exercised at too late a period to be of any avail. The battalion of the Emperor, quartered at San Christovaõ, and at the moment under the command of Jozé Joaquim de Lima, went to unite themselves to their comrades in the Campo, where they arrived about 11 o'clock in the evening; the Imperial Guard of Honour, who had also been called to San Christovaõ followed, and the citizens and populace in the Campo, whose numbers had gradually kept increasing, furnished themselves with arms from the adjoining barrack. The Portuguese party, in the meantime, judging themselves altogether abandoned, and being unable to cope with disciplined troops, durst not even venture into the streets. All compromise thus became impracticable, and General Lima despatched one of his Adjutants, Miguel de Frias Vasconcellos, to inform the Emperor of what had taken place.

During this interim, however, the Emperor

finding the serious turn which affairs were taking, had, as a last resource, sent off the Intendant of Police, Caetano Maria Lopez Gama, to request the assistance and co-operation of Vergueiro, in the formation of such a Cabinet as might meet the popular wish. When, therefore, the Adjutant arrived at San Christovaõ, the Emperor informed him of what he had done, but, at the same time, stated, that no consideration should induce him to reinstate the Ministry which he had dismissed. At this time the Empress was weeping bitterly, and he was in vain endeavouring to console her, by an assurance that all would terminate pacifically. In this trying moment he must be acknowledged to have evinced a dignity and a magnanimity unknown in the days of his prosperity. All selfish feelings appeared to have been forgotten, and when, a few minutes afterwards, he received intelligence of the desertion of the battalion under the command of Jozé Joaquim de Lima, his only answer was :—" Well, let them ally themselves to their comrades in the Campo, I wish no one to be sacrificed for me."

The Intendant of Police was, however, unable to meet with Vergueiro, and as his return was in consequence delayed, the Adjutant pressed the Emperor for an immediate decision, observing, that the people in the Campo might be committing some excess, under the impression that he,

their envoy, had been either assassinated or retained a prisoner; to which the Emperor replied, "I certainly shall not appoint the Ministry which they require; my honour and the Constitution alike forbid it, and I would abdicate, or even suffer death, rather than consent to such a nomination." The Adjutant then observed that he would communicate this reply to his General and to the people, but he was requested by Don Pedro to stay for some final answer.

No emissary from Vergueiro, however, appeared: it was natural to suppose that the populace were becoming every moment more impatient, and, in addition to all his former motives of disgust, Don Pedro found himself with scarcely a single soldier. Harassed, irritated, and fatigued beyond measure, he at length found it necessary to yield to circumstances, and about two o'clock in the morning he sat down, and without either asking the advice of any one, or even informing the Ministry of his resolution, wrote out his abdication in the following terms:

"Availing myself of the right which the Constitution concedes to me, I declare, that I have voluntarily abdicated in favour of my dearly beloved and esteemed son, Don Pedro de Alcantara.

"Boa vista, 7th April, 1831, 10th year of the Independence of the Empire."

He then rose, and advancing towards the Ad-



jutant, Frias, presented him the decree, observing, with tears in his eyes, "Here is my abdication; may you be happy! I shall retire to Europe, and quit a country that I have loved dearly, and that I still love." Here tears choked his utterance, and he retired hastily to the adjoining room, where was the Empress, along with the English and French Ambassadors. He afterwards dismissed all his Ministers, with the exception only of the Marquis de Inhambupe, and in a decree which he dated the 6th of April, proceeded to nominate Jozé Bonifacio de Andrada, as the guardian to his four children. It was a striking illustration of the ingratitude with which he met in the hour of misfortune, that from all those whom he had benefited and enriched, he was obliged to turn to the iufirm old man, whom at a former period he had so cruelly wronged. Finally, after arranging his household affairs, he embarked in one of the boats of the English line-of-battle ship, the Warspite, along with the Empress, the Queen of Portugal, his sister the Marchioness de Loulé, and her husband the Marquis, and from this period he never more placed his foot on the Brazilian soil.

The Royal party proceeded, in the first place, on board the Warspite, Captain Talbot, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Baker, where they remained four days, until the necessary arrangements could be made for their conveyance to

Europe. The English frigate, the *Volage*, commanded by Lord Colchester, was appointed to take Don Pedro, the ex-Empress, and their suite, to any port in Europe, north of Brest, which the former might select; and the French frigate, *La Seine*, was placed with similar orders at the disposal of the young Queen of Portugal and her suite.

Frias, meanwhile, returned at full gallop from San Christovão, with the decree of abdication in his hand, and was received in the Campo with many demonstrations of joy, and “vivas” to Don Pedro the Second. Early on the same morning, all the Deputies and Senators in the metropolis, as well as all the ex-Ministers, except Paranagôa and the Viscount de Alcantara, assembled in the Senate House, and appointed a provisional Regency, the members of which were Vergueiro, Francisco de Lima, and the Marquis de Caravellas. These were to be entrusted with the government of the Empire, until the nomination of the Permanent Regency, which was afterwards to be appointed according to the terms of the Constitution.

On the 8th of April, the members of both Houses also again assembled, although they were not in sufficient numbers to form a legislative body, and issued a proclamation appropriate to the circumstances of the time, yet calculated to tranquillize the over-excitement of the public

mind. Perhaps this was less difficult than might have been anticipated, for, from what has been said, it will be obvious that there was no fixed plan of popular insurrection, the revolution itself being effected almost entirely by the military, or, in other words, being no more than a mere military sedition. As for the Exaltado party, with their bands of a hundred each (*centurias*), they were so extremely ill disciplined, that if any conflict had taken place, they would, in all probability, have embarrassed their partizans, much more than their opponents.

At the same time, it must be equally obvious, that had not this sedition taken place, or had it been smothered in its birth, which, perhaps, would not have been very difficult, insurrectional movements would again have taken place in the provinces, and in the present universal unpopularity of the Emperor, their issue could not have been doubtful. However unworthy may have been the instruments employed in the revolution, it must be acknowledged to have been the only means of securing the throne to the dynasty of Don Pedro, and of preventing a civil war, which could have terminated only in a separation of the provinces.

Don Pedro was not a tyrant; none but his calumniators have ever designated him as such; yet his errors were great and manifold. Endowed with natural talent, yet devoid of prudence; an

admirer of the representative form of government in perspective, yet ever shrinking from its practical enforcement; energetic and yet inconstant, he was better qualified to achieve the liberation of Brazil, than to direct the subsequent march of her government. Elevated into a hero during the struggle for independence, he appears to have been guided rather by the example of other potentates, than by any mature consideration of the existing social state and necessities of Brazil; and hence, perhaps, the eagerness with which he embarked in a war, which had certainly its origin in aggression, and which, after crippling the commerce, checking the progress of improvement, and exhausting the finances of Brazil, ended only in the full and unrestricted cession of the province in dispute. Under the existing circumstances of Brazil, when Don Pedro ascended the throne, it was an administrator rather than a hero that was required. Neither the ancient colonial institutions, nor the circumstances of the people, had been favourable to the promotion of the martial spirit. The aboriginal Indians, ever thinly scattered over the face of Brazil, had, except in the instances wherein they allied themselves by marriage with the intruders, ever retired before the approach of civilized man, without any material contest; and it lay not within the power of any individual, however firm in disposition, or how-

ever exalted in rank, to effect an instantaneous change in the entire character of a people. In case of war the employment of foreign military became, it must be acknowledged, a matter of urgency, and hence that odious and inextinguishable rivalry, which has already been pointed out as having been attended with such fatal effects.

His frequent and extensive creations of nobility were also the result of an error equally glaring. Nobility was not here, as in Europe, an institution which had arisen spontaneously from the peculiarities of the feudal system, and which, like its concomitant the law of primogeniture, had been dictated by the manifest interests of society at the period of its origin: it could in Brazil be regarded in no other light than as the honorary recompense of merit, and the profuse and injudicious manner in which it was misapplied, instead of elevating those on whom it was bestowed, tended rather on the other hand to sink and to vilify the institution.

These were, however, minor errors. His greatest, and the one which caused his overthrow, was, as it has been before indicated, his never having known, (at least from the time of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly,) how to constitute himself truly and entirely a Brazilian. This circumstance, by irritating the jealousy and the self-love of his subjects, gradually deprived him of all that *éclat* with which

the Independence, and his illustrious origin had invested him; the French revolution of 1830, gave an increased impulse to the public mind, the foreign troops were disbanded, the native military extended their sympathies to the Exaltado party without experiencing any interposition on the part of the authorities, and a revolution thus became inevitable.

Inefficient, however, and erroneous on many points as may have been the political administration of Don Pedro, his accession to the throne was in all probability the means of preserving Brazil from anarchy even more fatal than that which has hitherto been the fate of the Spanish colonies. Any premature attempts to establish a republic must have led to a sanguinary and protracted war, in which the slave population would have taken up arms, and havoc and desolation would have been spread over the fairest portion of South America. Even had the expulsion of the Portuguese been finally accomplished, the ignorance of the people and their domestic commotions would have been more perilous than foreign warfare. Up to the present century the Viceroyal Government was at least on a par with the spirit of the age, and was in fact the only form of government for which the colonists were fitted. Although there were no privileged orders whose vested interests were in opposition to those of the community, the bulk

of this community was altogether unqualified for the exercise of political power. However great may be the advantages of the representative form of government in the abstract, experience appears to prove that it can only be fixed on a permanent basis, in times of comparative peace, and in an advanced state of society. Even in the cases where elements appropriate for its institution may be found, its complication is alone a serious obstacle to its adoption, and it moreover takes a long time to overcome the habits, usages, and prejudices engendered under the absolute regimen. Had the transition in Brazil been more violent, its permanence would have been endangered. The regimen to which the people were accustomed was monarchical, and the monarchy was the best instrument to introduce that civilization which was wanting, and to induce them to adopt those social ameliorations which form an inherent and essential part of the representative system.

With all the faults of the late Emperor and his Ministers, Brazil during the ten years of their administration, unquestionably made further advances in intelligence, than in all the three centuries previously elapsing between her first discovery and the proclamation of the Portuguese Constitution in 1820.

It is also a gratifying and a consoling reflection, that even the errors of the Monarch have

been attended with great indirect benefit through their influence on the affairs of the mother country. Had he governed with more wisdom it would have been well for the land of his adoption, yet, perhaps, unfortunate for humanity. Like the late Emperor of the French, he was also a child of destiny, or rather an instrument in the hands of an all-seeing and beneficent Providence for the furtherance of great and inscrutable ends. In the old as in the new world he was henceforth fated to become the instrument of further revolutions, and ere the close of his brilliant but ephemeral career in the land of his fathers, to atone amply for the errors and follies of his former life, by his chivalrous and heroic devotion in the cause of civil and religious freedom.

The contest in which he was engaged in this latter country was not a mere isolated series of events occurring during a quarrel for political ascendancy, nor was it regarded in this light by the different potentates of Europe. The fate of two different systems of government was at issue. They saw that the overthrow of Don Miguel might not only be a mortal blow to all the apostolical enemies of reform, but that the success of Don Pedro might give an impulse to the cause of constitutional government throughout all Europe. Hence the zeal with which the absolute powers secretly espoused the cause of

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the former, and the eagerness with which they in a similar manner opposed and denounced that of the young Queen whom they had formally acknowledged. The results of the struggle must, as they foresaw, lead to such important and vital changes, social, ecclesiastical, and political, as to justify alike their hopes and their fears regarding its eventual termination.



## NOTES.

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Page 46.—*Regarding the affairs of finance and justice, and the colonization of Europeans.*

IT may here be mentioned, that a partial attempt at foreign colonization was made previously to the first revolution in 1822. In the month of May, 1818, a Swiss of the name of Nicholas Gachet obtained a decree, authorizing him to establish in Brazil a colony of Swiss, composed of one hundred families. He, however, engaged a still greater number; and during the year 1819, about two thousand emigrants from Fribourg and other parts of Switzerland, arrived in Rio de Janeiro, and were established at about twenty leagues' distance from the metropolis. Before leaving Europe, they had stipulated for the grant of lands, cattle, grain, and vegetables; and also for a daily stipend to be continued for two years. Every colonist was to receive ||160 rs. per day for the first year, and 80 rs. for the second. They were also exempted from the payment of tithes and territorial taxes for the space of ten years, and the men were exempted from military service, until the expiration of the same term.

The Government was, however, most culpably negligent regarding the fulfilment of these conditions. No preparations had even been made for the accommodation of the

the Monarch. This confirmation it was customary for the nobles to obtain during their life in favour of their heirs, in order that, being henceforth free from all solicitude on this point, they might end their days in peace.

By the law fixing the attributes of the Regency of Brazil, its members are at present prohibited from bestowing either titles or any other honorary decorations, and considerable benefit has resulted from this regulation. During the reigns of both Don Joaõ and Don Pedro, the desire for such honorary distinctions as could only be procured at Court was but too often conducive both to extortion and abuse. Since, however, their concession has ceased, the municipal offices in the various cities and towns have become the principal object of ambition, and as these offices are elective, it is in the first place necessary for their attainment, that the candidate be possessed of the goodwill of his fellow-citizens. The anxiety for distinction, which was formerly the scourge of this country, must thus inevitably operate for its benefit; at least in all the cases in which the people understand what their true interests are.

Page 67.—*Not only was the rate of exchange on foreign countries depressed, &c.*

The original par of exchange being fixed by the gold half-doubloon, was  $67\frac{1}{2}d.$  per milreis. On the subsequent increase in the amount of the silver currency in 1809 and 1810, this metal took the place of gold, and the metallic par fell to  $54d.$  The subsequent fluctuations, induced principally by the excessive issue of paper and copper, are shown in the following table of the *average* rates, during each year of the Government of Don Pedro:—

One conto of reis, or one thousand milreis will thus be  
in each year

In 1821	Ex.	$52\frac{1}{4}$	=	£217	14	2	A cruzade is   400 rs.
1822	„	$48\frac{1}{2}$	=	202	1	8	or $\frac{4}{10}$ of a milreis. One
1823	„	$50\frac{1}{4}$	=	209	7	6	thousand cruzades are thus
1824	„	48	=	200	0	0	equal to four hundred mil-
1825	„	$51\frac{1}{8}$	=	213	0	5	reis, and one million of cru-
1826	„	$47\frac{1}{16}$	=	196	1	10	zades to four hundred con-
1827	„	$35\frac{5}{8}$	=	148	8	9	tos of reis. Both these de-
1828	„	$32\frac{3}{4}$	=	136	9	2	nominations are introduc-
1829	„	$25\frac{3}{8}$	=	105	14	7	ed as the Portuguese some-
1830	„	23	=	95	16	8	times reckon by cruzades,
1831	„	$24\frac{3}{8}$	=	102	12	1	and sometimes by milreis.

All amounts given in sterling money are calculated according to the above scale, as the nearest approximation. The average rates have been taken from the report of the Minister of Finance, given in 1833.

Page 111.—*In giving Elective Chambers to the Municipalities.*

In order to prevent misconception as to the extent of this privilege, it may here be necessary to state that these corporations never consist of more than nine members,—in the towns seven, in the cities nine. Their election is, however, direct; and all individuals possessing an income of Rs. 100||000 per annum, by any title, are entitled to a vote.

Page 114.—*The Exaltados had the imprudence to extinguish several bonfires.*

To enable the reader to appreciate this circumstance

and its irritating influence correctly, it may be necessary to state that it has some reference to an old Portuguese usage:—On all occasions of public rejoicings, and on the Saints' days, it is customary for the villagers of the mother-country to assemble in the open air, around a bonfire, and there to sing and dance to the music of a viola or guitar, which is passed from hand to hand throughout the entire period of the festivity. As, however, there is no human bliss without alloy, these assemblages seldom terminate without their due quota of contention. As in Ireland, villages are often divided by feuds, which have been in existence for centuries, and those festive occasions are more especially selected by the *Valentoens*, or rustic bravos, for the purpose of wreaking their vengeance on the devoted heads of each other. In all these contests there is nevertheless a point of honour of far higher importance than any mean or selfish motives of personal revenge. This consists, in the first instance, in destroying the bonfire of their antagonist, and, in the second, (which is to them the triumph of triumphs,) in smashing the viola. Hence, the instantaneous irritation with the *Exaltados*, who extinguished the bonfires.

Page 126.—*And a number of their orators there proceeded to preach the most exaggerated doctrines.*

A faint idea of the style, logic, and spirit of these effusions, may perhaps be formed from the following literal translation of a couple of pages from the preface of what is termed "A Brief *History* of the Happy Political Events occurring in Rio de Janeiro on the Ever-memorable 6th and 7th April, 1831." It has not been selected on account of its violence, but simply because, being less personal than

most of the documents in a similar style, it is more intelligible to the general reader :—

“ Brazil,” begins the author, “ discovered by Pedro Alvarez Cabral in the year 1500, saw her sons groan in the most austere slavery, for the immense space of three hundred years. The gold extracted from the bowels of the earth by the labour of her children, far from satisfying the avarice of the Verres who domineered over them, was an additional motive to oppression and tyranny. The precious commodities with which nature had enriched her could not suffice to the lust of gain of the European adventurers, who either having been transported, or with the specious object of extending conquests, and establishing civilization and order among a people in a state of nature, dared the perils of the navigation of an unknown sea, and planted slavery, and crime, and desolation, in the land of Santa Cruz, as payment for the riches which they carried away. The general revolution in Europe took place, and with it the change of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil. Unfortunate Brazil! thou must now serve as an aliment to the brutal perversity of a corrupted Court, and of individuals all vile, all unworthy, all abominable! If in the state of a simple colony thou wert oppressed by Governors, and Ouvidores, and Magistrates, and Judges, who hanged thy sons when they had the luck to meet with any diamond of which these theives envied them the possession; if thou wert even prohibited from tilling thy land, and selling thy agricultural productions; in the state of a Court, in the category of a United Kingdom, thou hast now to suffer the whims and arbitrary conduct not only of an imbecile and ignorant Prince, of a King at once a tyrant, a jesuit, and a protector of scoundrels, and of a royal family ill-bred beyond belief, but likewise the impudence of every drunkard and rascal in the suite of this

scandalous, vile, degenerate and abject Court! Yes! then was seen all that malice can suggest to men devoid of honour, of education, and of character: the authorities from the highest to the lowest took the place of eunuchs in a seraglio;—justice was administered by the footmen, who sold it to the best bidder; every thing had its price,—honours, titles, public offices, and posts in the administration, were all distributed by these haggling villains for money. A coachman, a pastrycook, or a scullion, was often the channel through which a commandery, a title, or even the government of a province was cribbed! The laws were altogether neglected; modesty and honour were the worst qualities that a man could possess; knavery was esteemed, thieving protected, vice exalted, and virtue supplanted!!”

It would be useless to follow the author any further; the whole ninety-three pages of the pamphlet being in a precisely similar style of declamation.

Page 133.—*He embarked in one of the boats of the English line-of-battle ship the Warspite, &c.*

In the United Service Journal for the month of January 1835, the following is given as a part of Don Pedro's address, when on board the Warspite, to the foreign ambassadors, envoys, and ministers, who went thither, on the afternoon of the 7th April, for the purpose of holding a council.

“He spoke to them,” observes the writer, “for more than a quarter of an hour, in tolerable good French, and seemed to be in excellent humour. We heard him say, among other less significant things—

“Je me suis attendu à une révolution dans ce pays-ci, d'après ce qui était arrivé l'année passée en France. J'y



songeais avant, d'aller aux Mines. J'ai été trahi depuis long-temps. Les Bresiliens ne m'aiment pas; ils me regardent comme Portugais. Mais je n'ai jamais eu peur de ces gens-là; je me suis montré avant-hier dans les rues pendant qu'on se donnait de coups de poignard de tous les côtés. Qu'est-ce que j'aurais pu faire lorsque le peuple assemblé dans le Champ de Sainte Anne eut l'audace de me proposer de renvoyer mes ministres? Je n'avais point de troupes pour disperser une grande foule comme celle-là. Moi j'étais prêt à me mettre à la tête de ma garde—mais elle m'a quitté.”

At these remarkable words he hailed four soldiers, who were lying in a state of torpor, stretched on deck, close to our main-mast—

“ O Joaõ, o Manoel, o Antonio, o Luiz !”

He put them, with considerable difficulty, on their legs, drew them up in a line, seized them by their shoulders, dressed them like a drill-serjeant, and continued—

“ Oui, messieurs!—toutes mes troupes m'ont quitté excepté ces braves garçons.”\*

Upon this he turned all around, and exclaimed, smiling.—“ Messieurs! voilà le reste de mon armée! Qu'est-ce que je pourrais faire contre *le peuple*?”

As, however, none of the distinguished diplomatists ventured to reply to this “popping the question,” he added, with much satisfaction, “ Eh bien! j'ai abdiqué en

\* The fact was, that Messrs. Joaõ, Antonio, Manoel, and Luiz, were privates in the battalion of the Emperor quartered at San Christovaõ, and had been left behind by their comrades, simply because they were asleep, and no one cared to awake them. Don Pedro was, however, ignorant of this, and attributed their stay to their extraordinary fidelity, a point on which they could scarcely be expected to undeceive him.

faveur de mon fils qui est né au Bresil ; on l'a proclamé Empereur ce matin !”

Here he dismissed his political audience with a short bow, and withdrew into the admiral's cabin.

In the same article it is also remarked, that there were frames fixed to the sides, and fresh pieces of wood stuck to the bottom of his principal leathern trunks, as though to prepare them for a sea-voyage ; a circumstance which can excite but little surprise, when it is recollected that the probability of being ere long compelled to abdicate, had been before his eyes for several weeks previous.

During the remainder of his stay on board the *Warspite*, Don Pedro occupied himself principally in receiving and inspecting his luggage, betokening, at the same time, an apathetic indifference, strikingly in contrast with the melancholy and low spirits of the *Ex-Empress*. Having at length completed his arrangements, and caused his daughter, the Queen of Portugal, and the Marquis and Marchioness de Loulé, to embark on board the French corvette *La Seine*, he embarked, along with the *Empress*, on board the *Volage*, and, on the 13th of April, at seven in the morning, the two vessels sailed together for Europe.

On the day preceding his departure, he addressed a few lines expressive of the warmest affection to each of his daughters, and to his son, the young Emperor, a letter, of which the author has been favoured with the following poetical version :—

MY darling child !—my Emperor !  
 Thy missive came to me ;  
 'Twas weakness,—but my tears ran o'er,—  
 I strove, till nature could no more,  
 To read,—it might not be,

This heart hath since regain'd its tone,  
 Though bitter was the strife ;  
 Like joys our sorrows hurry on,  
 But, oh ! my love for thee, my son,  
 Will stay with me through life.

Oh ! painful is it thus to leave  
 Our kindred, friends, and home,  
 Yet, oh ! how glorious to retrieve  
 Our honour, and fair fame achieve  
 For ages yet to come.

Forget not quite thy father, boy ;  
 Promote our country's weal ;  
 Seek knowledge,—every hour employ ;  
 And thou wilt fill this heart with joy,  
 And other men's with zeal.

Afar, afar ! 'neath other skies,  
 And in another zone ;  
 Thy sire must close his wearied eyes :—  
 Brazil hath sought the sacrifice,  
 Thy country and my own.

May she be great, and, oh ! my child,  
 May blessings fall on thee !  
 Adieu !—No more thy accents mild  
 Shall cheer me ;—soon tornadoes wild  
 Must part my son and me.

## PORTUGUESE COPY.

“ Meu querido filho, e meu Imperador. Muito lhe agradeço a carta que me escreveu, eu mal a pude ler poisque as lagrimas erão tantas que me impedião a ver ; agora que me acho, apesar de tudo, hum ponco mais descansado, faço esta para lhe agradecer a sua, e para certificar-lhe

que em quanto vida tiver as suadades jamais se extinguirão em meu dilacerado coração.

“ Deixar filhos, patria, e amigos, não pode haver maior sacrificio; mas levar a honra illibada, não pode haver maior gloria. Lembre se sempre de seu pae, ame a sua, e a minha patria, siga os conselhos que lhe derem aquelles que cuidarem na sua educaçãõ, e conte que o mundo o hade admirar, e que eu me hei de encher de ufanía por ter hum filho digno da patria. Eu me retiro para a Europa: assim he necessario para que o Brazil socegue, o que Deus permita e possa para o futuro chegar áquelle gráu de prosperidade de que he capaz. Adeus meu amado filho, receba a benção de

“ Seu pae que se retira saudozo e sem mais esperanças de o ver.

“ D. PEDRO DE ALCANTARA.”

Bordo da Nau Warspite,  
12 de Abril de 1831.

Page 133.—*He afterwards dismissed his ministers, &c.—and proceeded to nominate J. Bonifacio as the guardian to his four children.*

At the period of the revolution, the Imperial Family consisted of

Don Pedro 1st, born	. . .	12th October, 1798.
The Empress	. . .	31st July, 1812.
Don Pedro de Alcantara		2d December, 1825.
Donna Maria II.	. . .	4th April, 1819.
D. Januaria	. . .	11th March, 1821.
D. Paulo Marianna*	. . .	17th February, 1823.
D. Francisca Carolina	. . .	2d August, 1824.

\* Since dead.

The Duchess of Goyaz, the illegitimate daughter of Don Pedro, was born on the 24th May, 1824.

Page 136.—*The Aboriginal Indians, ever thinly scattered over the face of Brazil, &c.*

Although comprising more than four hundred different tribes or nations, the population of Brazil was ever scanty. In a brief sketch of the political, civil, and natural history of Brazil, published in Rio de Janeiro, 1833, by P. d'A. Bellegarde, this writer observes, that it may be safely affirmed that at the epoch of the conquest, the entire Indian population did not exceed two millions, or about one-half of the entire population of the present day. It is perfectly true, that the ancient writers have in general represented the number of the indigenous population as much greater, yet the falsehood and exaggeration of their reports is made apparent by the entire absence in Brazil either of any traces of this population, or of any vestiges of that advancement in arts and sciences which so eminently distinguished the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico and Peru at the same period. In these last-mentioned populous territories the inhabitants had their cities, their temples, a regularly organized system of government, and an established religion; whereas the Brazilian Indians, scattered over an immense tract of country, living principally by the chase, and without any towns or cities, were still merged in a state of comparative barbarism. Hence in part the greater facility with which the Portuguese subjugated the country.



## APPENDIX.

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ALTHOUGH the particulars contained in the principal document (No. 1) in the Appendix, can offer but little interest to the general reader, it is hoped that the exposition of many of the secret springs of the Viceroyal Government, the circumstantial picture of the resources and physical condition of Brazil fifty years ago, and the clear and explicit account of her institutions, military, civil, and judicial, at that period, may in some measure repay the perusal, to all who may desire to contrast Brazil as an independent country, with Brazil as a colony. The account of the social state of a people, who, in one of the most fertile and beautiful regions on the face of the globe, were systematically retained in that unvaried state of seclusion and ignorance, which has still its advocates in the civilized world,—and this account, too, transcribed by an

individual who had long been a resident in the country, and whose means of knowledge were unrestricted, may prove at once interesting and instructive to all who hail with joy the slow but certain progress of human intelligence. Another reason also, and the principal one which has induced the author to attach this as well as the other documents to his Appendix, is, that they have appeared to him, to corroborate various statements and opinions to which he has given utterance in the preceding work, and which, being at variance with generally-received prepossessions, have seemed to stand in need of confirmation. At the same time, he feels it necessary to state, that so far from his opinions, relative to the existing state of Brazil under the Viceroyal Government, having been drawn exclusively from the Secret Instructions, he did not even obtain possession of the document until near the conclusion of his labours. Indeed, his convictions have been the result of long and assiduous research, in other sources as yet open but to few; and so far from the facts, which it has been his task to develop, having been linked together for the purpose of authorizing or substantiating any preconceived theories, he feels himself compelled to own that he has, in several instances, been obliged to relinquish various abstract doctrines which he had pre-



viously embraced, from the conviction which experience has afforded him of their inapplicability, except in certain peculiar stages of society.

With regard to the official character of the Marquis de Lavradio, he was, during the period of his government, regarded as a skilful administrator, but arbitrary in character, and with a greater tendency to the formation of a large military establishment, and to the enforcement of the military system throughout Brazil, than was consistent with the general welfare. His ideas on commerce and commercial legislation will be found to differ materially from those adopted by the economists of the present day, yet it must be recollected, that they were those of the age in which they lived, and were acted upon even in more enlightened countries than Portugal.

Regarding his private character, Pizarro, in his "*Memorias historicas do Rio de Janeiro*," published in 1820, after having depicted him as affable and urbane in his manners, easy of access, and expeditious in the despatch of affairs, concludes by observing, that, "in the midst of his most important and weighty labours, nothing ever prevented his attendance on public worship. Here, in the temples of the Divine Being," continues the historian, "he was the very image of devotion and piety; in his ad-

herence alike to the institution of the Holy Sacrament; in his sympathies with the passion of Jesus Christ, betokening alike the love and respect with which he was inspired, and more especially in his particular veneration of the holy Virgin, over the great mystery of whose immaculate conception he daily spent hours of meditation, besides being unfailing in his attendance on all the sacred festivals. He practised many virtues and acts of devotion in private, gave many alms, and was charitable towards his neighbour. He knew how to fulfil his duties alike to the Lord and to Cæsar. Constant in his piety, he was neither rigorous nor sanguinary; but united power with compassion, and justice with humanity.”

## DOCUMENTS.

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No. 1.

## SECRET INSTRUCTIONS

*Left by the most illustrious and excellent Marquis de Lavradio, Viceroy of Brazil, to his successor the most illustrious and excellent Luiz de Vasconcellos e Souza, on the 19th of June, 1779.*

Although the brilliant acquirements and distinguished talents of your Excellency may easily recognize whatever is of most importance in this Captaincy, and though your penetration may discover whatever be immediately necessary, by your inquiries, without the aid of the following diffuse and incomplete narration; yet as there may be some particulars with which you might for a long time be unacquainted, and towards which your attention will be required, in order that your cares and judicious measures may remedy my errors; the love which I bear to the royal service, and the interest which I take in the good of this people and in the good of the State, induce me to lay before your Excellency a narration of the forces of this Captaincy,—of the state in which I found it,—of its interests,—of the system which I have followed,—of the character of its inhabitants, and lastly,

of the state in which I deliver it over to your Excellency. And if this my narration do not satisfy all the curiosity of your Excellency, you will be pleased to excuse me on account of this document being original, *i.e.* that I am the first who give an account to my successor of the Government which I deliver to him; this ceremony never having been before attended with any other formality than that of reading the Patents, or “Cartas Regias,” of their Majesties to the individuals appointed, and to those deposed. This was all the instruction which I myself received, and I was thus obliged to lose much time ere I could trace out a path in which I could travel with perspicuity.

This Captaincy extends in a direct line from east to west 55 leagues, but if the extension of its coast be reckoned, it extends 75 leagues, from the great circuit which it makes from Cape Frio to the North. Its width, north to south, from Cape Frio to the west, will be 20 leagues more or less, according to the irregularities of the soil; but from Cape Frio to the East it is much narrower, and goes on diminishing until it ends with the river Macapuam, where it may be about six leagues wide. *These distances are taken from different maps, but the Geographers who have been entrusted with the formation of them, have, I am told, been guided rather by hearsay, than by personal examination, and hence arise many discre-*

*pancies, and a want of confidence, on my part, in their maps.*

There are in the Captaincy many navigable ports, but some of them admit only small vessels. The description of these ports, and of the vessels which can navigate them, will be best seen in an annexed relation, which each Colonel of Militia gave me, regarding their respective districts. Nevertheless, as some of these ports are of importance, and the Colonels of Militia speak of them very concisely, I shall proceed to speak of them to your Excellency at greater length.

From Cape Frio to Rio de Janeiro are 18 leagues. It is a coast without any shelter, except the small islands of Marica and Taipû; and though there is sufficient depth of water, they give but little shelter to vessels. All this coast is difficult of approach, and the shore of Marrambaba dangerous at all seasons, on account of the currents doubling Cape Frio. From Rio de Janeiro to the bar of Guaratiba are eight to nine leagues, in which is the bar of Tijucas, which can only be entered by canoes and lighters. In calm weather, a landing can be effected on any part of this coast; and there are six anchorages for vessels in case of necessity, such as the Islands dos Palmas, those of Tijucas, and those off the bar of Rio de Janeiro. The bar of Guaratiba admits only small smacks

with the tide. From the bar of Guaratiba to the point of Tuatinga, the distance is twelve or fourteen leagues, in which are different ports, or rather one very large port, protected by the Island of Marambaia and Ilha Grandi, and to which there are three bars or entries, which are the above-mentioned one of Guaratiba, that of Marambaia, and that of Cairoçu. The two last are free to every class of vessels which may navigate therein, in every part, and anchor in all the bays of both Ilha Grandi and the Continent, as well as close to all the different islands in the ports, until in sight of the town of Parati; but the port or bay of Parati permits only of the entry of smacks. All other vessels may navigate to the bar of Marambaia; and from the bar of Marambaia, towards the east, there is a long distance of good anchorage, protected by the hills of Marambaia, fit for large vessels, which can proceed as far as the island of Madeira. A pilot is, however, necessary to avoid some shallows in that direction. From this point to the bar of Guaratiba, smacks alone can enter. The island of Marambaia is six leagues in length, and does not permit of landing. From the point of Joatinga to the hills or point of Camorim, where the Captaincy ends, the distance is four to five leagues. It has landing-places and ports for launches, but not for ships,

as your Excellency will see, from the relation of the Colonel of Militia of that district.

This Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro is divided in ten districts, in each of which was formed a Terço\* of Militia, with a Colonel at its head; and, according to this order, I shall inform your Excellency of the force of each of the districts, of their respective population, of their manufactures, the nature of their agriculture, their navigable rivers, and the vessels at present navigating these rivers; and to this relation I shall annex the before-mentioned relations of the Colonels of Militia, in order that every thing may be rendered more clear.

I arrived at this Captaincy in 1769, and found the garrison of the capital to consist of six regiments of Infantry, comprehending in this number a regiment of Artillery. Three of these regiments were detached from Europe, the others were native. Part of one of these regiments had been sent to Rio Grande. The Inspector of these forces was the Lieutenant-General João Henrique Bohen, whom His Majesty had sent out as Inspector-General of all the troops in America, with the condition that all the inspection and jurisdiction conceded to him would be under the superintendence of

\* Terço, the third part of a regiment of Infantry, the same as a battalion of five hundred men.

the Viceroy of the State; and in order to obviate any doubts, His Majesty declared that the jurisdiction of the Viceroy over the troops should be the same with that exercised in Europe, by the Marshal-General Count Schambourg Lippe, and that he, the Lieutenant-General, should have the same authority with the Lieutenant-General of Infantry, Don João de Lencastre.

I found the troops in good order as far as regards evolutions, and that they were well provided for, but I found the jurisdiction materially altered, since the Lieutenant-General had overstretched his authority. The Viceroys were dissatisfied, but they permitted his usurpations and vented their spleen only in complaints, for which he cared but little. *He acted with asperity towards the troops and his officers, and carried into execution the regulations even in points wherein they are prejudicial in this country, both to the life of men and to the State. Now the season for exercise selected in Europe on account of the coolness of the weather, is in America the hottest period of the year, and is also the rainy season, from which cause I found many sick, that many others had lost their lives, and that others again had thus contracted maladies which had disabled them for the service. He consented to no more marriages than were permitted by the terms of the regulations, and as the armed force comprehends a great number of people in this country, he thus checked the means which*



*might concur to the augmentation of the State. This excess of jurisdiction on the part of the Lieutenant-General, the consequent discontent of the Viceroy, the severity with which the troops were treated, and their loss of life and health, had given rise to so much intrigue and partiality, that every thing was in the greatest confusion, and there were so many deserters, that from these various motives the regiments were much diminished.*

Such was the state in which I found the troops ; but before the Count de Azambuja left this capital, His Excellency saw every thing changed, since I invested myself with my entire jurisdiction, and without neglecting those compliments and attentions which were due to the Lieutenant-General, I made him aware of the superiority of my office. It is certain that he was highly incensed at this, and after the lapse of a few months he ventured on some manifestations of passion, in the hope that I should yield to them ; but these manifestations on the contrary furnished me with an apt occasion to speak to him with more openness ; with such openness indeed, that I obliged him not only to give me ample satisfaction, but also on several occasions to act as my Aid-de-Camp. At the same time, however, that I thus compelled him to know his place, I reconciled him with all his officers ; I appointed the time for exercises in more appropriate months ; I per-

mitted more marriages; I took measures to prevent deserters from escaping out of the Captaincy, and in this manner the officers became contented, the maladies ceased, and quiet was brought about. The officer of whom I have been speaking is skilful in his profession, well educated, and has much practical knowledge. It is true that he improved himself since he received his present commission. His character is violent and distrustful; he is not very sincere, and what he undertakes to execute, he executes always in such a manner that he can never compromise himself; insomuch that if his instructions are not full, and it is expected that he will provide for occurrences in case it be necessary, he will in a case of doubt rather lose every thing through a strict adherence to his orders, than take any resolution which may not be in entire conformity with them. On this account I would never employ him in service under me, but would keep him at a distance, and experience has proved that I should be right in so doing, since in the late expedition to Rio Grande, rather than gain for himself and for the State the glory of having made himself master of the greater part of the territory in which were our enemies,—of having imprisoned their general and overthrown their army and establishments, by means of a resolution in entire conformity with the spirit of his orders, he

chose to remain inactive from a fear that it might be unsuccessful, which it certainly would not have been, had he acted with good faith and sincerity. He is nevertheless an excellent inspector of the troops, and benefit may be derived from his counsels, but I have but little faith in him as a commander, from the circumstances which I have stated.

The fortresses defending the harbour of Rio, and those for the internal and external defence of the capital itself, were all in very bad condition, though much labour had been expended upon them; for when the Count de Cunha arrived here, finding that the Count de Bobadella, in near thirty years that he governed this Captaincy, had allowed the fortresses to go to decay, the artillery and stores to be destroyed, and every thing relating to the military order and security of the fort to be neglected, the former turned his attention to these objects; but the workmen whom he employed for the execution of his orders were so unskilful, that after occasioning much expense to the Viceroy, they left all in as bad or even in a worse state than they found it. It is true that they built some new walls and made some additions to the existing fortifications, but these walls were more like orchard walls than those of fortifications, which ought to withstand the fire of heavy artillery, and as to the parapets, they were so slightly

constructed that even the rains destroyed them. *The Count was however of a violent temper, and as he was always highly satisfied with his own resolutions, no one ventured to point out the folly of what he was doing.* Afterwards succeeded the Count de Azambuja, who, notwithstanding the limited opportunities for observation which his infirmities allowed him, immediately perceived the necessity of further steps, from the danger in which the capital was placed when without competent defences; and on the second day after my arrival he repeated this to me, and not only pointed out some situations which ought to be fortified, but he shewed me the plans which he had ordered to be made by Marshal Funk, none of which had been executed, from the short space of time in which his Excellency was in the Government, as well as from the want of means and permission, so that all the defence was on paper only, with the exception of the actual fortifications which could not have resisted two or three frigates.

The following was the situation of the armed force for the defence of this capital and its dependent provinces. These provinces were Colonia do Sacramento, the island of St. Catharine and the adjacent part of the Continent, and Rio Grande do San Pedro. *The fortresses of the first were even in a worse state than those of Rio de Janeiro, and its garrison was not only small, but*

*many of the troops were disabled, and there was an utter want of discipline. The men were all in arrears of pay, and the small vessels of war which protected our navigation, and defended our vessels sailing there, from the insults of the Spaniards, had actually been sold under the pretext that they cost too much to the Royal treasury; this object being considered of more importance than the security of navigation, and the preservation of respect in that port.*

The Island of St. Catharine was in a similar state. There were not more than six companies there, and the commander was a Major, who had been nearly twelve years in a fortress, without ever going out of it, in consequence of his having been appointed guard to a prisoner of state confined there (the Desembargador Jozé Mascarenhas). The Governor of the port was a Captain, unfit to act even as a private soldier, and hence your Excellency will be able to judge of the state of military affairs there. *As to political and civil affairs, the Governor and Ouvidor looked only to their private interests, and to the protection of their favourites, ever disputing with each other, and paying but little attention to the sufferings of the people, who were the wretched spectators of this disorderly Government.*

The southern part of the province of Rio Grande was still in the possession of the Spa-

niards. In the north some redoubts, which had been dignified by the name of fortresses, had been constructed, but they were again going to decay. The troops defending this part of the Continent were a regiment of dragoons, incomplete, and without any discipline, but admirable for their robust appearance, valour, and agility. There were also two companies denominated Paulista adventurers, who are a kind of irregular troops, also employed by the Spaniards, and when there were any apprehensions of attack, recourse was had to this Capital, and hence, though very slowly, troops went out to their succour. The Governor there was the Colonel of the militia cavalry of this Capital, to whom the Count de Azambuja had given the temporary command. *This officer, though endowed with both zeal and probity, did nothing for the advancement of the service, and, as to the rest, he contented himself with the vanity of looking out spots of land and eminences to which he gave the name of towns, and laid out plans how they were to be built; yet, as there were neither inhabitants nor any thing else necessary for their establishment, all remained in name and on paper only.* The same want of population and of necessary measures prevented the augmentation of agriculture and navigation, and hence again the want of commerce and the misery and necessity of all those people. To this I ought to

add as confirmatory of the little care with which those provinces have been governed, and the neglect of their advancement in agriculture, commerce, and navigation, that Don João V. of glorious memory, having sent out an immense quantity of instruments, such as spades, ploughs, and pick-axes, to be divided among poor individuals, that they might thus dig and cultivate the soil, notwithstanding the excessive poverty of those provinces all that his Majesty sent out was kept in the store-houses. *Some few individuals possessed of patronage obtained some of the instruments, but the rest all rotted and were consumed with rust in the store-houses, where the Spaniards lately found a portion of them, on the island of St. Catharine. Others have also of late been found in Rio Grande de San Pedro.*

Such is the state in which I found my government and its dependencies. I shall now inform your Excellency of what I have done in this respect and what has been my system. It was to endeavour to put the Capital in a state of defence, not only by repairing the fortresses, but also to build new ones in important positions, to regulate the people in such a manner that they might contribute without confusion to the defence of the Captaincy, in case it should be necessary to supply the want of regular troops with Militia. At the same time I endeavoured to promote agriculture, not only for the benefit

of labourers and traders, but that in case of finding ourselves in straits, as we afterwards did, the people might not suffer. *Though the Count de Cunha had given an account to His Majesty of the formation of four battalions of militia infantry in this Capital, and of all this force being in good order and discipline, it never had in reality any existence except in the imagination of the Count, who contented himself with the nomination of colonels, majors, and adjutants, with calling the people together in mass, and with ordering the drawing up of lists which never appeared, nor were registered; in a word, without having formed a single company.* On my observing that this force had no existence, and that the manner in which the Commandant had acted had disgusted all these people, *I followed the system of ordering them to be enlisted in the first place by officers notorious for their want of prudence, in order that on complaints being made of the annoyances occasioned by these officers, I could show that consideration and kindness with which I desire these corps to be treated; and not only did I afterwards nominate other officers for the same object, but I attended personally at the enlistment, evincing the utmost politeness and urbanity.* I also named as officers, the richest merchants of the Capital, in order that the people might be aware that these officers would not extort from them the exactions formerly levied by officers of militia, but that on the contrary



they would be able to succour them in case of need, and to employ and assist them in business, and to the officers whom I then nominated in the presence of their respective companies, I expressly recommended this. In this manner were formed three battalions to which I ordered arms to be given. *For these arms they were to pay, according to the orders of his Majesty; but as I found that this gave rise to discontent, I did not insist on immediate payment, but left the payment to the charge of the officers whom I made responsible for it.* They all clothed themselves in uniform at their own expense. I ordered them to be exercised, and they soon attained as much perfection as can be expected from militia; yet as their profession was not exclusively military, and the time abstracted from their occupations might have been of prejudice to the State, it became necessary to give them more liberty, and hence arose again some relaxation. If, however, they be from time to time reminded of what they were taught, and they be furnished with officers from the regular corps, they can easily be brought into their former state of discipline. Besides these three battalions I formed another of coloured men, giving them for Commandant, a major of the regular troops, a white man. His adjutants and the inferior officers were also white men, taken from the troops, in order that they might thus be brought more

easily under discipline and kept in union. This corps was brought into excellent discipline; at present it is falling off, but this can easily be remedied. It is clothed and armed on the same principle as the other battalions.

I consider that these corps may be very useful, and your Excellency ought to be on your guard as to the opposition of the Lieutenant-General to them. He asserts that they will never be of any use, and like many others contends that the formation of these corps has been a subject of much vexation to the people. All this is incorrect, as experience has proved. At the time when we were apprehensive of a Spanish invasion, whenever any alarm was given, these corps hastened to their posts with the utmost promptitude, without confusion, with as much or more cheerfulness than the regular troops, and apparently with as much intrepidity. The rich animated the poor, all were satisfied, and the city in a state of quiet seldom witnessed on similar occasions. These troops were also for some time the guards of the Capital, and did their duty as well as the regular troops. *The inconvenience said to be caused to the people is also false. Having been under the necessity of employing these troops for more than two years, from my not having had regular troops for the service of the Capital, I observed that so slight an impediment was this to the customary march of affairs, that*

*vessels were loaded as usual, and commerce was more active than before. It is true that this arose from my employing them principally on days which they would otherwise have spent in idleness, such as Sundays and holidays, and from my having them taught at those hours in the evening in which they were accustomed to stroll about the city, insomuch that far from having caused them any prejudice, I consider that in having thus occupied them I rendered them a very material benefit. Certainly I reduced them to more complete subordination. Many complained, but when their complaints were looked into, they were found to originate only in caprice, or alleged inconvenience, motives which deserve no attention when the State is in question.*

Besides these battalions belonging to the Capital, there are in the Captaincy, those of which I speak in the beginning of this document. In Ilha Grande and Parati, I also ordered two to be formed, which are still without Colonels. The formation of one had already been decided upon by the Count de Cunha, and its officers were appointed, but it had not been organized.

As those districts are of importance, on account of their ports, and on account of their being the general entry to San Paulo, I named a Major of Militia, who had been a Captain of Infantry, an officer of much honour, worth, and prudence, to command those districts; to form

a battalion in Ilha Grande, and to regulate that of Parati, all which the said officer did in the most creditable manner, though of course there have been complaints against him, as there are about every one, especially among a people unaccustomed to subjection. The people of that district were ever unquiet, and whenever it was sought to bring them under more subjection, they always endeavoured to overthrow their Governors, by means of intrigues and imposture. Your Excellency ought to be made aware that this officer has served with much zeal, and has subjected himself to much fatigue and prejudice, through having been absent more than five years from his home, and this too without any remuneration whatever. His battalions are at present in fair condition. In important posts he has done all in his power to prevent surprise; has informed me promptly of all the intelligence from the South, and of all which he observed on the coast, and as all these services were executed by the militia, who had not been accustomed to any labour, clamours were raised against him, which still continue. *As, however, they were unreasonable, I have never given them the slightest attention.*

In Campos dos Goitacazes there is likewise a battalion of infantry, and another might be formed. Both of them ought to have companies of cavalry.

The want of intelligent men in that district, on whom to confer the rank and authority of Colonel, has hitherto prevented the formation of a second battalion, and it can only be formed by the permission of His Majesty for an officer of the regular troops to be appointed as Colonel, giving him the pay he at present receives, or he would otherwise be ruined. The present Colonel João Jozé de Bacellar, was a treasure found by the Count de Azambuja. Certainly he is one of the most honourable and worthy men in the Captaincy, and, though maimed, renders more effective service than most others. He has educated a son in the same sentiments, who may eventually substitute him ; but I have in vain sought out for another individual worthy of being Colonel to another battalion.

That district is a highly important one, and worthy of the particular attention of your Excellency ; its immense plains are extremely fertile, and the sugar-cane and all kinds of vegetables flourish there. It has also much excellent timber, admirable balsams, oils, and gums, and many other precious drugs, with all of which commerce might be increased. It also possesses excellent mines of gold, which may be of great utility to the State when His Majesty shall be informed of their situation, and permit them to be worked by the people. It has many navigable rivers in which even now a good com-

merce is carried on. For many years it was the general asylum of all malefactors, thieves, and assassins, who sought refuge there, and were allowed so much liberty that they felt no actual subjection ; but lived in idleness, cultivating no more than was necessary for their subsistence. It has been extremely difficult to reduce them to order. *I found, however, that this had been facilitated by the Viceroy's, my predecessors, and by following in their steps both commerce and agriculture have increased under my government, as your Excellency will see from the annexed relation of the Colonel of Militia ; but as these people have had such a bad education, it is necessary for the present to avoid giving them any power or authority, which may fill them with vanity, and lead to disastrous consequences.*

I have followed the system of conceding many grants of land to people of this Capital who go to settle there,—I have sent for many of the inhabitants here, that I might speak to them,—I have retained them here for some time, in order that they might be witnesses of a people living in a state of subjection, and that they observe what respect and obedience is paid to the magistrates, and other individuals in authority ; and during all the time that they have remained here *I have made them feel their dependence as much as possible.* Finally, when I have again sent them away, I have always rendered

them some benefit, and they have thus been gradually civilized in such a manner that those horrible disorders, which were once a daily source of disquietude to the Governors of this Captaincy, have no longer existence.

*The greatest care ought to be taken that no attorneys, public writers, or other people of unquiet spirits, go to establish themselves there, since as the people have had a bad education, no sooner do they hear any turbulent individuals flattering them, and inciting them to insolence, than they immediately forget their duty, and range themselves under his banners. In my time this occurred in the case of an Advocate, Jozé Pereira, who appearing to me a pacific character, and in good circumstances, I made Judge relative to the grants of land. He, however, became the cause of such disorders, that even a revolt took place; in which, if I had not had recourse to extraordinary measures, the farms and establishments in progress there might have been utterly destroyed. I immediately sent for both this man and the individuals with whom he was in dispute; I threw them into a close prison, and treated them with the utmost severity, and with this proceeding intimidated the rest. Afterwards, on tranquillity being restored, I allowed them to return, in order that they might inform others how they had been treated, telling them at the same time, that in case of any further disturbances, I should make them responsible for every thing that*

*occurred, so that they have henceforth taken the office of peace-makers, and quiet has been maintained.*

I hope your Excellency will excuse me for having dilated on this head ; but as I consider that district as one of the most important, I have deemed it requisite to do this, in order that your Excellency may be fully acquainted with its condition.

Of all these battalions, detachments were during the war sent to this Capital, and with these the fortresses were garrisoned. I also availed myself of this occasion to exercise the troops ; and until they were perfected in their exercises, I continued this, and all the militia thus became qualified to serve efficiently in case of any attack. I ought also to inform your Excellency that I have had another still more cogent reason for bringing into the militia all the able-bodied men, and into the Ordenanças all such as are disabled ; and this is to reduce these people in small divisions, under the command of respectable individuals appointed as their officers, and to keep these again in such subordination, that all may recognize the due authority of the person appointed by His Majesty to the government of this vast, prolific, and rich country, inhabited for the most part by people devoid of education, licentious in character, heterogeneous in caste, and unaccustomed to any subjection except to the Government and



Magistrates. *Unless, in the first instance, they be separated, and made to recognize other and more immediate superiors, who, (though themselves the depositaries of the laws and orders of the Sovereign,) give an example of obedience and respect, it is quite impossible to govern without disturbance.*

Experience has shown this, since, in all the points where there has been neglect in reducing the people to this system, the disorders and tumults have been frequent, and not even the penalty of death has been able to diminish them; whereas, in all points where the system has been adopted, tranquillity has been maintained, disorders are less frequent, and the laws are more respected. *I make these reflections, since your Excellency will find much opposition to the conservation of these corps. The Lieutenant-General has the greatest envy of them; for, without looking to their great utility, he is vexed to see men who are not soldiers in uniform, and desires to see a distinction made between their officers and those of the regular troops, without remembering that the former serve without remuneration. Many private individuals, also, who desire to live in liberty, and free from subjection, employ all the means in their power to throw off a yoke which is necessary for their own good.*

With regard to the defences which I have made to this Capital, your Excellency will find a fortress on the point named O'Pico, for which

the plan had been drawn out by Field-Marshal Diego Funk ; but, as this officer had drawn out the said plan without having inspected the place, which he could not reach on account of the steepness of the eminence, and the thickness of the woods, it was erroneous. Perceiving, however, the necessity of fortifying the position, notwithstanding the difficulties of the task, I managed with great efforts to get there myself ; and, after the wood had been cleared, and the position examined, I amended what was impracticable in the plan of Marshal Funk. I immediately began the construction of the fortress ; and, notwithstanding that I was daily expecting the enemy, I placed it in a state of defence, in despite of obstacles which all deemed insurmountable. Though still unfinished, the principal expense and labour has already been incurred, and your Excellency will have few difficulties in concluding it.

That post is one of the most important, as your Excellency will see. It commands Santa Cruz : while we have that fortress, no enemy can take Santa Cruz ; the walls may be thrown down, but no man will be able to remain there a moment. The garrison of Santa Cruz may also retire there, without the enemy being able to follow them. It also defends the port within, as well as the outside coast, where I have also ordered a defence which is almost concluded.

In these positions nothing had been done, and if the enemy had taken any one of them they might afterwards have taken possession of Santa Cruz, with but little resistance, and thus have made themselves masters of the bar. At the same time I proceeded to fortify the island of Villagallon, when there was nothing but a small and ill-constructed redoubt, where scarcely four barrels of powder could be lodged. This was in a tiled building outside the redoubt, where were also some wretched huts, serving as store-houses for ammunition, and quarters for the troops, which your Excellency will still see; observing, that those which are the best constructed are those which I caused to be built anew, to serve until the fortress could be finished. The island was full of steep ridges, some of stone, and others of clay, so that an enemy might disembark under their shelter, and take all the store-houses and quarters of the troops, and thus compel the redoubt to surrender without firing a single shot. I ordered all these ridges to be levelled; gave the fortress the extension which it ought to have; and constructed within it quarters, store-houses, deposits, and whatever else was required; I likewise separated the fortress from the island by a fosse, which is now almost completed. This fortress, nevertheless, still requires the attention of your Excellency, since the parapets and a few objects

of minor importance are still unfinished. The small redoubts of Caruatá and Boa Viagem were rebuilt, having gone to decay. On the Island das Cobras I also erected several buildings, but your Excellency will see, from what I shall have the honour of laying before you, that, with the limited means at my disposal, it was impossible to do all that was desired, and that I required.

I rebuilt the outworks of the fortress of San João, made some additions to it, increased the facilities for its approach, and projected a defence constructed of earth, there not having been time for its construction in any other manner. It was in a state of forwardness when the Treaty of Peace arrived, and I consequently ceased my labours. The capital itself I also ordered to be fortified, and planted batteries on the heights of San Bento and San Januario. The latter situation is highly advantageous for the defence of all the shore of Nossa Senhora de Ajuda, and protects the streets of the capital from all seeking to approach it from the shore of Botafogo. I also constructed other redoubts in San Clemente and Leme, to defend the approach from Copa Cabana, and from the Lake of Rodrigo de Freitas.

Such are the labours which I have been enabled to execute. Many others were required, but the want of time and means has prevented

their being attended to; however, your Excellency will be able to conclude them better than I could, and in a manner worthy of your Excellency's distinguished talent.

The powder magazines, workshops, and stores of ammunition and artillery were all constructed from the urgent necessity which there existed for preventing the loss and waste which ensued to His Majesty, from a want of due attention. In the event of attack, it was my plan to garrison all the fortresses with the militia of the interior, and the positions within the city, with the militia and Ordenanças of the city itself. To all I affixed their posts, and the regular troops and the artillery were stationed in the most appropriate position for attacking and reinforcing with regularity, the places where most resistance might be necessary. These were my dispositions, and my plan of action, which I submit to the consideration of your Excellency. I have, hitherto, spoken to your Excellency of the infantry, both regular and the militia, and I shall now proceed to speak of the cavalry. There are two regular companies, who act as guards to the Viceroy, each man of whom I found armed after a fashion of his own. Their horses were similarly equipped, in consequence of some of them wearing the harness given by the Count de Cunha, and others that given by the Count de Azambuja. Both

of these corps were denominated companies, but they were wanting, not only in the competent number of soldiers, but also in captains, who, though officers of the first necessity, had never been appointed to them. Their lieutenants were their only Governors; they went through no exercise, nor even in their quarters did they observe any discipline. With the exception of two who accompanied the Lieutenant-General, the others went in the suite of the Viceroy; but they were so wretchedly armed, that when, on a certain occasion, the Lieutenant-General went out to take a walk, being pursued by an infuriated ox, he ordered the soldiers to attack the animal, but so dull were their sabres, that they were unable to draw blood from it; and the arms of the others were not in a better condition. I, however, remedied all this, and formed two regular companies, at the head of which I placed, temporarily, two Captains of Dragoons from Rio Grande, and appointed also inferior officers, smiths, and a surgeon to the corps. I named, also, as inspector of those Companies, my aid-de-camp, and caused him to form a register of them. I regulated their uniforms and discipline; in a word, I placed them, on the same footing as the other corps of His Majesty's cavalry. I employed this corps, not only as my own body-guard, but also as a guard to the palace, and as a patrol on

Sundays and holidays, to prevent disorders among the coloured people, *which were formerly so frequent that seldom a Sunday passed without an assassination.* In a similar manner, they patrolled the suburbs and were thus the means of preventing many robberies, assassinations, and disorders. All these precautions are indispensable to maintain this Capital in quiet, and I ought to inform your Excellency that this number of cavalry is insufficient, and that I have only been able to regulate the service in an efficient manner since four companies of cavalry arrived from Minas. I myself consider one corps of cavalry of more utility than four battalions of infantry, since as the shore near the city is easy of approach, no troops can defend it so efficiently as cavalry. During the war I employed the militia cavalry in this manner, and while they guarded the coast they also gave me an account of what they observed there. On this account I proposed to the Court, the formation of a regiment of cavalry in this Capital. If, however, the regiment formed in Minas were removed to this Capital, and united with the body-guard, his Majesty might be efficiently served, that body might be kept in better discipline than at present, and whatever detachments were necessary for that province might be sent there.

This I have also laid before the Court, and it

is my intention to repeat it on my return: Meanwhile no answer having been sent to me, I still retain the companies at present in this city, since I consider their services more necessary here than in the province whence they come.

There is also a regiment of militia cavalry composed of fourteen companies, dispersed in different districts, but under the same Colonel. In this city and its vicinity there are three of these companies. This corps is in very good order, and I deem it of great utility.

Besides these bodies of militia, there are the Ordenanças, who have their competent "Captains Mores" and Major. The office of "Captain Mor," in the district of Santo Antonio de Sa, is at present vacant, and the municipal chamber there ought to propose the most eligible individual for the nomination of your Excellency. These corps have no other regularity than that of being formed into companies from among those who are not comprehended in the battalions of militia. At present they have no other charge than that of collecting the contribution in favour of Lepers, and placing it in the hands of the brotherhood of Candelaria, who have been appointed by His Majesty as the administrators of the hospital. During the war they had their appointed positions, and both these corps and the militia were ordered to bring with them all their slaves, who were to be armed



with pikes, and to form a kind of rear-guard, to be stationed in certain affixed positions, and the Captains of the companies were to be responsible for all who either failed to attend or came unarmed. Of all these slaves lists were made out, so that not only could it be ascertained which were wanting, but they might also be disposed of in the most convenient manner.

All these tables were renewed every month, and it seems to me advisable that your Excellency should continue the system, since your Excellency will thus be always aware of the disposable force at your orders, as also of the increase or diminution of the population, and of the number of slaves appertaining to each individual, and thus be able to make future grants of land to such individuals as have the best means of cultivating them.

These tables have of late been neglected, but it was always my intention to renew them after the thorough establishment of tranquillity, and I think your Excellency will find them useful in informing you circumstantially and efficiently of the forces of the Captaincy. If, however, your Excellency decide on continuing them your Excellency must anticipate many petty difficulties and complaints from the people, *who regard a census of this nature as preparatory to some tribute or inconvenient regulation.* This I myself have often experienced, but I always persisted

in having my orders fulfilled, and finally all became aware that I had acted for their good.

Having hitherto spoken to your Excellency relative to the situation and military forces of the Captaincy, I shall now proceed to treat of the political and civil body, the character of the people, and the system which I have followed. Your Excellency has the Court of Appeal, and the Magistrates composing it. Up to the present time its members have fulfilled their obligations in a distinguished manner, and I have had no complaints whatever of want of rectitude in their decisions. In this Capital there is also an Ouvidor and a Juiz de Fora. *The Ouvidor, besides being of very limited capacity, has, by old age and ill health, been totally disqualified for the performance of the duties of his office. As he is not sufficiently strong to fulfil his obligations, he frequently employs Advocates to execute his task, and it has thus happened on several occasions that the same Advocate who has been employed by the defendant, has, on the other hand, acted as accuser, and subsequently passed sentence as Judge.\** The conse-

\* It may here be necessary to remark, that all proceedings in the law courts were at this time carried on exclusively in writing, a circumstance which materially facilitated these nefarious proceedings. In addition to the emoluments thus reaped by the same individual, in joint capacity of Advocate on both sides, and subsequently Judge, the Marquis might have mentioned the bribes customarily given, alike by plaintiff and defendant.

quences of such proceedings must be clearly apparent to your Excellency, yet the whole is managed with so much art that it is almost impossible to authenticate the fact, since the Advocates signing law papers on the part of the Ouvidor, cause the papers of their clients to be signed by other Advocates, who thus earn a livelihood; and it is thus impossible either to prove or to rectify the irregularity. I however make your Excellency acquainted with the circumstance, in order that you may adopt the measures which you deem the most expedient. The Juiz de Fora, at present here, bears a good character. A Judge for criminal causes is much wanted in this city, as your Excellency will afterwards see.

Some more Juizes de Fora are also necessary, and especially one for the district of Santo Antonio de Sá and the neighbourhood,—another for Campos dos Goitacazes,—another for the island of St. Catharine, and another for Rio Grande de San Pedro; it being necessary, before the nomination of these magistrates, that a scrupulous examination be instituted relative to their worth and talents. A knowledge of the laws and civil jurisprudence is not sufficient; they ought to be endowed with patriotism, and of a disposition which may give hope that they will endeavour to promote the prosperity and happiness of the people, both in appeasing their

differencs, animating their commerce and agriculture, and in opposing the sloth and erroneous prejudices which have led to the utmost indigence. The three Ouvidores required, viz., the one for this Capital, the one for the Captaincy of Espirito Santo and Campos, and the one for St. Catharine and Rio Grande, ought to be three active men who will carry through the beneficial measures already commenced by the Juizes de Fora of these districts. Without these magistrates, your Excellency will find it difficult to accomplish the augmentation and prosperity of this Captaincy. I have laboured nearly two years for this object; I have been tenacious, and I have not been checked by the doubts and difficulties which every instant presented themselves, yet as I have wanted support, I have done but little. *In general the magistrates who come to this country, (as far as my experience goes,) think of nothing further than fulfilling the time for which they have been sent here, in order that they may afterwards claim promotion; and during the time of their residence, their only study is to accumulate all that they can, in order that on their return they may benefit their families. Not one of them speaks of the utility of which he has been, or of any useful establishment which he has aided: all bewail the misery and poverty of their districts, being moved to this compassion by the trifling revenue which they have drawn from their office.*

As the salaries of these magistrates are small, their chief aim is not to retire, some with less property than others, and they seek to multiply their emoluments by litigation and discord, which they foment, and not only keep the people unquiet, but put them to heavy expenses, and divert them from their occupations, with the end of promoting their own vile interest and that of their subalterns, who are the principal concocters of these disorders. *During nearly twelve years that I have governed in America, I never heard speak of a single Judge who endeavoured to reconcile litigants,—persuading them not to ruin themselves by continued and unjust pleas, and who did in this respect what is so often recommended in the laws themselves. I may also state that I never found any one useful establishment instituted by any of these magistrates, and having sent to several of them to obtain information on a matter of this kind, I found them so ignorant and unacquainted with all such topics, that I resolved never more to have any conferences with them.* Being in the end convinced of these truths, and aware that I ought to interfere, I endeavoured on numberless occasions to become the mediator between contending parties, no matter whether poor or rich, labourers or merchants; I called them mutually into my presence and reconciled them, and others I induced to appoint arbitrators for the adjustment of their differences; and in this manner, in the

shortest way, I endeavoured to cause them to live together quietly, and to prevent them from ruining each other. Certainly the magistrates complained that law-suits were fewer and that their places were worth less than before; but the people experienced the benefit; commerce and labour increased, and would have increased still more if the said Judges had not opposed my efforts by all the means in their power.

Unless your Excellency, in the absence of any further orders from his Majesty on this point, do not pursue the same system with myself, you may rely upon it, this Capital will be ruined in a very short time, since as soon as it is known that your Excellency will leave every thing to the judicial tribunals, new law-suits will arise every instant, many that are now regarded as at an end, will begin again; the Magistracy who can now accumulate little more than will suffice to pay their passage to the mother country, will again be enabled to enrich themselves as formerly, but the people will be ruined.

Your Excellency has also the tribunal of the "Junta de Fazenda," which comprehends among its members its Secretary and Treasurer. The Secretary is João Carlos Correia de Lemos, a man of much intelligence, a good calculator, and well versed in the system of book-keeping necessary in this important department. He

is also a man of probity but of a violent temper, proud, vindictive, distrustful, and rather indolent. Notwithstanding these defects his manners are so insinuating that he appears obedient and humble to a fault. All is however assumed, with the object of obtaining the good will of whoever governs, in order that he may have the exclusive management of that department. When he perceives his efforts fruitless he soon makes known his true character. In my opinion he has more officers employed than are necessary, yet he insists upon it that they are indispensable for the examination of past accounts. This department requires examination as to the labour distributed to each individual, and the hours of attendance, and if this be done, your Excellency may possibly dispense with the services of some of them. Some of the clerks employed in this department are valuable both for their intelligence and industry, but others are absolutely worthless, notwithstanding continual reproof. The accounts and other documents required from the Junta are often delayed until sometimes they are totally forgotten. The same thing happens with requisitions and despatches, which are often unnecessarily delayed. I have done all in my power to remedy this, sometimes by complaint, and at others by request, sometimes in private and at others in public, but though for a time I have succeeded,

every thing has again fallen into the old track. I was the culprit for having given the Secretary too much power in the beginning. On my arrival here the Count de Azambuja informed me that this man was very clever, very industrious, and very zealous, and that this had been the cause of his having many enemies and calumniators, but that I ought not to listen to them or they would certainly deceive me. This caused me to show him every attention, to slight and regard as insincere all who spoke ill of him, and to allow him to act just as he thought proper, and gave him so much importance, that when afterwards I discovered how much he had deceived the Count de Azambuja, I found I had been his pupil, and had allowed him to have a decision in matters on which perhaps he ought not even to have been heard. Your Excellency is in different circumstances to myself, since I now lay before you the fruit of twelve years' experience. I do not inform you of what I have heard, or of what they have persuaded me, but of what I know and have reflected on. Your Excellency possessing these details without its being known, and with that prudence and art which is characteristic of your great talents, will be able to amend all, and to be of the greatest utility and service to his Majesty and the Royal interests.

The Treasurer-General is Manoel da Costa



Cardozo, a man of honour, probity, secrecy and fidelity. He has often advanced heavy sums of his own money to the public Treasury, lest payments involving its credit should be delayed, and its poverty has thus been concealed from the public. Such is the independence of this officer, that although the Royal Treasury owes him more than sixty thousand cruzades, advanced during the course of six or seven years, he has never insisted on even the most insignificant payment to himself. Regarding however this information, your Excellency ought to observe, that as this man was appointed by me to his present post, and I have always evinced my esteem for him, it may be that my self-love has interested itself on his behalf, and that the obligation which I am under to him for having saved the credit of the Royal Treasury, induces me to speak of him in too favourable a manner.

Your Excellency has the Tribunal of Provision, and in it there is a Provider. This department comprehends many branches in my idea incompatible. In the first place, it is charged with the collections for the Treasury. Afterwards it is to this Tribunal that the contractors recur for the certificates of the amounts owing to them, and all other judicial documents required. It is also charged with the exaction of the tribute levied on all slaves going to the province of Minas; and finally, it is the fiscal establish-

ment of all relating to the collection of taxes and the administration of the Treasury.

These various trusts, as your Excellency will perceive, require a man of erudition, but because a man possesses erudition, it cannot be expected that he should understand the construction of ships and their appurtenances. Only masters, pilots, or such as have dedicated themselves to that profession for many years can do this in a proper manner. In a similar way the Provider is required to have a knowledge of fortification, armament, and whatever is required in the army, or in other words, of what is known only to officers of long experience, after arduous study. Let your Excellency judge how these qualifications can be expected from a man who has devoted his time to jurisprudence or similar matters. However honourable be the Provider, the department in question is ill attended to, and a heavy loss is entailed on the Treasury, from the circumstance that these matters are regulated for the most part by an individual who does not understand them. The Providers confide in their subordinate officers, these purchase what is required from their own friends on exorbitant terms, the workmen give in false accounts, the masters of vessels make requisitions to which there is no restriction, and finally, notwithstanding the

heavy sums paid on behalf of his Majesty, every thing is badly executed.

The late Provider has been one of the most attentive to his obligations. It is true that he understands but little besides jurisprudence, but he is an honourable and active young man, who has been indefatigable in his attempts to improve himself. He has consequently done much more than his predecessors; but such another cannot be hoped for, and moreover, the labours of the office are so great, that no person's health can withstand them, as it has been proved in the case of this individual, who has suffered so much from a pectoral complaint that his life is endangered.

During the war it became necessary to increase the number of officers in this department, yet as the accounts then behindhand are now on the point of being closed, several may again be dismissed.

There is also in this Capital the Tribunal of the Board of Inspection, of which the General Intendent of the gold is President. This magistrate is possessed of abilities, intelligence and probity, and has always executed the charges with which I have entrusted him in an efficient manner. The Viceroys have no jurisdiction over this Tribunal, and therefore know no more of its proceedings than the Pre-

sident chooses to communicate. This Tribunal might contribute materially to the augmentation of commerce and agriculture, if some alteration were made in its arrangement; and I have determined to make a representation on the matter to the Court, if they permit me, or evince any wish for information on the subject. Meanwhile I can say nothing farther about it to your Excellency.

Your Excellency has the Municipality over which presides the Juiz de Fora. This department I found in even greater disorder than any of the others. The Juiz de Fora who was here when I arrived, and who remained here until nearly a year ago, was Jorge Bôto Machado, a man not only ignorant, but absolutely devoid of understanding, but with great vanity of knowledge (a defect characteristic of ignorant people), and this man had confounded every thing; his ridiculous despatches rendering him an object of universal derision, and causing him to lose all the respect due to his office.

All such as were distinguished by their birth, were chosen as Aldermen, and as Common Councilmen; individuals, who had been tradesmen, but who having been unsuccessful, had taken this office as a last resource. *The men distinguished by birth are here, in general, the poorest and the most straitened in means. Their nomination, some as Aldermen, and others as Common*

*Councilmen, was thus useful to them as a means of relieving their necessities, and of enabling them to obtain friends and protectors, from the favours which they conferred, with the property of the Municipality.* Hence it arose that the Chamber neglected to collect its dues and to hire out its possessions, or to let them at trifling rates ; and as the revenue thus dwindled away, the streets were left unpaved, no bridges were built, the roads became impassable, there was only one public fountain ; in a word, all works of public utility, even slaughter-houses were wanting. Though the disorder appeared almost irremediable, I began by procuring the nomination of men of wealth and probity as Aldermen, men who during the year of their office would collect all just dues, hire the property of the Chamber at its just price, and afterwards separate a part of the revenue for the payment of the debt which had been incurred, and employ the rest for the benefit of the public in such a manner that all might recognize the zeal of those holding office.

As the laws of his Majesty have qualified commercial men for public offices,\* I chose a

\* Anciently the inhabitants of Portugal were divided under two general heads,—proprietors of lands, and *mechanics*, as the artisans and labourers were styled. The proprietors of lands were the only privileged class, and were alone eligible to public offices. By virtue, however, of a subsequent law passed during

number of the Aldermen from this class, nominating at the same time as their colleagues in office, the most respectable proprietors ; and in this manner I obtained in the end, the pavement of the streets, the erection of two fountains, the repair of many bridges and roads, and the draining of many marshes, which were the causes of maladies in the city. Public slaughter-houses were built, a Court-House is on the point of being erected, the streets were rendered more commodious, and many useful objects were commenced, and may be continued, if your Excellency will take this department under your personal inspection.

The revenue of the Chamber was from nine to ten thousand cruzades, now it exceeds twenty, and as yet all the property legitimately appertaining to the Chamber has not been discovered. Jorge Bôto, the former President, was reduced to such desperation from the resolute manner in which I watched over that department, checking his illicit gains and his generosity with what was not his own property, that at length he pretended to be insane, and as such shut himself up in the Convent of Capuchins, whence he only came out since the arrival of your Excellency. There was another

the administration of the Marquis de Pombal ; merchants, and other individuals engaged in commerce were rendered eligible to the same offices as the proprietors of lands.

irregularity in this department, which was the manner in which the public coffer was kept. The Treasurer had the coffer in his house, entirely at his disposition, without sufficient documents as to either the receipts, payments, or the balance on hand. He neither offered any account of his administration, nor was it asked from him ; and hence your Excellency may conceive the state in which it was, this man having kept his post for many years, and perhaps would have kept it up to the present day if he had not died of old age.

On occasion of his death I was informed of all this irregularity,—that there were sums in the coffer of which the owners were not known, and that others found no account of the sums which they had deposited. The greater part of the nominal balance on hand was out of the coffer, and as there were no certain days of payment, it was often difficult for creditors to obtain their money. In the end, the Treasurer was found to have overdrawn himself considerably, but as his son was possessed of sufficient means and capital to defray the debt, he bound himself to do so, and it is now nearly discharged.

To avoid the recurrence of these abuses, I ordered that the coffer should be conveyed to the Mint, that the Treasurer should find sureties, that there should be certain days of payment,

and that a code of regulations which I framed should be executed. Accordingly the state of the coffer is always known, individuals receive the amount of deposits immediately, and all loss is prevented. I gave in an account of all this to the Marquis de Pombal: and receiving no answer, I persisted in my decisions.

*There was, moreover, in this city a terrible nuisance, occasioned by the negroes arriving from the coast of Africa. As soon as they were disembarked they entered the city by the principal streets, though not only covered with filthy diseases, but naked, and being devoid of all instruction, they were in the habit of enacting the most disgusting scenes in the streets, before the houses where they were stationed. Respectable people could not appear with decency at the windows, and yet the abuse was permitted under pretext that the owners of the slaves were spared expense of rent by exposing them in the street by day, and bringing them into their dwellings by night. This disorderly proceeding, it cost me a great deal of trouble to obviate, and nothing but the most extreme constancy enabled me to succeed.*

My resolution was, that on slaves being disembarked in the Custom-house, they should again be sent in boats to the Valongo, (which is apart from all the rest of the city,) and that they should there be deposited in stores, or warehouses. Also, I decided, that the purchasers should never enter with more than four or five



naked slaves into the city, and that those bought for the province of Minas, or for the plantations, should be retained in the square of St. Domingos, where there was every convenience for the object, until they were taken away from the city.

I paid a great deal of attention to the execution of this order, and, although with difficulty, I caused it to be carried into effect, the health of the inhabitants of the city improved, the slaves themselves were more easily cured of their maladies, and to-day all acknowledge the beneficial result of what I have done. The slave-owners, nevertheless, do every thing in their power to bring affairs into their former train:—regarding their complaints, your Excellency will act as you think proper.

I have now spoken to your Excellency of the military, political, and civil state of this capital, and have now only to address you regarding the character of the people, the merchants, their commerce, and my system of government. *The general character of the inhabitants of those parts of America with which I am acquainted, is that of indolence, humility, and obedience. They are sober in their habits, yet they have at the same time great vanity and hauteur; but these defects are easily subdued. They are robust, support labour well, and follow the commands they receive; yet, unless they be commanded, they often remain in a state of*

*inaction, until they are reduced to the most extreme indigence. Yet these very individuals, who are by themselves very easy to govern, sometimes become unmanageable, and give a great deal of trouble, on account of the Europeans, who have their establishments here.*

Many of these latter are natives of the province of Minho, a lively, turbulent, and insincere people, who, notwithstanding their progress in agriculture in their own province, have not here been of any benefit in this respect, since, no sooner do they arrive, than they join their countrymen who have monopolized all the commerce here, and prevent the admittance of any native as a clerk in their establishments, lest he might afterwards become a merchant. With regard to agriculture, they seem as ignorant as the natives themselves; and, as they are the only commercial class, the miserable inhabitants are placed in such a subordinate position, that they rush into excesses, in opposition to the suggestions of their natural sentiments. Nevertheless, as the Europeans are nearly all individuals of low birth, their intrigues never assume such a form as to give the Viceroy any trouble in compelling them to fulfil their obligations, and to obey his determinations. It is true, that they murmur and employ much imposture and falsehood, in order to try if they can obtain any relaxation in the resolutions of

those who govern, or any extraordinary measures which may be of benefit to them ; but, on finding that their governors are resolute, and regard their petty tricks with contempt, they undeceive themselves, and become more manageable. The greater number of the individuals who are here entitled merchants, are no more than mere commission agents. There are no houses belonging to established companies. There are some who form partnerships, which are seldom of long duration ; and these partnerships are in general in particular branches of their business only. It thus often happens, that partners resident in the same house have, in certain transactions, a share with each other, and in others none ; and, as many different accounts are thus necessary, irregularity arises in their books, adjustments become impracticable, distrust ensues, payments and remittances are delayed, and the houses are often ruined. This is seen daily, and, as I was often a mediator in these disputes, and thus prevented the ruin of many of these merchants, I was enabled to inform myself of all these particulars. The only really mercantile house here, is that of Francisco Araujo Pereira and Co.

Those who are here regarded as the richest merchants, as, for instance, Braz Carneiro Leão, Manoel de Costa Cardozo, José Caetano Alvez, and some others, have acquired their riches by

commissions, and the consignment of vessels. As these men are very active, and have generally disposed of the merchandize sent to them, on good terms, and been diligent in procuring cargoes for their vessels, they are in good repute in Europe, and have thus acquired their capital. Though, however, these men are both rich and honourable, I cannot regard their houses as commercial houses, since they themselves are ignorant of their profession, and of the most approved methods of book-keeping. At present, since the establishment of a commercial school, some clerks have been found who have put their books in better order ; but this is only in a few instances. As these men are simple commission agents, they cannot forward the commerce of the State ; since they are bound by the orders of their constituents, and can ship nothing without instructions. The exports thus consist exclusively of commodities which have been known for years, and all others are neglected. The commission agents here will not send any new commodities, since they have no orders for them, and they are too timid to send them on their own account. Thus your Excellency will perceive that, for the augmentation of the commerce of this Captaincy, the establishment of companies with partners, both in Brazil and in Europe, is necessary, or a more scrutinizing policy on the part of the

merchants of Europe. Otherwise, it is impossible that commerce should increase, and your Excellency will have the disgust of seeing many precious and available articles of export utterly neglected. It was always my system, on all these points, to consider that every thing relating to the felicity, comfort, defence, and protection of these people, was my charge, and that I had a jurisdiction to interfere in all the foregoing departments, and take such measures as I regarded most conducive to the above ends.

In the municipal chamber I allowed the President and the Aldermen to govern according to their attributes, I meanwhile paying attention to all irregularities, and writing from time to time to the chamber to remind its members of their obligations. These my determinations or hints were, however, always ordered to be executed in the name of the chamber. *I always followed the system of taking no notice whatever of the murmurs of the people. I always endeavoured to ascertain, without their perceiving it, when they were really aggrieved, and when I considered that they were, I endeavoured, as though insensibly, to amend my own resolutions, but always remained constant in my designs, feigning myself ignorant of what was said.* Often, under other pretexts, I gave the complainants an opportunity of speaking to me, and, after having conversed with them freely, without allowing them to suppose me aware of

their complaints, I led to the topic which had excited them, and, after repeating the objections which might be urged against my plans, I proceeded to answer them in such a natural manner, that they became convinced that I was right, and, being disabused, they imagined that I had chosen them for my confidants, never suspecting my real motives. *As the good of the people was ever my chief object, I endeavoured by all the means possible to avoid all prejudice to them, and at the same time to benefit their credit and reputation.*

In the repeated conversations which I had with many of the merchants concerning the want of better correspondents in Europe, I ascertained that there was often so much delay ere remittances could be made, that their constituents were often obliged to come to this Capital to conclude their accounts, and hence arose many disputes and law-suits. On inquiry as to the causes of this, I found that the first was the immense number of supercargoes or travelling commissioners, who came from Europe as simple passengers, bringing with them large quantities of goods, which they brought as baggage without any payment for freight, and as they had neither commission nor warehouse-rent to pay, they were enabled to undersell the established houses. The second was the want of squadrons. When squadrons came annually, there was a certain station, where, as at a

public fair, all exposed their merchandize, and since, by the immediate sale of their goods, the merchants were exempted from warehouse-rents, and were enabled to remit more promptly, and to avoid the loss of interest, all which causes concurred to enable them to dispose of their merchandize at a low rate, and yet on more advantageous terms than at present. Moreover, the goods which they sold on credit to the inhabitants of Minas, were sold under the condition that the payment should be made at the time of the arrival or departure of the fleet; since that period, not only have they more difficulty in disposing of their goods, but the inhabitants of Minas began to render themselves more independent of the commodities of Europe. The greater part of the landed proprietors there, established manufactories and looms on their estates, and they thus clothed themselves, their families, and slaves, with goods of linen, cotton, and worsted; and as the stipulated time for payment ceased, and they became less dependent on their creditors, they seldom visited this city, or, if they were compelled to come, they contented themselves with the payment of some insignificant sum, promising to pay the rest shortly. From all the above-mentioned motives, commerce has been diminished. Various merchants have shown me, that when formerly they received goods to the amount

of four or five hundred thousand cruzades by the fleet, they remitted by the same vessels, funds to the amount of three to four hundred thousand cruzades in payment, and by the time of the return of the fleet in the following year, they were in general able to balance their accounts ; whereas now they do not dispose of more than two or three hundred thousand cruzades in the course of a year, and many not more than fifty or sixty thousand cruzades.

*In consideration of these circumstances, I wrote to the Captain-General of Minas, regarding the manufactories in that province, and I pointed out to him the prejudice which resulted not only to the State, but even to the Captainty of Minas from these establishments. To the State, on account of the check which they gave to commerce and navigation ; to the Captainty of Minas, since the inhabitants, being enabled to clothe themselves more readily than formerly, would neglect the working and search after gold mines, and that district would thus become impoverished. That, moreover, they ought to consider that a population composed of such indifferent materials, in such a vast territory, might, by rendering themselves independent, entail a heavy loss on all other capitalists. To these representations, however, some of the Governors returned me no answer.*



*Others denied the existence of the said establishments, in order to avoid blame for their inexcusable negligence in permitting them ; but it is certain that, in consequence of my representations, some manufactories were henceforth hidden from the public, as for instance, those of Pamplona, and others entirely suppressed ; yet, the greater part of the landed proprietors, still continue them on their own estates. I also endeavoured to establish a stipulated time for the sale of goods, in order that the large buyers from the interior, might all visit Rio de Janeiro as formerly, during the time of the fleets. For this end, I appointed a fair to be held in the dryest season of the year, and I caused the owner of a farm at the Gloria, to erect various buildings, where the merchants might exhibit their goods, and I appointed another place in the neighbourhood for stalls, as in the fairs in Europe. The commercial class did not avail themselves as they might have done of this establishment, yet they nevertheless reaped some benefit from it. There was an ancient order of the municipal chamber, that there should be an annual fair, an order which was executed for a few years, and afterwards fell into desuetude, like many other regulations, which, if enforced, might be of the highest utility to the people. If this affair be attended to, the result for which I strove, but which I had*

not the happiness to see accomplished, may possibly be realised, more especially, when confided to the discretion of your Excellency.

Regarding the passengers who bring goods here, I could take no efficient measures since they came out as officers of ships, and even as sailors, and as their goods are despatched under the names of resident merchants, it becomes difficult to authenticate their transactions. At the time when your Excellency arrived, it was my intention to assemble the merchants, and to cause the Intendant and President of the Board of Inspection to state to them that complaints on this matter had been made to me, that I had not been made acquainted with the name of the despatchers who had thus committed a crime meriting the severest punishment, and that I had even doubts regarding its having been committed, *but that if the thing were proved, the delinquent would be punished in the most exemplary manner*; and after this notice I had determined on instituting a more rigorous examination into these transactions, in order that the irregularity might be checked if not avoided.

In addition to all the above causes tending to the prejudice of commerce, I ought to inform your Excellency that there is another of still more importance, and this is the very heavy debt owing by his Majesty in this Captaincy. This debt to-day exceeds the sum of five mil-

lions of cruzades,\* and it must be evident to your Excellency that this capital being abstracted from commerce and agriculture, and locked up, and the debt continually accumulating, it is almost impossible that these people should open new establishments. Whence it results that unless his Majesty take some measure for the gradual payment of this debt, as for example, the appropriation of 200,000 or 300,000 cruzades per annum to this object, however your Excellency may desire to increase the prosperity of the Captaincy, you will have the disgust of seeing it retrograde, from a want of that aid which is in justice owing to it. This heavy debt ought not, however, to discourage your Excellency if once a stipulated sum of money be consigned for its payment. Not a consignment, as heretofore, of lands, as in the case of the confiscation of the property of the Jesuits, since with this kind of payments, individuals reap a benefit which ought to appertain to his Majesty. The estates of the Jesuits were sold for bills or credits on the royal Treasury. The valuation of the estates was presented to those who wished to bid for them, whereon the purchasers began to look out for bills on the Treasury, and as the

\* At the time when Don John returned to Portugal in 1821, it had been augmented to twenty millions, and subsequently, at the period of the abdication of Don Pedro in 1831 to two hundred millions.

holders of these had no hope of immediate payment, and could not sue the Treasury, they were glad to sell their bills or credits at a heavy discount, and even at credit, provided that the payment were guaranteed by a mortgage. Thus the purchasers of bills were enabled to buy the estates in question, at a very low price, and his Majesty was a loser in a corresponding degree. As these estates possess not only land, but also cattle, and slaves, their buyers often dispose of them piece-meal. Some retain a portion of the land proportionable to their wealth, others dispose of the whole to different purchasers, not according to the valuation set upon it, but on the best terms possible, and they thus not only reap a profit on the transaction, but as they oblige the purchaser to mortgage his purchase to them as security for payment, they sometimes receive many payments from him, and in the end again obtain possession of the estate, through his temporary inability to satisfy their demands. Thus not only are these sales prejudicial to the interests of his Majesty, but they have even caused the ruin of many families, whereas were a sum of money consigned for the extinction of the debt, and those to be paid first who would deduct the largest discount from their accounts, your Excellency would soon see a large diminution effected.

I should never be of opinion that any dis-

count should be taken from salaries, *congruas*, or the pay of officers, nor even from the amount of effects which have been charged to the royal Treasury at their just prices. I would also only admit of discount when the debt had passed into the hands of a third individual, and not where it was petitioned for by the contractor or his heirs. The debts from which I would take off a discount are those for effects, public works, &c., in all of which I have discovered fraud to an extent which appears incredible. For example, for the making of uniforms 3||000 was formerly paid, now it is done for ||500; for shoes for the troops 1||400 was paid, now they cost only ||800; and every thing else was in like proportion, as your Excellency will see on a comparison of the old accounts with modern ones. Ship-builders, stone-masons, and carpenters charged in a like proportion, and it ought also to be noted that these individuals while pretending to employ their own slaves, summoned them only for a few hours in the morning, and afterwards sent them to work in other stations, while his Majesty was paying them wages.

From all such debts as these a discount might without any scruple be deducted, and I can assure your Excellency that on prompt payment being made, there would be every facility for this. Without this, however, you can do nothing. *You can lay nothing aside from the re-*

*venue of this Captaincy, since for the execution of the royal mandates alone, the expenditure every year exceeds the revenue, to the extent of 100,000 or 200,000 cruzades.*

In the beginning of my government I transmitted an account of the debt, as well as of the revenue and expenditure of this Captaincy, and I showed how much the latter exceeded the former. Since then the expenses have increased, while the revenue has remained almost the same. The old debt has been increased by the war, and though in time of peace I managed, with much exertion, and the collection of some old debts, to reduce the amount by 500,000 cruzades, yet after it became necessary to prepare for war, the debt was necessarily augmented to its present amount. It will appear contradictory to assert that the expenses of the Captaincy exceeded its revenue, and at the same time to tell your Excellency that I had not only met these expenses, but that I had, paid something towards the old debt. I however, managed this, partly by the diminution in the prices of every thing purchased by the government, partly by the collection of old debts, partly by the issue of provincial coinage by which the royal Treasury reaps a considerable advantage, and partly by the product of the confiscated estates of the Jesuits. The provincial money which I caused to be coined was necessary, since in the Captaincy of Minas,

whither it mostly went, no other money circulates, and in the want of it the inhabitants were compelled to use gold dust in their commercial transactions, which is a considerable inconvenience, so that I was enabled to supply their necessities and to benefit the Treasury. One of the means proposed by the Court for the payment of the old debts, is to apply to this end the sums received from the debtors to the royal Treasury,—sums which they erroneously believe to be very heavy, being led into error by the misrepresentations of the fiscal officers, who have stated this with the end of causing the ruin of individuals to whom they bear hatred. In this manœuvre the Desembargador Alexandre Nunez Leal distinguished himself, proceeding to imprisonment and sequestration on behalf of certain unliquidated debts, and ruining many men and their families, when by a little judicious delay his Majesty might have been a gainer.

Regarding the amount of these unliquidated debts, no correct estimate can be made. Many debtors are dead, some poor, and others insolvent. Even when they possess landed property, it cannot be sold for prompt payment. I expect that on this being laid before the Court, they cannot fail to recognize the inefficiency of this resource, and that they will appoint some other, with the end of relieving the royal Treasury.

From what I have here said, your Excellency

will perceive that His Majesty ought to be immediately made aware of the want of means in this Captaincy, both for the payment of the old debt, and the annual expenses. *The public expenses increase daily, and the voluntary subsidy, the voluntary revenue, and the revenue arising from the estates of the Jesuits have ceased. Other branches of the revenue, as those of the Chancellorship and the duties on wines, have diminished; and others, such as the contract for the whale-fishery, and for salt, which ought to have doubled, have been lately sold at only a slight advance. Unless, indeed, some measures be taken for the relief of the Captaincy, your Excellency must necessarily contract a further debt of from 200,000 to 300,000 cruzades annually, and thus contribute to cripple commerce, and to depress industry still further.*


The culpable negligence of the Secretary of the Junta, Joaõ Carlos Correia de Lemos, in conjunction with the malice which at times induced him to revenge himself on those who have complained of his delays, has prevented me from being enabled to draw out a formal account of the matter, fit to be presented to his Majesty. It has, moreover, appeared to me, that the statement ought to be presented in the name of the Junta de Fazenda, on account of its being the tribunal entrusted with the administration of this object. Not only, however, has the above-mentioned Secretary prevented



this being done, but, by his idleness and the confused manner in which he keeps his accounts, he has been more than a year and a half in drawing out the accounts of the expenditure, since the commencement of the war, of the revenue during this time, of what we owe, and of what we are owing by the other Captaincies, according to what they ought to remit us, in conformity with the royal orders. Indispensable as is all this, I could never cause him to do it.

From what I have had the honour to say to your Excellency, you must perceive that I could not adhere to any fixed system; yet my chief objects were the preservation of the people in tranquillity and obedience, the promotion of their good, the arousing them from idleness, and the promotion of the interests of His Majesty; and, although I could never do what I wished from a want of means, I succeeded to a certain extent. I promoted the tranquillity and obedience of the people by the means already indicated; I promoted their good by forcibly compelling them to plant those products which are chiefly necessary for subsistence, such as maize and pulse; *I threatened to take away their lands from them, unless they cultivated them diligently*; I compelled the Colonels of Militia to give in exact statements on this matter, and thus led to a great increase both of these productions and of sugar. I promoted

the culture of rice, and induced various merchants to assist and animate the labourers planters; in consequence, this article, which it was a short time ago necessary to purchase in Europe, is now so abundant that it is exported. I also forcibly compelled them to plant a portion of indigo, which was a shrub which grew uselessly in the forests, and for which nobody cared; and at the same time while I obliged them to cultivate it, I caused others to prepare the plant, paying them, however, for the indigo when prepared. In this manner I gave a material impulse to the cultivation of a new branch of commerce; but as it was a product little known, the merchants were afraid to purchase it, and as they offered but very low prices to the cultivators, it again retrograded. I stated all this to the Court, and His Majesty was pleased to order the quality of the indigo to be examined and divided into three classes, on each of which there was to be an established price, and that the whole should be purchased by the royal Treasury at the established rates, and no private individuals permitted to purchase the article. This was accordingly done; but I found that the expense might often exceed the resources of the Treasury, and the payments to the cultivators might thus be delayed, and the culture retarded. I also recollected that when people are obliged to



dispose of an article to the royal Treasury, at stipulated prices, they always feel irritated, from a belief that they could obtain more from private individuals, and this might also be an inducement to abandon its cultivation. On this account, I represented to His Majesty, that it appeared to me that it would be well for the royal Treasury to make purchases; but that I should also recommend the cultivators to be left at liberty to make the best bargains possible with private individuals. They would thus be guaranteed from loss, since, when no private purchasers were found, the royal Treasury would pay them at established prices. My anticipations were verified; for, as the royal Treasury was straitened for means, payments to the cultivators were often delayed, without my being aware of it. Some merchants also induced them to believe that they could give them higher prices, and the result was so much vexation, that more than thirty cultivators abandoned this branch of industry altogether, and others prepared to follow their example.

It appeared to me that, until I received an answer to my representation, I ought to permit some merchants to make purchases, not, however, permitting that this should be done without my consent. They thus immediately began to purchase at higher rates than the Treasury, and the cultivators were encouraged

to proceed ; but those who had abandoned the business did not return to it. The merchants sent the indigo which they had purchased to Lisbon ; but as it there came into competition with a quantity found in some prize vessels taken from the Spaniards, the price fell very much, and a remunerating rate could no longer be given. Finally, the last resolution of the Court arrived, whereby His Majesty gave the cultivators permission either to dispose of it to whom they thought proper, or to export it on their own account, and appointed, also, certain stipulated prices to be paid for it at the royal Treasury. I published a proclamation to this effect, and stated, that henceforward all cultivators would be re-imbursed without the slightest delay, and that I myself would provide funds for the object. The consequence was, that not only was a large quantity bought, but the merchants again began to buy, and the cultivators, in some instances, proceeded to export the article on their own account. It is only thus, that commerce and agriculture can be promoted in these dominions. Unless the Sovereign encourage and indemnify the cultivators, nothing can be done ; but your Excellency must be aware that these succours, far from being prejudicial to the interests of His Majesty, on the contrary, contribute to an increase of revenue.

About the same period, an individual named

Joaõ Opmam brought under my notice, a plant called Guaxima, capable of making excellent cordage and cables. It appeared to me, that this might be of the greatest utility, and I resolved on commencing a series of experiments, which have answered as well as could be anticipated. In the first instance, cables were made, but the plant was cut in the wrong season, and prepared by unskilful and ignorant individuals, and the cable-makers neither knew how to twist the thread nor to pitch it. I nevertheless caused some of them to be used in the vessels of the squadron, where they were found almost, if not quite as good, as those of hemp. I gave an account of this discovery to the Court, and, by order of His Majesty, some lengths of this rope were made for comparison with the cordage of Riga. It cannot, however, excite surprise that this cordage, the preparation of which was not understood, should have been found inferior to that of Riga, which is superior to all other qualities known, therefore, in order to make a fair comparison, I ordered a rope to be bought in one of the shops in the city, and the strength of it tried with one of Guaxima, and as your Excellency was present during the experiment, you will recollect what was the result. Previous to this, I had ordered the cultivation of the plant and had constructed a ropewalk. The cultivators of the plant I paid at

so much an arroba, and charged Joaõ Opmam to receive it, and to pay them from funds furnished by the Royal Treasury. In the meantime I occupied him in making cordage for the public service, in which he has since been employed without any wages or other recompense. I have permitted him to make and sell cordage to private individuals ; but as he is very poor, he requires further encouragement, or the establishment must be abandoned. In consequence of the experiments made with these ropes, and those of Riga, the Court has decided in favour of the latter ; yet, in the absence of a total prohibition, I have continued to promote the cultivation and production of the former, considering that, even in case of its inferiority, it may answer for ordinary purposes and in small vessels. The culture of this plant does not interfere with that of hemp. I have endeavoured to establish hemp also, but I had difficulty in procuring the seed, which I at last obtained in a casual manner from a French vessel, and which I ordered to be sowed with great care. The birds destroyed the greater part of the crop, but some seed was retained, and I sent it to the island of St. Catharine to be planted. At the time when the Spaniards invaded that island there were hopes of a plentiful crop, but all my hopes were frustrated. Having, however, heard, after the restitution of the island, that some per-

sons had had the curiosity to preserve the seed, I ordered them to plant it again, in the hope of realizing my former plans. I ought to inform your Excellency, that not only are there excellent situations for these plantations on the island of St. Catharine, but also in Rio Grande, Campos dos Goitacazes, and some places in the vicinity of the city, such as Santa Cruz.

I also endeavoured to establish the culture of cochineal, a most precious commodity, and easily produced here. There are different qualities of the shrub, all belonging to the same class, and all serve as nutriment to the insect. The shrub with the largest leaf, however, is the best, lasting the longest, and giving most nutriment to the insect. The other, with the small and delicate leaf, is better liked by the insects, but it is less enduring, and the insects are smaller. I directed a large plantation to be made in the island of St. Catharine, and ordered the Governor, that in every vessel sailing thence, he should send me two or three boxes of the plants of the island, which are the best for distribution here. Many of the individuals to whom I gave them, lost them through carelessness, but I preserved a good number in a botanical garden which I established here, and which I placed under the inspection of Joaquim Jozé Henriques de Paiva, it being my intention to have a list made out of the individuals to

whom they were given, and to examine into the state of their plantations every six months. I also established another plantation at the Gloria, under the charge of Antonio Ribeiro de Paiva; but as St. Catharine's is again in our possession, the plants might again be brought thence.

As I had not a sufficient quantity of the best quality of the shrub, I ordered the Colonels of the militia, that by virtue of my order, they should command all the owners of estates to construct their fences exclusively of the second quality of the shrub. I also informed them of the distance which the plants ought to be placed from each other, and ordered them not to put the insects upon them until they were full grown, or otherwise the insect would consume the plant. To this I also appended instructions regarding the method of gathering the cochineal.

I have sent samples of this production to the Court, and His Majesty was pleased not only to commend my exertions, but ordered me to establish a price to be paid by the royal Treasury, for each pound. I fixed the price at six patacas per pound, but I consider this too little. Eight patacas could be afforded, and it would be well to give the cultivators the liberty either of disposing of it, or exporting it on their own account. Such is the state in which I leave



this branch of industry, a branch which your Excellency's distinguished talents will be able to promote still more efficiently.

The good success of mulberry-trees in America induced me to make a plantation of them, and with great exertion I obtained silk-worms from Europe, which have multiplied abundantly. Some silk has been made, but my efforts to hit upon the best plan of raising the worm have been in vain. As this country has a similar climate to Asia, where the silk-worm succeeds, I have written there for instructions as to its treatment, but have not yet received an answer. When it arrives it will be placed in the hands of your Excellency. Francisco Xavier is at present entrusted with the mulberry plantation, and the care of the silk-worms, and from him all the information which your Excellency may require can be obtained.

From all the districts I have sent for timbers, oils, balsams, gums, and shrubs, which I have transmitted to the Court, in order that their virtues might be ascertained, and commerce promoted. The Minister of State informed me that many have already been examined, and some excellent dyes have been found amongst them ; but, ere they had written to me explicitly on this point, the news arrived of my having the felicity to be substituted by your Excellency, and I therefore suspended all my measures un-

der the certainty that your Excellency would act much more judiciously than I could. Such are the particulars of several of the plans which I attempted to carry into execution.

*My self-love does not blind me to the point of inducing me to defend all my resolutions as judicious; I did what I could, and what my limited talents permitted me, and I never omitted any labours which appeared likely to prevent my falling into error. Your Excellency will act with more discretion, and, by correcting my imperfections and mistakes, will bring about that felicity of the people which I have ever desired, and still desire.*

I have reserved for the conclusion what I have to say to your Excellency of the island of St. Catharine and of the continent of Rio Grande,—Captaincies, if not the most important in the State, at least equal to any others.

The Captaincy of St. Catharine is fertile, well watered, abounds with excellent timber, and has many navigable ports. The first inhabitants who established themselves on the island usurped every thing, and it was for many years deemed that the lands there ought to be divided solely among the families sent there by His Majesty, whence it arose, that in a short time all the best lands were divided and many people dislodged; yet, as those taking possession of the lands had not the means of cultivating them, the possessors remained nearly as

indigent as those whom they dispossessed. As the island was deemed the most important part of the Captaincy, most care was taken in peopling it. The island was regarded as the best point of defence for the port and Captaincy, while the continent was despised, and remained without inhabitants, without commerce, and without defence. After the lapse of some time, estates on the continent were conceded, but the greater number of those who asked for them, and to whom they were given, sought for them from motives of ostentation rather than for their own utility, and that of the State; the poor were still dislodged, and as they had neither means nor influence, the prosperity of the Captaincy was retarded. Before the beginning of the war, I gave the Governor orders for them to be provided for, in order that the dislodged families might be kept together; I ordered the cultivation of those products which might be useful to them, to be promoted, and several plantations were made with this end, but during the war everything was again abandoned. It was always my wish that this Captaincy should be united to St. Pedro de Rio Grande, and that both should be immediately under the control of the Viceroy; and that on the island, and in two stations in Rio Grande, subaltern Governors should be appointed for the enforcement of orders from Rio de Janeiro. Also, that the principal de-

fences of St. Catharine should be made on the mainland, and it would thus matter but little that an enemy should take possession of the island, since it could not long be retained without succours from the continent, and whatever forces we ourselves might have on the island, if once the enemy took possession of the mainland they might soon reduce us.

The actual garrison of the island is a regiment. It is true that this is insufficient to defend those forts and to succour Rio Grande. It was a part of my system, that the regiment of infantry in Santos should have a part of its men on the island of Santa Catharina, and that the light troops should be quartered there. Both the Captaincies of San Paulo and Rio Grande would thus be more effectually protected, since it is certain that where the Spaniards could injure us the most, is the confines of St. Catharine and Rio Grande; and although the Governor of San Paulo would persuade me that the greatest danger is to be apprehended at Guatemim, I consider that a regiment of militia, with a prudent and vigilant commander, would be sufficient there, for the Spaniards have but few regular troops, and the services of these are required for points of more importance. The island of St. Catharine and the Captaincy of San Paulo would thus be well protected against any insult, and the Captaincy of Rio Grande might at any

time receive succour from the island. For the augmentation of the prosperity of this Captaincy, it was my resolution to exempt the sons of the colonists from military service for several years, but to compel them all to occupy themselves in the cultivation and clearance of land, in plantations, and in the construction of coasting vessels, and that when any son should prove disobedient to his father, or should seek to live in idleness, either to punish him or to compel him to serve in the army until he should give unquestionable proofs of wishing to become useful to his family and to the State: not to permit all the troops to marry, but to encourage some of them to do so, and after they had a certain number of children to allow them to quit the service, conceding them lands either in the Captaincy of St. Catharine or in that of Rio Grande, and affording them any necessary succour for their establishment. If this system be followed up, your Excellency may rely upon it that that Captaincy will become one of the most valuable of the State, but your Excellency will require to be very constant in insisting on the fulfilment of your orders.

The provinces of Rio Grande are separated from the Spanish territories in some places by rivers, and in others by imaginary boundaries. The military forces for their defence are four companies of infantry, and a regiment of dra-

goons. His Majesty determined that a legion of infantry and cavalry should be formed, and he named as its commander Rafael Pinto Bandeira, but this order was never carried into execution from the want of men. Besides the regular troops, there is also a regiment of militia, composed of excellent materials. I intended to have formed another company of infantry, and to have appointed as its lieutenant-colonel a skilful officer, appointing at the same time to the command of some insignificant fortress the commandant, Roberto Rodriguez da Costa, at present there, since from his old age he is unfit for active service. To the corps of dragoons I would annex three more companies, appointing to the command of the whole, Rafael Pinto Bandeira, and permitting Brigadier Jozé Casemiro Roncalho, who is far advanced in years, to retire to Europe, whither he is anxious to go. All the chief officers might thus be provided for, and there would always be a sufficient number of troops to repel any insult. It is, however, necessary that the commanding officer be a clever, prudent, and impartial man, since the restless, vain, and violent disposition of Brigadier Jozé Marcelino, hitherto the governor of those provinces, has caused so much intrigue, partiality, and discord between the officers and the people, that it will require a skilful hand to separate truth from calumny, and to restore quiet. With

regard to the prosperity of the people, I will inform your Excellency what were my intentions, none of which have unfortunately been carried into effect, through the impudent disobedience of the governor, and his invincible repugnance to fulfil my orders, even after I had punished him for his negligence. Those districts might not only furnish a supply of wheaten flour sufficient for America, but might even export it to Europe; upwards of two hundred thousand hides, as good as those which come from Spain; and all Brazil might be supplied thence, with cheese and butter.

We may also draw thence large quantities of cochineal, since it is there produced in many fields, even without culture. Hemp is also productive there, but the method of culture is not well understood. I have already detailed to your Excellency the measures which I took regarding it, but finding that my orders were neglected, I determined to suspend them, and if possible to make a voyage there and enforce them in person.

As there are but few coasting vessels there, and a great want of population, the labourers cultivate no more than they can consume, and but little corn comes to the Capital. The supplies of butter and cheese have been checked partly by the dearness of salt, and partly from ignorance on the part of the makers. A few

barrels of butter nevertheless come as presents to residents in this city. Great ignorance is evinced in the management of cattle. When hides are wanted, the owners of the cattle-farms kill oxen, cows, and calves indiscriminately, until they have furnished the number required, and hence it arises that both the cattle are diminished and the hides of bad quality. Moreover, the herds all go together without attention, which cannot fail to be prejudicial. The example of the Spaniards who are more attentive, and who as their hides are larger, obtain higher prices, has been of no avail. I wrote to the governor on this topic, ordering him to prohibit the slaughter of cows unless with express licence, and to impose heavy penalties on all transgressors ; to kill all the bulls except such as were necessary, and to keep the male and female cattle separate. I also ordered him to prohibit a frequent custom of killing very young calves on occasions of festivals ; but he not only neglected my orders, but even denied the existence of the abuses of which I complained, and every thing was left to take its own course. I ordered him to promote the construction of coasting vessels, but he did nothing ; and when afterwards I ordered the construction of a road of the utmost necessity, and gave him full instructions and powers regarding it, he betokened the same inactivity. Finding thus that



the governor either could not comprehend, or would not execute my orders, I had no alternative but to wait, and I have thus the disgust of seeing these Captaincies less advanced than they might have been. From all that I have been saying, your Excellency will see what has been done, what I wished to be done, and what ought to be done, as well as the utility of which these Captaincies may become to the State in case your Excellency will bestow your attention to them.

I ordered a number of the families who left Colonia to establish themselves there, and that the prisoners exchanged with the Spaniards should be assisted with money, and have lands given them in like manner. *I am, however, informed that my orders on this latter point have not been executed, as the arrival of your Excellency was expected, and it was thought that under the new government all that I had ordered would be countermanded.* The late arbitrary acts of the governor, Jozé Marcelino, and the absence of reprehension on the part of your Excellency, has fortified this individual in his disobedience, and it will therefore be necessary that your Excellency act with energy, punishing those who impudently imagine that their obstinacy will be indulged. Your Excellency ought not, however, to allow these individuals to annoy you. There are few Governors who in the beginning of their career do

not meet with such characters, and it is impossible to check them by example. Time alone can convince them that not only are their efforts fruitless, but that they also ensure their own punishment. *When, however, they are undeceived, all will remain tranquil until your Excellency's successor be appointed, when doubtless the same scene will be enacted again.* The presence of an Ouvidor is much required in the island of St. Catharine, a clever, vigorous, efficient, and prudent person, who can travel about in St. Catharine and Rio Grande. This person will not, however, be able to be of any service unless a Juiz de Fora be appointed to each district. For these last offices, individuals ought to be chosen with the qualities necessary in the Ouvidor.

In the last place, it is necessary that I speak to your Excellency regarding the conclusion of the treaty, which I ordered to be executed on receipt of the last orders from the Court. I named Jozé Marcelino as first Commissioner, and of this I informed the Spanish general. I named as Commissioner to take account of the prisoners, military stores, provisions and effects appertaining to His Majesty and his vassals, and taken by the Spaniards during the interim elapsing from the date of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 to the present time,—Lieutenant-Colonel Vicente Jozé de Velasco Molina, and as his substitute Major Pedro de Silva. I requested from

the General of Buenos Ayres, a counter-nomination, but as it was his object to delay the conclusion of the treaty, although it is far from being disadvantageous to him, he has evinced much bad faith and insincerity, procrastinating as much as possible, yet pretending that the delay occasioned was much against his inclination, in the face of evidence to the contrary. This your Excellency will see evinced in despatches and papers of Velasco, and the replies to them. With regard, however, to the demarcation of limits, nothing can be done at present from a want of means. In the first place, the instruments necessary for the operation are wanting, and, secondly, geographers are wanting to be divided and sub-divided into different companies. Many doubts will necessarily arise on account of the incorrectness of maps, and the formation of establishments in the interior will be necessary for the sustenance of the individuals employed. Your Excellency will perceive that I was devoid of all the necessary and indispensable means for the object: *all that I could do was to nominate José Marcelino as my first Commissioner, which nomination I made rather to satisfy the Spaniards in appearance, than with the idea of availing myself of his services. His pride and his incapacity alone unfit him for any office wherein sincerity is required, and his interference could lead only to continual doubts, discord, and em-*

*barrassment. Engineers and instruments are also wanting, and I was supplied only with orders from the Government.* The opinion of Francisco Joaõ Rocio regarding the demarcation appears to me extremely correct, and I should recommend both him and the Colonel Rafael Pinto Bandeira to be employed on occasion of the demarcation. The latter is in fact so well versed in the geography of the country, that he may be said to have the map of it in his head. By means of these two men, the Court may be assured that all doubts will be resolved, while unless they be employed, difficulties will arise, time and money will be thrown away, and our sincerity will be distrusted.

What I have had the honour of repeating to your Excellency in the foregoing document, is what appears to me most essential regarding the present state of the Government, and regarding also what I have done. All my errors your Excellency will amend, with that wisdom and prudence which is characteristic of your distinguished talents, and thus will the people under your charge be enabled to enjoy all the good fortune possible, and your Excellency all the glory which I desire.

May God guard your Excellency.

(Signed) Marquis de LAVRADIO.

*Rio de Janeiro,  
19th of June, 1779.*

As the style of the Marquis is often unnecessarily diffuse and periphrastic, the translator has, in a few unimportant instances, curtailed the phraseology, without, however, either venturing on the omission of facts, or on altering in any way the spirit of the remarks. He has also omitted a sketch of the private characters of each of the officers of militia, presuming that, as the individuals are all since dead, it could offer no interest whatever. For these liberties he does not consider any apology necessary, yet he has deemed it requisite to state the circumstance, lest the fidelity and correctness of the document should at any period be called in question.

## No. 2.

*Manifesto of His Majesty the Emperor to the Brazilians, on occasion of his having forcibly closed the sessions of the Constituent Assembly.*

THE Providence which watches over the stability and conservation of empires, had, in its profound designs, permitted that after the establishment of the independence of Brazil, and the union of the provinces, the Empire should continue in the progressive march of consolidation and prosperity. The Constituent and Legislative Assembly laboured with assiduity, discernment, and activity, to form a Constitution which might plant and enroot, in a firm manner, the Constitutional system throughout this vast Empire. On this immovable basis the social edifice was raised, and strengthened; and such was the judgment which foreigners formed of the Brazilian nation, that the principal powers of Europe would shortly have acknowledged the independence of the Empire of Brazil, and would even have been ambitious to enter into political and commercial relations with her. This brilliant prospect, which nothing appeared able to obscure, was extinguished by the sudden storm which darkened our horizon. The genius of evil inspired fatal

intentions in restless spirits, and lighted up the fires of discord. It finally became evident, that there was not, in all the Assembly, that uniformity of adherence to those true principles which form Constitutional Governments; and the harmony of the divided powers, which constitutes alike their moral and their physical force, began to waver. Different and continual attacks on the executive power and its condescension, in order to preserve this same harmony, enervated the force of the Government, and began to undermine it. The spirit of disunion went on increasing, the gall of discord spread, crafty parties arose, and force was gained by a disorganizing faction, which began to terrify the minds of honest men; who, influenced only by zeal for the public good, and the most distinguished love of country, trembled with dread at the prospect of the future dangers which they foresaw, and which were becoming evident. Meanwhile, those who premeditated and devised subversive plans for their sinister ends, gained some individuals of good faith and ingenuous character, with the flattering ideas of confirming liberty,—that sacred idol always sought for and more frequently unknown,—others, with the persuasion that the Government was craftily rendering itself despotic; and some perhaps with advantageous promises, exaggerated in their gigantic imaginations; arriving

even at the malignity of preaching, that the perfidious and insidious project of union with the Portuguese Government, had been embraced.

The plans being thus concocted and arranged, and the means of realizing them being prepared ; the difficulties in their path having been cleared away, it became necessary that they should carry their design into execution, and a time was premeditated for this.

One of the means chosen as certain to succeed, was, to sow discord between the citizens born in Brazil and in Portugal ; at times, by means of periodicals written with fraud, artifice, and virulence, endeavouring to destroy the moral force of the Government, and to threaten my Imperial person with the examples of Iturbide and of Charles I. ; and, at other times, by means of emissaries, whose office it was to sustain and propagate these seditious principles.

The fermentation from which the revolutionary volcano ought to burst out, having been set at work, the faction which had made itself predominant in the Assembly, endeavoured to avail itself of a requisition of the citizen David Pamplona (spoken of as a Brazilian by birth, but having in reality been born in the Azores), wherein he complained of an assault committed upon him by two Brazilian officers, born in



Portugal ; but it was decided by the opinion of a commission, that he ought to recur to the ordinary tribunals.

Beforehand, and with the most criminal anticipation, the chiefs of that tremendous faction presented themselves, along with their followers,—persons from the populace, who, armed with daggers and pistols, might second them by inspiring fear among the illustrious, honourable, and worthy Deputies of the said Assembly, who, faithful to their oaths, only wished to satisfy the just confidence which the noble Brazilian nation placed in them, and were delighted to see the tranquillity necessary for their deliberations maintained.

On this ill-fated day, there would have been tragical and horrible scenes, if the illustrious President, on occasion of the tumult and scandalous disorder, had not, with vigilant and masterly prudence, closed the session, thus putting a turn to the evils which must have burst with a horrible crash from such a volcano, fermented with the fury of parties, with national hatred, with the thirst of vengeance, and the most distorted ambition. Such was expected even by a great number of persons, who, both within and without the Assembly, were disposed to sustain the projects of the terrible faction ; and such might be justly apprehended from the great quantity of arms, which were sold in profusion in

the city on the two preceding days, and from the scandalous acclamation with which, in despite of my Imperial presence, the chiefs of the abominable party were received, and exalted by their satellites on occasion of their departure from the Assembly.

On the day immediately following, this perilous scene was renewed. Vehement and virulent discourses of those who belonged to the said faction, continued to fan the fire of discord, and many of their creatures in the galleries of the Assembly and outside the edifice, would have countenanced the horrible results which were a certain consequence of the premeditated plans. With this end, it was proposed and passed, that the session should be constituted permanent, with the specious pretext that it would be improper to close it until tranquillity were re-established. To obtain tranquillity, I had commanded all the troops to march to San Christovaõ, with the just design of leaving the Assembly in perfect liberty, and I afterwards caused information of this to be conveyed to the Assembly, in order that they might take into consideration the justice of my motives, and also know how much it was necessary to provide positive and final measures for the public peace. These were not taken; the discussions were continued with the same heat and obstinacy, and the ruin of the country was intended,

with exaggeration of specious pretexts, — the first and certain object of their wrath being my Imperial person, which was insulted in all the manners which calumny and malignity could suggest. Nor did the revolutionary fury cease in this rash want of respect. They went farther, and it was intended to contract to the utmost the attributes, which, by the essence of Representative Governments, appertain to the chief of the executive power, and which had been conferred on me by the nation, as the Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil;—to such an excess did they go, that there were motions that all or a great part of the military force should be sent to a distance from the city, and the Government in this manner be deprived of its necessary vigour and energy.

The delay of the decisions, always dangerous in times of crisis, and which must have been fatal in the present one; the horrible perspective of imminent events; the desperation of some; the pride and fanaticism of others; the fears and terrors of all pacific citizens; the image of the country in danger, and the subversion of the State, imperiously required steps equally prompt and efficacious, and remedies, which, although violent in appearance, were the only ones capable of accomplishing prompt and happy results.

And what were those which could be adopted

at this perilous juncture? What were those which, serving as an embankment against the revolutionary torrent, could check and paralyse the force of its waves? There was none equally obvious and powerful with the dissolution of the Assembly. This, and the dismissal of Ministers, are in constitutional monarchies the preservatives from public disorders; this was put in practice, and there was no other resource than its execution, though it was with the utmost repugnance and pain to my Imperial heart. From these powerful motives, from the urgent necessity of saving the country, which is the supreme law, and which justifies extreme measures in cases of the greatest risk, by a decree of the 12th of the current month, I commanded the dissolution of the Assembly, ordering, at the same time, the convocation of another according to public Constitutional right, with which I desire and rejoice to conform myself.

In this same decree, and in the proclamation of the 13th, which amplified it, irrefragable proofs are given of the imperious necessity which compelled me to adopt this strong measure, and of how much I desire and seek to re-establish the constitutional system; the only one which can promote the felicity of this Empire, and the one which was proclaimed by the Brazilian nation. If such arduous and perilous

circumstances obliged me to put in execution a remedy thus violent, I must observe that extraordinary evils require extraordinary measures, and that it is to be hoped and believed that they will never more be necessary. The inhabitants of all the provinces being certain of my magnanimity and Constitutional principles, and aware how anxiously I am engaged in the promotion of the national tranquillity and felicity, will be consoled for the commotion caused by this disastrous event, which has also been so painful to me, and they will continue to enjoy the peace, tranquillity, and prosperity which the Constitution guarantees and secures.

EMPEROR.

*Rio de Janeiro,*  
16th of November, 1823.

## No. 3.

*Sentence given against the criminals Joao Guilherme Ratcliff, Giovanni Metrowich, and Joaquim da Silva Loureiro, executed for high treason, in 1825.*

I Jozé Joaquim de Gouvea, actual Secretary of the second court of Correction of Crime in the metropolis, for His Imperial Majesty, whom God guard, &c., hereby certify, that referring to the documents of the crime in which Justice is the prosecutor, and Joaõ Guilherme Ratcliff, Joaõ Metrowich, and Joaquim da Silva Loureiro are the criminals, in the same is found what is demanded by the petitioner, of the following tenor:—

## ACCORDAÕ.

Accordaõ in relation, &c. In these documents, that in conformity with the decree of His Majesty the Emperor, and the decision of his Regedor, were made summarily for the criminals Joaõ Guilherme Ratcliff, formerly second officer of the brig “Constituiçaõ ou Morte,” by the nomination of the infamous rebel Manoel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade, and to Joaõ Metrowich, commander of the said brig, by the same nomination, and to Joaquim da Silva Loureiro, commander of the schooner, “Maria da Gloria,”

from the summing up of the evidence brought before the Court, and from *questions addressed to the said criminals*, and the allegation offered in their defence by the Advocate of their nomination; it is shown, that Manoel Carvalho Paes de Andrade, having planted in the province of Pernambuco the standard of rebellion against the Constitution of the Empire, and the august person of His Majesty, he there made himself chief of the horrible faction, by means of which he intended sacrilegiously to rebel against, destroy, and annihilate entirely the fundamental principles of the Constitutional Empire, embraced and sworn to generally; and endeavoured, in order that he might carry into more full effect, his extravagant and perfidious project, to destroy in the first place the forces or troops of that province, who had taken the heroic and firm resolution to hold themselves at a distance from that insensate and horrible party, and who maintained themselves in Barra Grande, under the command of the Morgado do Cabo (Barreto), with the most firm and loyal intrepidity. It is shown, that this same wicked and infamous Manoel de Carvalho, devoured by the rash spirit of rebellion, spared no means to destroy, by the sword and by the most cruel and abominable war, that portion of the military which valorously opposed the progress of the revolution which he intended to extend to

the neighbouring provinces, in order to render it general throughout the Empire, by conducting into action, on the field of battle, the troops of his faction, whom he had seduced to the point of inducing them to take up arms against their own fellow-citizens, brothers, parents, and friends, and by despatching emissaries, who, by their tricks, deceits, and frauds, corrupted and depraved the sound spirit of the provincial governments; and, moreover, placing on the sea, vessels that, infesting the coast, barbarously and inhumanly blockaded those faithful and valorous soldiers of Barra Grande, in order thus to reduce them by hunger and misery to embrace that unjust and impious cause, or to make them victims of the most noble and honourable sacrifice, that he might afterwards wield in safety the torch of that horrible revolution. It is shown, that among the most energetic agents and active followers of that abominable party, who were also chosen by the chief of the rebellion to aid him and to carry into full execution his detestable projects, were the criminals Joaõ Guilherme Ratcliff, Joaõ Metrowich, and Joaquim da Silva Loureiro, the first being a criminal, not only as a stranger, but as a Portuguese, which, under actual political circumstances, was more than sufficient to exclude him from any responsible post. How pernicious were his intentions is



thus evinced, and how much they corresponded throughout the amplitude of the revolution with those of the infamous leader Carvalho, to such a point that this leader selected Ratcliff for his most important mission, as is evident from the Instructions, (fo. 8), and from the proofs of the testimonies to this summary, appointing him second officer of the brig “Constituição ou Morte,”—it is shown, that the above criminal, João Guilherme Ratcliff, fleeing from and abandoning his country, Portugal, and arriving in Peruambuco in that revolutionary crisis, became a most virulent sectarian of Carvalho, and though a stranger, took that decided part in the rebellion, and under these circumstances was sent in the brig “Constituição ou Morte,” in order to conduct, in accordance with the rebel commander of the troops, the disembarkment of the military stores despatched by Carvalho for the succour of his partizans, and likewise to enter into negotiations with the provincial government of Alagoas, tending, *without doubt*, to prohibit succour to the faithful troops stationed and fortified in Barra Grande, *as is proved* by the Instructions (folio 8), and the Proclamation (folio 9), and from the deposition of the witnesses; by which deeds the said criminal has constituted himself an accomplice in the enormous crime of rebellion, associating himself spontaneously and voluntarily with Carvalho, and

developing all his efforts, talents, and abilities, not only to aid those rebel troops, but also by his influence to cause the government of Alagoas to rebel and enter into the project of the revolution. It is shown, that the criminal had lent himself to aid and assist, or sacrifice himself entirely, according to the result of that revolution, since Carvalho in his instructions *insinuates* that the said criminal might be entrusted with all and every commission wherein the Commandant of the rebellious division might think that the criminal's services might be advantageous to his plans, according to the orders directed to him ; all which the criminal has realized with the greatest enthusiasm and fury, committing hostilities on the coast, and seizing vessels laden with provisions intended for the succour of the above-mentioned troops in Barra Grande, wherein the criminal thus carried on the most barbarous and cruel war, fulfilling and developing in all its extension the plan of the rebellion of the above-named Manoel Carvalho. It is shown, that the accursed interest that this criminal had taken in that rebellion, tending to overthrow the Constitution of the Empire, and directed principally against the sacred person of His Imperial Majesty, was so phrenetical and violent, that he himself made a proclamation to the crew of the brig " *Constituição ou Morte,*" on the occasion when this vessel was espied by

the corvette “ Maria da Gloria,” requesting them to assume a hostile attitude, and threatening to fire the powder magazine unless they did so; on account of which threats the serjeant of the equipage closed the powder magazine, and placed a sentinel over it, for the purpose of preventing this heavy calamity. It is shown likewise, that this wretched criminal, in the midst of his fury and revolutionary madness, gave way to vociferations against the august person of His Imperial Majesty, and to eulogies in favour of Carvalho, blazoning forth that the cause, which he termed the good cause, would not perish; from which criminal and horrible facts, all of which are proved by documents (see folio 9), and also by the instructions (folio 9), and the depositions of the witnesses, principally of those from No. 10 to No. 30, he has thus been guilty of the crime of rebellion, from which he cannot be exempted by the incongruous pleas brought forward in his defence, viz., that he was employed as an envoy for the conciliation of the two divisions of troops, which plea is entirely fallacious, it being seen that the criminal brings no proofs of having in any manner co-operated towards this conciliation, and it being certain that this could only be accomplished by Carvalho and the adherents of his party giving themselves up obediently and submissively to the Government of His Imperial Majesty Neither can

the allegation that he is a Portuguese, and a foreigner, at all avail or excuse him from the guilt of this horrible crime, inasmuch as, notwithstanding this circumstance, and according to the principles of the right of nations, by the fact of his entry and residence in this Empire, he tacitly submitted himself to the operation of the laws which maintain the public security, and without doubt it is a prerogative and right of the Sovereign of the Empire, and of the laws which His Majesty causes to be executed, to appoint how far the laws shall affect the inhabitants of the territory of the nation. As to the criminal Joaõ Metrowich, it is shown, that this criminal was appointed by the rebel Manoel Carvalho, as commander of the brig "Constituição ou Morte," which command he accepted, and he was charged with the commission of navigating to Barra Grande, and conducting thither the military stores, money, and ammunition, for the supply of the rebel troops. It is also shown, that this criminal has committed hostilities on that coast and blockaded the pacificating forces under the command of the "Morgado do Cabo," and has taken a brig, and the smacks laden with provisions in the port Das Pedras, preventing in this hostile manner the *pacificating army* from being succoured, in order to reduce it by misery and hunger, it also being verified that this criminal eulogized the conduct

of Carvalho, and entered into the council which decided that they should fight the corvette "Maria da Gloria,"\* in which deeds he has pertinaciously acted as an enemy to the troops of the Empire and His August Majesty, and as an adherent to the infamous Carvalho, and on this account he is included in the horrible crime of rebellion and treason.—As to the criminal Joaquim de Silva Loureiro, commander of the schooner "Maria da Gloria," it is shown, that this criminal, as a sectarian of the rebellious faction of Carvalho, was by him named commander of the schooner during this expedition; that he navigated in a hostile manner to Taranda, Barra Grande, and the port Das Pedras, and there fulfilled his commissions, disembarking the money and military stores sent by Carvalho for the succour of the rebel troops, taking and robbing the smacks laden with provisions in the port Das Pedras, and being an accomplice in the capture of the brig-of-war also taken there, and, moreover, eulogizing with fervour and perfidy the infamous conduct of Carvalho, which facts sufficiently characterize him as an enemy of the Empire and of His Imperial Majesty, and as the above crimes are of great weight, by

\* The corvette by which they were taken;—a different vessel from the schooner of the same name commanded by Loureiro.

the decided assistance conferred upon the rebels to the prejudice of the troops who defended the integrity of the Empire and the sovereignty of His Imperial Majesty, this criminal is also found guilty of the crime of rebellion and even treason. On this account the criminals Joaõ Guilherme Ratcliff, Joaõ Metrowich, and Joaõ de Silva Loureiro, are condemned *to be dragged on hurdles through the public streets to the gallows, there to be executed, and are also hereby amerced in two hundred milries each for the expenses of the Court, and the cost of the documents.*—Rio, March 12th, 1825.

CUNHA, Regedor,  
GARCEZ,  
MOTTA,  
CAMPOS.

MACHADO,  
CARNEIRO DE CAMPOS,  
DOUTOR FIGUEREDO.

## No. 4.

## OFFICIAL NOTE,

*In which His Britannic Majesty is asked to guarantee the succession to the crown of Portugal in favour of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil, directed on the 7th of December, 1825, to Mr. Canning, by his Excellency the Marquis de Palmella, in the name and by the express order of his Most Faithful Majesty Don John VI.*

*South Audley-street, 7th Dec. 1825.*

THE undersigned Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His most Faithful Majesty having had the honour to address himself officially to his Excellency, Mr. Canning, principal Secretary of State to His Britannic Majesty in the department of Foreign Affairs, in order to reclaim in the name of His August Sovereign the guarantee of His Britannic Majesty for the execution of the treaty and convention, signed in Rio de Janeiro on the 29th of August last, has now the duty to propose to the consideration of his Excellency another subject to which His Most Faithful Majesty attaches the most serious importance, and which, like the first requisition, has intimate relations with the negotiations celebrated in Rio de Janeiro through the amicable mediation of His Britannic Majesty.

It is incontestable that the silence observed in the treaty of the 29th of August, regarding the succession to the crown of Portugal can in no manner affect the rights which his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil, has acquired by his birth to succeed to the throne of his august father ; but it is likewise at the same time evident that when the distance at which the Emperor is placed be taken into consideration, the epoch in which his elevation to the throne of his ancestors ought to take place, may be one of difficulty and perturbation for the Portuguese nation, which the paternal solicitude and foresight of His Most Faithful Majesty ought to endeavour at all costs to avoid.

The undersigned will abstain from bringing before the consummate intelligence of the enlightened Minister of His Britannic Majesty some considerations of state policy which apparently bind the interests of Great Britain in the most intimate manner *with the conservation of the two crowns of Portugal and Brazil in the same line of the royal house of Braganza*; these considerations being too evident to require any mention here ; but he hopes nevertheless that he may be permitted to remind Mr. Canning that besides motives of mere political interest, there are others of good faith, and honour, of which the cabinet of London cannot in any manner lose sight when the object is to put a necessary



term to the indispensable completion of a negotiation *concluded in consequence of its desires and under its auspices*; and which without this necessary completion, far from accomplishing the proposed end of re-establishing harmony and good feeling between the two portions of the ancient Portuguese monarchy, would leave perplexity in the mind of the venerable monarch who acceded entirely to the counsels of his ancient and powerful ally, and after his death would threaten so many dissensions in Portugal that it would not be easy in the present moment to foresee all its fatal results.

In consequence therefore of what the undersigned has here stated, his Excellency, Mr. Canning will doubtless have already seen that the object of the present note is *to ask formally in the name of his most Faithful Majesty that his Britannic Majesty guarantee the succession of the Portuguese crown in the person of his son and legitimate heir, the Emperor Don Pedro.*

The undersigned in thus executing the orders which he has received to this effect from his august Sovereign, avails himself of the present occasion to offer anew to Mr. Canning the protestations of his distinguished consideration.

(Signed) MARQUEZ DE PALMELLA.

To his Excellency, Mr. Canning.

## No. 5.

*Exculpation of the Marquis de Barbacena, published in reply to the Decree of the 30th of September 1830.*

To His Excellency the Viscount de Alcantara.

Most illustrious and excellent Sir,

Having perused with much surprise and grief the decree for my dismissal signed by your Excellency, and conceived in terms which appear susceptible of a sinister interpretation against my character, I have considered myself bound to show what was the real intention of his Majesty the Emperor, and of your Excellency in causing the abovementioned decree to be drawn out, and on this account I take the liberty of addressing myself directly to your Excellency, since you have always honoured me with your friendship and good opinion. I understood that His Imperial Majesty—wishing to fix the payment of the sums which he owed to the Treasury, and which had been expended with his marriage, as well as to terminate the liquidation with the same Treasury of the accounts of His August daughter, whose interests, as her guardian, he is in conscience obliged to promote,—had resolved through a mere sentiment of delicacy to remove me from the Presidency of the Treasury, in order that he might

not have as Fiscal agent in that settlement the same individual who held his procuration in Europe, in the fulfilment of two most important commissions which gave cause to the expenses which your Excellency denominates too great, and which have been incurred with the Queen of Portugal and the Emperor's marriage. The honourable invitation which His Imperial Majesty deigned to make me in writing, and which I showed to your Excellency, on the day of my dismissal, that I should remain with the department for Foreign Affairs, and the Marquis de Paranagôa, as head of the Treasury, proves in the most convincing manner that the motive of my dismissal was precisely that which I had supposed.

In the meantime every one gave to the decree the interpretation which he thought proper, and the most general one is, as I had feared, to my prejudice, since it is understood that I had given in no accounts, that I had spent heavy sums, and that for all these abuses, I was dismissed in order that a legal examination might be instituted. Under such circumstances, it becomes necessary to break silence, and to combat for my own honour. No expedient appears more prompt and useful than the publication of this letter accompanied by the inclosed exposition, supported by documents which I submit to the consideration of your Excellency. This exposition, by utterly destroying the imputations

which have been made against me, does not leave the slightest doubt when corroborated by the Alvarás of the 1st of December and the 14th of April, and of the Imperial letter of the 2d of December 1829, regarding the veracity of the three following propositions ; that I gave circumstantial accounts to the august guardian and bridegroom of my expenses incurred on behalf of the two commissions ; that these accounts were examined and approved ; and that finally my comportment in Europe, and up to the 2d of December, was eulogized and rewarded in a manner far higher than either my expectations or merits.

At the sight of the reasons brought forward, I hope that your Excellency will acknowledge the justice of this my explanation, and approve of the expedient which I have adopted, which would be unnecessary if the expressions employed by your Excellency in the decree in question had not given motive to such serious imputations.

By the present occasion I renew towards your Excellency the protestations of the most distinguished consideration, and remain the much obliged friend of your Excellency.

(Signed) MARQUEZ DE BARBACENA.

*Rio de Janeiro,*  
*18th of October, 1830.*

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*Exposition of the Marquis de Barbacena, in reply to the imputations alleged against him, in consequence of the Decree of the 30th of September, 1830, dismissing him from the post of Minister of Finance.*

## DECREE.

Whereas it being necessary to liquidate as soon as possible the debt of Portugal, contracted by the Treaty of the twenty-ninth of August, of one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, and it being necessary for this end to look, in the first place, to the account of the "Caixa" of London, and to examine the great expenses incurred by the Marquis de Barbacena, of my Council of State, both with Her Most Faithful Majesty, my august Daughter, and with the Portuguese Emigrants in England, and especially with my marriage; and it being impossible to verify these accounts in a legal manner, during the time that the above-mentioned Marquis holds the office of Minister and Secretary of State for the affairs of Finance; I hold it good to dismiss him from the said office of Minister and Secretary of State for the affairs of Finance.

Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 30th of September,  
1830, Ninth year of the Independence  
and of the Empire.

With the Imperial Rubric,  
(Signed)      VISCOUNT DE ALCANTARA.

## FIRST IMPUTATION.

The Marquis de Barbacena concealed the truth from the House of Deputies, sustaining that the Government of Brazil had interfered in no manner with the affairs of Portugal ; that he had forwarded no money to the Emigrants or to Terceira, having, on the contrary, suspended all the payments to Portugal since the usurpation ; whereas, by the Decree of the 30th of September, it is fully proved that the Marquis de Barbacena expended heavy sums with both the Queen and the Emigrants.

## SECOND IMPUTATION.

The Marquis de Barbacena expended a large amount with the marriage and voyage of the Empress ; and these expenses being national, he ought to give in accounts, and report how much he has exceeded his limits. The examination of these accounts appertains to the Minister of Finance, and he cannot be an appropriate judge in his own cause.

## THIRD IMPUTATION.

The Marquis de Barbacena ought not to enter the ministry without giving account of these great expenses incurred with the monies of the nation, nor even keep there his friend Calmon, who, having formed one of the late detestable ministry, ought to go out along with the others.

By these two facts, he has caused strong suspicions of collusion and of a scheme to settle his accounts, and to keep the House of Deputies in ignorance regarding his expenses.

*As to the First Imputation.*

Before showing the correctness of the information given by the Marquis de Barbacena to the House regarding Portuguese affairs, it becomes necessary to understand and commence with the Convention of the 29th of August, 1825. By that Convention, Brazil remained with an obligation to pay 2,000,000*l.* sterling, viz. 1,400,000*l.*, the amount of the Portuguese loan, contracted in England, by annual instalments, according to the conditions of the contract, and 600,000*l.* sterling within the space of a year, as an indemnification to the Portuguese Crown. This debt was acknowledged and approved by the law of the 15th of November, 1827, and as such was inscribed in the National Ledger, the Government remaining authorized to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty, which, as it is known, fixed the sums, epoch, and formalities of the total payment of the above two millions sterling.

While the legitimate Government existed in Portugal, sums corresponding to the interest and annual liquidation of the above loan, were paid to the Ambassador of this power in London, with all due exactness by the Government of

Brazil; but since the usurpation was effected, the payment was suspended from the want of a person authorized to receive and distribute it according to the conditions of Art. 2d. of the Convention. On reference to the statement of the external debt laid before the House, it will be seen that the debt of Portugal, inasmuch as relates to the first part of the Convention, or the Portuguese loan, is the same which it was on the declaration of the usurpation, and therefore no ulterior payment has been made, nor has Brazil paid one *real* to this object, which is precisely what was said by the Marquis de Barbacena.

With regard to the second part, Don João received 250,000*l.* sterling, and by his death his inheritance succeeding to Don Pedro IV., and by this Monarch's abdication to Donna Maria II., the Government of Brazil, in consequence of the straits of its finances, endeavoured to postpone the payment of the remaining 350,000*l.* sterling, and obtained this postponement for more than a year; but, on its being finally called for by the August Guardian of the young Queen, it became necessary to fulfil the contracts entered into by the Government, and sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly. The sum of 256,880*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* sterling was paid to Her Most Faithful Majesty; and did the Marquis de Barbacena ever hide that payment from the



knowledge of the House? On the contrary, in his report speaking on the external debt, he stated that there had been paid to the Queen of Portugal, on account of the 350,000*l.* sterling, the above-mentioned quantity of 256,880*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* sterling; and, in the discussion of the “Orçamento,” he positively stated that this payment had been made to the Queen through the medium of her Guardian, to whom it appertained to collect and administer the property of his ward. Also, he explained that the Government, notwithstanding the payment of the interest, and liquidation of the Portuguese loan, in consequence of the usurpation, nevertheless considered that payment as indispensable, whenever it should be legitimately required.

It thus follows, that the information given by the Marquis de Barbacena to the House was perfectly correct, when he stated that the Government had paid nothing to the Regency or to the Emigrants, but only to the Queen a part of the amount for which she was a creditor, as the heiress to Don João VI., acknowledged by Brazil, and by all the powers of Europe.

If the Marquis had asserted to the House that the Queen had not afforded the slightest pecuniary succour to her faithful subjects who fought for her in Terceira, or were reduced to beggary in Europe, he would certainly have been wanting in truth; but the House neither asked any

question on this point of the Marquis, nor wanted to know, nor cared to what purpose the Queen applied what was her own. All which is of importance to the House is, that the Government pays no more than is owing, and that it pays with exactness.

This is neither more nor less than the Government did ; it is what the Marquis de Barbacena asserted, and it is the undisguised truth ; therefore there is no room for censure, at least in this respect, in what this Minister asserted, either in his report or in the different discussions. Perhaps it may be pretended that the Marquis de Barbacena spent more than he ought, perhaps calumny may wish to attribute to him some fraud or illicit gain during the administration of these funds (though it will be easily seen by an inspection of the accounts that there neither was nor could be any thing of the kind), but admitting these conjectures merely for argument, what has the Government of Brazil to do with this? Nothing, certainly, nothing. The President of the Treasury by documents, dated on the 18th of June and on the 20th of September, 1828, (Document, No. 1), ordered the Legation of London to deliver to the Marquis de Barbacena, as Procurator and Delegate of the August Guardian of Her Most Faithful Majesty, the sums which he might require for the expenses of Her Majesty in Europe, these sums

to be abstracted from the 350,000*l.* sterling still owing to the Portuguese Crown. The Marquis de Barbacena was ordered to follow the commands and instructions of the August Guardian of Her Most Faithful Majesty, and when the said Marquis, in London, requested from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, positive orders and instructions as to what steps he was to take with regard to the emigrants, the Minister answered in the official communication, dated the 23d of May, 1829, (Document, No. 2), that having laid before His Majesty the communications of the Marquis, it was by His Majesty's positive order that the Minister should not reply to these questions, His Majesty having resolved upon conveying his orders through another channel, as was actually done. How then can it be pretended that the Government call for legal accounts from the Marquis de Barbacena when nothing was entrusted to his charge? The accounts alluded to, were private accounts of His Imperial Majesty, to whom the Marquis had the honour to present them in the most circumstantial manner, and by whom they were fully approved by the Alvará's of the 1st of December and the 14th of April (Document, No. 3), which exist in the Treasury. How can it be sought to make of a private transaction, though relating to the sacred person of His Imperial Majesty, a national transaction? and to institute a legal

examination into books and documents which ten months ago went out of the hands of the Marquis, and have been delivered, it is said, to persons notoriously his enemies, and so desirous of finding errors and fraud in them, that in the month of August they even endeavoured to induce a belief that there was a want of two carriages; a duplicate entry of 3,820*l.* sterling; and the concealment of 6,970*l.* sterling. If, notwithstanding the Imperial approval accorded, it be deemed necessary to examine anew the same accounts on account of errors or fraud lately discovered, would it not be possible to institute the desired examination without all this fracas! May not the discredit, which it is sought to throw on the Marquis de Barbacena, in some measure, compromise the Imperial dignity?

Let us look to the probable result, and let us suppose it the best possible, or that which a faction desires, that is, that the Marquis incurred great expenses with the Queen and emigrants, and that he committed many errors and abuses in the accounts which he gave in; let us grant all this. The August Guardian gave *carte blanche* to the Marquis on the 28th of June, 1828, to expend on behalf of the rights of the Queen, whatever sums he might deem proper and convenient, and he also approved of all which the Marquis did and expended, as well on account of Her Most Faithful Majesty as on that of her

faithful and unhappy subjects. This approbation was expressed not only in many letters, but by the Imperial Diploma of the 2d of December, 1829, (Document, No. 4), which designated the conduct of the Marquis as most praiseworthy and disinterested. How then institute a legal examination at present, and more especially under pretext of liquidation or reparation of errors in shillings and pence; how inculcate the Marquis de Barbacena, to whose zeal and firmness of character the Emperor owes alike the embraces of a daughter and a bride! That a well-known faction should desire the decree to be conceived in these terms, to overthrow the Ministry which had opposed it, and which Ministry having gained the confidence of the House, was becoming enabled to ameliorate the existing administration, is perfectly intelligible, nor does it require any comment; but that such a decree should be published, is what appears incomprehensible. From all this it becomes obvious, that the Marquis de Barbacena gave correct information to the House of Deputies; that relatively to the Queen and emigrants, he acted as Procurator or Delegate of the August Guardian; and that as this Guardian approved of the expenses incurred, it is not in any manner within the authority of the Government of Brazil to interfere in the transaction.

*As to the Second.*

The President of the Treasury, on the 17th of August, 1827, (Document, No. 5), ordered the Legation of London, that from the funds of Brazil existing there, they should furnish the Marquis de Barbacena up to the amount of 200,000*l.* sterling, even though they disposed of stock to the amount, in order that the Marquis might execute a certain commission with which he had been entrusted by His Majesty the Emperor.

This commission was to conduct the new Empress to Brazil, and let it here be noted, that the expense being estimated in 200,000*l.* the Marquis expended only 42,272*l.* sterling.

His Majesty, in his Imperial letter of the 28th of June, 1828, commencing by saying to the Marquis, that *he confides to the fidelity and probity of the Marquis the fulfilment of the greatest service which could be rendered to His August Person and family, as well as to the Brazilian nation*, goes on to give instructions relative to the qualities of the bride which he ought to seek for, and conduct to this metropolis, as soon as possible, and concludes in the following words: "All the means which your sagacity and zeal employ for this object (a bride) will be approved of by me, and on this account I enclose you three signatures in blank, and place at your disposition my

share of inheritance." To estimate the difficulties overcome by the Marquis in obtaining a bride, it must be stated, that the Emperor of Austria having asked for six different princesses as brides for his august son-in-law, all refused, and the case appeared desperate. To estimate also the discretion and success with which the Marquis fulfilled the commission, it must be stated, that His Imperial Majesty recommending the choice of a Princess who, by "*her birth, beauty, virtue, and education, might confer alike happiness on the Bridegroom and on the Empire,*" added, "*in case of the impossibility of uniting the four conditions, you may admit of some diminution in the first and fourth, provided that the second and third be in conformity.*"

Can any one deny that the actual Empress possesses the qualifications recommended, and that she is the most beautiful and amiable Princess of her time? Certainly not. If, then, the Government did not entrust the Marquis with this commission, but it was Don Pedro who did so; if His Majesty approved of the choice of the bride, and could not avoid approving of the expenses, it being seen that he had authorized the Marquis for whatever he might judge necessary, how can the Government interfere in this transaction? *The expenses do not even fall upon the nation, unless the Legislative Assembly choose to adopt them; nor can the Go-*

vernment institute any examination of the accounts, since it never gave the Marquis either any instructions or any charge. The Marquis was bound only to give accounts to his August Employer, which he did, and they were approved of, as is demonstrated.

*As to the third.*

*A few days after the arrival of the Marquis in Rio, he was sought after by a great many persons, respectable from their offices, and still more so for their virtues, decided friends of Brazil and of the Constitutional throne, who represented a heavy calamity, as proximate and inevitable by the acclamation of absolutism, intended to be carried into effect in different parts of the Empire, by means of the Society, entitled "Columnas;" that the Sovereign was illuded by a faction, and that only the Marquis, through the favour which he at the moment enjoyed, could save alike the throne and the country. The Marquis could not credit what he heard, and as he was unwell, and desirous of retirement, he avoided, as much as he could, entering either directly or indirectly, into the administration, until the Sovereign himself, perceiving the actual danger, called him to form a new Ministry.*

There are many witnesses who both saw and heard what the Marquis said at this epoch, in order to avoid accepting the commission, and



what were the promises and protestations of the Emperor to obtain from the Marquis this additional sacrifice. The objections of the Marquis were three; his bad state of health, *the constant existence of secret Counsellors*, and the necessity of giving accounts of what he had expended in Europe.

His Majesty obviated the first objection, by authorizing the Marquis to select colleagues who should assist him, and by consenting to the conservation of Calmon, who was to remain with the department for Foreign Affairs, and with the Finances, at any periods when the Marquis might find medicine and rest indispensable. He obviated the second, by promising to attend only to his Ministers and Counsellors of State, prohibiting absolutely the servants of the palace from any intervention or conversation on the public administration; and he obviated the third, by saying, that the accounts were his own, and that the nation had nothing to do with them. Notwithstanding all this, the Marquis resisted for more than fifteen days, and only accepted office after he had given in his accounts, and they had been approved.

The accounts of the Marquis were in such order, that, instead of drawing them out himself, he entrusted with this charge a book-keeper in this city, giving up to him both books and documents. If either this book-keeper, or

the other employed in London, committed any errors, they would be easy of rectification, and it may be boldly asserted, that if any are found they must be insignificant, since the Marquis having always in view that doubts might arise at the time of settlement, instituted from the time of his arrival in London a regular system of administration; Mr. Peyron, an intelligent individual, being employed as his book-keeper, and Isidoro de Oliveira (sufficiently known for his activity and exactness in the fulfilment of his obligations) as Treasurer. With such good faith and security did the Marquis act, that he thus expressed himself at the close of the communication accompanying his accounts; “and, in order that there may be a circumstantial examination of my administration, I annex the Day-book and Accounts current, in which all that has been spent is entered, as well as the bundle of receipts for every article.” “In the said book your Imperial Majesty, or whoever be entrusted with their examination, will find the general march of my administration both with regard to the public monies, and my own.” “It therefore becomes indispensable, that when once the examination is concluded, all the books and documents be restored to me, and that your Imperial Majesty may hold it good to manifest your approbation, as Guardian to Donna Maria II., by means of an Alvará, which will be the title of

payment made to Her Most Faithful Majesty, by the President of the Treasury.”

Whether there be or be not any errors found in the course of any new examination, which it is intended to make, appertains not to the Government. It is not, however, against the new examination that the Marquis exclaims, but against the formulas contrived to hurt his reputation. To such a point did the Marquis de Barbacena carry his scruples, that notwithstanding his having given very circumstantial accounts to His Imperial Majesty, and these accounts being private, he included nevertheless the total of these expenses in the General Account (Document, No. 6), which document he gave to His Excellency, the President of the Treasury, to the end that he might be made fully aware of the exactness of the Marquis, both with regard to the expenses incurred for the departments of Marine and Foreign Affairs by order of the Government, and those incurred by the private orders of His Imperial Majesty. Whoever acts thus, neither shrinks from publicity, nor dreads the examination of his accounts.

Admitting, then, that delicacy counselled the dismissal of the Marquis in proper time, in order that he might not be the person who should liquidate the accounts of His Imperial Majesty with the Treasury, the same incompatibility

cannot be admitted regarding the liquidation of the "Caixa" of London, it being seen that the Marquis neither administered the said Caixa, nor exercised any interference with the Legation. He signed, it is true, conjointly with the Viscount de Itabayana the contract for the first loan (acknowledged at present, by all, as the most advantageous in price and conditions of payment); but the recovery and employment of the said loan remained entirely at the charge of the Viscount, in conformity with the orders of the Government. To cause it therefore to be understood that the Marquis is implicated in the administration of that "Caixa," is a very absurd and unjust assertion. It is not less unjust than what has been reported about the Legation having given in no accounts, when in no department has more order and regularity been exercised. The Legation not only gives, in competent time, a quarterly balance along with legal documents, but it remits by every packet a balance-sheet of the receipts and expenditure of the past, and an estimate of the receipts and expenditure of the coming month. What further accounts can be required from the Legation of London? If no subsequent examination take place, it is the fault of the Treasury, and not of the Legation. The conservation of Calmon in the ministry, was also attributed by the faction, to collusion and connivance, when the real and true cause must be evident to all. The

Ministry was divided : on one side was Calmon, a Brazilian by birth, much esteemed, constitutional in his principles, and a talented orator. On the other was Jozé Clemente Pereira, an adopted Brazilian, whose celebrity began from his previous oath, and ended, according to the public voice, from the fears of absolute Government which he excited throughout the Empire. How could there be any hesitation in the choice of individuals? The exclusion of Jozé Clemente, and the installation of the new Ministry, was an object of general satisfaction. As to the rest between Calmon and Barbacena, there neither was, nor could be, the slightest connection, or necessity of connivance, regarding the present question ; since, in the first place, the commissions executed and monies expended by the Marquis, being private affairs of His Imperial Majesty, Calmon as Minister, could neither exercise any intervention, nor give any instruction regarding them ; and secondly, the only order sent by Calmon to the Legation, was to suspend all and every supply of money to Portugal, and to the Portuguese. Perhaps the faction judged the contrary, but the documents annexed prove that the order for the expenses of the marriage was given by His Excellency, the Marquis de Queluz, and that for the expenses of the Queen by His Excellency Jozé Bernardino. The conservation, therefore of Calmon, had not the false motives of collusion, but the solid reason of not

sacrificing an honest Brazilian to a notorious faction, and the wish of having in the House of Deputies a member of the Ministry, as is necessary and proper in Constitutional Governments.

Public opinion, the queen of the world, will decide the present question.

#### DOCUMENTS.

##### I.

His Majesty, the Emperor, has holden it good to determine that from the funds of the Empire existing with the Legation, your Excellency place in Genoa, and in Vienna, at the disposition of the Marquis de Barbacena, whom the same August Sire has nominated to the honourable commission of accompanying Her Most Faithful Majesty, Donna Maria II. on her journey to the said Court of Vienna, the funds indispensable for the expenses which will be incurred; your Excellency being made aware that the said expenses ought to be made for account of the crown of Portugal, to be defrayed from the amount which we are owing to that crown by the terms of the convention annexed to the Treaty of the 29th of August 1825; which I state to your Excellency for your intelligence.

May God preserve your Excellency,

**JOZE BERNARDINO BAPTISTA PEREIRA.**

*Palace of Rio de Janeiro,*

*18th of June, 1828.*

To the Viscount de Itabayana.

His Majesty, the Emperor, holds it good to determine that your Excellency proceed to suspend entirely the payment of any sums to the Government and the Portuguese crown, from its being impolitic to furnish that Government with means offensive to our cause, and to the legitimate rights of Donna Maria II. Your Excellency will nevertheless be required to furnish to the Marquis de Barbacena the funds which he may want, in conformity with the orders which were already expedited to him in this respect, which circumstance I now state to your Excellency in order that the Legation may duly fulfil the same.

May God guard your Excellency.

*Palace of Rio de Janeiro,  
20th of September, 1828.*

To the Viscount de Itabayana.

## II.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

I conveyed to the presence of His Majesty, the Emperor, the communication which your Excellency addressed to me on the 25th of March, jointly with others which, with anterior dates, were received by the last packets, and requesting orders from His Majesty regarding their contents, I there and then submissively asked him that he would deign to cause your Excellency to be told by the present opportunity,

that it is by his positive order that I do not answer each of them, since His Majesty has determined to reply to your Excellency *through another channel*. Your Excellency may, therefore, rest assured of the intentions of His Majesty, and your Excellency's rectitude will justify me in not attributing to my negligence a proceeding dictated by obedience to the will of our August Master.

May God guard your Excellency,

MARQUIS DE ARACATY.

*Palace of Rio de Janeiro,  
23d of May, 1829.*

To the Marquis de Barbacena.

### III.

I, Don Pedro the First, Emperor of Brazil and its Perpetual Defender, make known to all who shall see or come to the knowledge of the present Alvará, that the Marquis de Barbacena having presented me with accounts of the expenses incurred in Europe with my much beloved and dear daughter, the reigning Queen of Portugal, Donna Maria the Second, amounting to one hundred and seventy-seven thousand, seven hundred and thirty-eight pounds nineteen shillings and tenpence sterling, and I have found them in every respect conformable and exact, hold it good to approve them as Guardian to my abovementioned daughter, and the Minister and Secretary of



State for the Affairs of Finance, the President of the Public Treasury, will place to account the said sum in the payments made to Her Most Faithful Majesty. In evidence whereof, I pass the present document.

Written in the Palace of Boa Vista on the first day of December of One thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, the eighth year of the Independence and of the Empire.

IMPERADOR *com guarda.*

I, Don Pedro the First, Emperor of Brazil and its Perpetual Defender, make known to all who shall see or come to the knowledge of the present Alvará, that the Marquis de Barbacena having presented to me the *supplement* of the expenses incurred in Europe by my marriage, and with my daughter the Queen of Portugal, amounting to five hundred and seventy-two pounds and three pence sterling, and I having found them conformable and exact, hold it good to approve them. The Minister and Secretary of State for the affairs of Finance, the President of the Treasury, will place to account the said sums.

Written in the Palace of Boa Vista on the 14th of April, One thousand eight hundred and thirty.

IMPERADOR *com guarda.*

## IV.

Honoured Marquis de Barbacena. Friend. I, the Constitutional Emperor and Defender of Brazil, send to salute you as one whom I much esteem. Having charged you to accompany to Europe my much beloved and esteemed Daughter, the Queen of Portugal and Algarve, Donna Maria the Second, who, to-day, by my orders, and in consequence of your zeal, is in this very heroic and loyal city of Rio de Janeiro, and likewise with the arrangements for my marriage now happily effected, and you having fulfilled these delicate commissions highly to my satisfaction, and with your accustomed disinterestedness; I hold it good to commend you for these notable services, and in order that all my subjects may know the esteem in which I hold your person, I send you the present communication.

May the Lord preserve you.

Written in the Palace of Rio de Janeiro on the second of December, 1829, eighth year of the Independence and of the Empire.

Imperador,

JOZE CLEMENTE PEREIRA.

To the Marquis de Barbacena.

## V.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir.

I have to intimate to your Excellency, that from the funds of the Empire, existing in the Legation, destined to the expenses of the Ministers, of which your Excellency is perfectly informed by the department for Foreign Affairs, your Excellency is authorized to furnish the Marquis de Barbacena, who leaves this on the present occasion for London, the sums which he may require for the highly important commission with which he is charged ; and His Majesty the Emperor authorizes you to mortgage or sell stock of our loan in being, up to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, in which the above mentioned expenses were estimated, notwithstanding the loss resulting from this determination, since the measure indicated will certainly be less prejudicial than the remittance of the amount from this metropolis, at the low exchange of thirty, and thirty-two pence sterling.

May God guard your Excellency.

MARQUIS DE QUELUZ.

*Palace of Rio de Janeiro,  
17th of August, 1827.*

To João Antonio Pereira de Cunha, London.

## VI.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir.

The two Commissions with which His Majesty

deigned to honour me being concluded, and I having received from the Legation in London the sum of 213,869*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* sterling, it now behoves me to give an account to your Excellency of the employment of that sum, in the account current inclosed, hoping that your Excellency, after proceeding to its necessary examination, will deign to manifest your approbation or censure. In the receipt of the Legation, is included the sum of 35,000*l.*, which the Legation has still to pay in two bills of 5000*l.* sterling each, and 25,000*l.* sterling in February, to Mr. Pratz, all for account of Her most faithful Majesty; should, however, Mr. Pratz, through any unforeseen event, have neglected to furnish the 25,000*l.* in September, as he promised in his contract, or the Legation have been wanting in any payment, it is evident that a corresponding abatement ought to be made in my receipt, as well as in the expenses of Her most faithful Majesty. The first and second items of the expenditure belong to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Marine, whom I have requested, in a communication of the 27th of November, to address your Excellency, requesting you to place to my credit the respective sums of 8,788*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* sterling, and 17,045*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* sterling. The third item appertains to Her most faithful Majesty, and the expense incurred was approved of by the annexed Alvará of Her August Guardian, to

whom I have presented a circumstantial account along with documents. Finally, the fourth item is relative to a part of the expenses of the marriage and the journey of the Empress, the total of which will have to be paid by His Imperial Majesty, *in case the General Assembly do not repute the expenses as National.*

May God guard your Excellency.

MARQUIS DE BARBACENA.

To Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida.

*The President of the Treasury, in account current with the Marquis de Barbacena:—*

Items.	Dr.	£.	s.	d.
1. Expense incurred for account of the Minister of Marine . . . . .		17,045	5	2
2. Ditto for account of the Minister for Foreign Affairs . . . . .		8,788	13	2
3. Ditto for account of Her Most Faithful Majesty . . . . .		177,738	19	10
4. Expenses of marriage of His Imperial Majesty		40,789	3	2
		<u>£244,362</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	Cr.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of account on the 30th of November, 1829 . . . . .		5,123	14	6
Amount received from the Legation in London, including 35,000 <i>l.</i> still to pay . . . . .		213,869	6	4
Ditto from His Majesty the Emperor . . . . .		6,970	3	4
Ditto from Her Majesty the Empress . . . . .		17,072	0	0
Balance owing . . . . .		1,326	17	2
		<u>£244,362</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>

*Rio Janeiro, Dec. 2, 1829.*

## OBSERVATION.

After giving in the above account, expenses were incurred in January and March of this year, augmenting the expenses of the marriage to 42,272*l.* sterling.

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## No. 6.

## PROCLAMATION.

Brazilians! An extraordinary event has set at naught all the calculations of human prudence; a glorious revolution has been effected through the efforts and patriotic union of the people and the troops of Rio de Janeiro, without one single drop of blood being shed; an event altogether unprecedented, and one which does honour at once to your moderation, energy, and the state of civilization at which you are arrived.

Brazilians! An ill-advised Prince, hurried to the precipice by violent passions and unfortunate anti-national prejudices, has yielded to the force of public opinion thus boldly declared, and has acknowledged that he could no longer be the Emperor of the Brazilians. The audacity of a party which availed itself of his name, the

insults that we have suffered from a faction always adverse to Brazil, the treason with which individuals unpopular and regarded as hostile to liberty, were suddenly elevated to the Ministry, placed arms in our hands. The tutelar genius of Brazil, the spontaneous feeling with which the armed force and the people assembled on hearing the voice of the oppressed country, caused our enemies to lose their presence of mind; they trembled, and the struggle was decided without its being necessary to stain our arms with human blood. Don Pedro I. abdicated in favour of his son, to-day, Don Pedro II., Constitutional Emperor of Brazil.

Deprived for some hours of a Government which should put in regular action the springs of the public administration, the first care of your representatives, the members of both Chambers united, was to nominate a Provisional Regency, with the attributes designated by the Constitution. This Regency, whose authority will only remain in force until the meeting of the General Assembly, for the installation of which there are not yet a sufficient number of members, was required immediately by the force of circumstances, and could not be subject to the conditions of Article 124\* of the fundamental law

\* Until the election of this permanent Regency, the Empire must be governed by a Provisional Regency, composed of the Ministers of the Interior,—of Justices, and the two Counsellors

of the State, since there was no ministry, and it was impossible, therefore, to satisfy the conditions required in this article.

The persons nominated for this important charge have your confidence, patriots without a stain; they are ardent friends of our liberty; they have not consented that it should suffer the slightest infraction, nor will they make any compacts with the factions which have injured the country.—Fellow citizens! Confide in their care and zeal, but do not on this account slacken your vigilance and efforts. Patriotism and energy can be easily allied with moderation when a people possess the virtue which you have evinced in this formidable enterprise. Courageous in repelling tyranny, in throwing off the yoke which the blackest treason sought to throw upon you, you have shown yourselves generous after victory, and your adversaries have shrunk before you with fear and shame.

Brazilians! Your conduct has been above all praise; let that detestable faction, which dared to insult us in our homes, behold in our moderation after victory, a further proof of our force. Let the adopted Brazilians who have been seduced by perfidious suggestions, acknowledge that it was the love of liberty and not the thirst

of State who have held office the longest time; to be presided by the Dowager Empress, and, in her absence, by the oldest Counsellor of State.



after vengeance which armed us. Let them be convinced that their tranquillity, persons, and property will alike be respected, while they obey the laws of the magnanimous nation to which they belong. The Brazilians abominate tyranny, they regard the foreign yoke with horror, but it is not their intention to rule the conquered with an iron hand, nor to avail themselves of their triumph to satisfy feelings of rancour. They have too much nobility of soul for this. As to the traitors who may appear amongst us, Justice and the Law, and these alone, must punish them according to their crimes.

The number of representatives of the nation requisite for the formation of a General Assembly is nearly complete. It is from the Assembly that you must expect the energetic measures which the country calls for instantaneously. Your Delegates will not forget your interests; the country is as dear to them as to you. Brazil, until to-day, oppressed and humiliated by ungrateful individuals, is alike the object of your and their enthusiasm. Those whom Brazil elected by her free choice will not suffer that her glory or her lustre be dimmed. From the 7th of April, 1831, our political existence began, Brazil will henceforward appertain only to the Brazilians, and will be free.

Fellow Citizens! We have now a country,

we have now a monarch the symbol of your union and of the integrity of the Empire, one who educated among us, can receive almost in the cradle the first lessons of American liberty, and learn to love Brazil, where he first drew breath; the fatal prospect of anarchy and of the dissolution of the provinces has disappeared, and been substituted by a more cheerful scene. All this has been owing to our resolution and patriotism, and to the invincible courage of the Brazilian army, which has belied the insensate dreams of tyranny. It behoves us then, that this great victory be unstained, that you continue to show that you are worthy of yourselves, worthy of that Liberty which rejects all excesses, and to which elevated and noble passions alone are acceptable.

Brazilians! we have no longer to blush in owning this appellation. The independence of our country and its laws will henceforth be a reality. The greatest obstacle which has hitherto been opposed to this, retires from amongst us; he will depart from a country where he has left us civil war, as a return for the throne which we conferred upon him. Every thing now depends on ourselves,—on our prudence, moderation, and energy. Let us continue as we have begun, and we shall be regarded with admiration among the most enlightened

nations. Viva a Nação Brasileira! Viva a Constituição! Viva o Imperador Constitucional o Senhor Don Pedro II.!

Bispo Capellaõ Mor, *Presidente*.

Luis Francisco de Paula Cavalcanti

d'Albuquerque, *Secretario*.

The foregoing Proclamation, of which the principal part is quoted by D. B. Warden, in his "Histoire de L'Empire du Brasil," is, by this writer, erroneously designated as a Manifesto of the Bishop of Rio. The facts of the case were these:—On receiving intelligence of the abdication, the Members of both Houses assembled, and appointed the Provisional Regency. Subsequently the same body issued the foregoing document, which was signed by the Bishop, not as an individual, but in his capacity as President of the Assembly. The Proclamation was in reality drawn up by Evaristo Ferreira de Veiga; but, as Luis Francisco de Paula Cavalcanti d'Albuquerque was acting as Secretary, it was issued with his signature.



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