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Crown, Empire and Nation (1807-1834)

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Abstract

Before 1807, in Portugal the new liberal ideals had mainly an indirect influence, reflected in the enlightened elite. The wave of a more profound political change came about only in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the whole Iberian area was involved in the European wide struggle between old regime and the new liberal society and state, that was enhanced by the Napoleonic wars. Between 1807 and 1820, Portugal went through one of the most complex period of its whole History, when the British informal occupation of twelve years, followed the French invasion, short but very destructive. The Crown survived in the hands of the House of Bragança and kept Brazil and the rest of the its colonial territories for over a decade. This makes the Portuguese and Brazilian history of this period somewhat different from that of both Spain and its American colonies. It provides an interesting case for the study of the evolution of three main institutions and political concepts involved in the end of the Old Regime: the Crown, the Empire and the Nation, whose changes during this period are analysed in this paper..

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Crown, Empire and Nation (1807-1834)

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In an already changing world where both the American Independence and the French Revolution had provoked either reforms or crisis of the Old Regime, the Napoleonic wars came about as a catalyser in Europe and in South America. This main event is what brought us together here at this meeting. Before 1807, in Portugal the new ideals had mainly an indirect influence, reflected in the enlightened elite.

The wave of a more profound political change came about only in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the whole Iberian area was involved in the European wide struggle between old regime and the new liberal society and state, that was enhanced by the Napoleonic wars. It was in name of a new society and the fight against despotic monarchies that the Napoleonic armies invaded countries, all over Europe, from Russia to Portugal. Behind all this, imperial, regional and personal ambitions became quickly apparent as was the case of Portugal and its empire. England headed the coalition against Napoleon, which in fact was not entirely anti-liberal.

Portugal lay then in a difficult situation, divided between its fidelity towards its traditional ally, England, whose maritime power was fundamental in the support of the Portuguese empire, and the fear of the overwhelming military power of Napoleon, by then allied with Spain. Neutrality, for a long while the choice of Portuguese government, was kept nearly till the end. When Portugal complied with both the French blockade and the expulsion of the British subjects, it was too late, Napoleon's invasion had already been decided, The Treaty of Fontainebleau of November 1807 gave it a formal justification, though the planned partition between France and Spain was never applied. Portugal entered then in perhaps one of the most complex period of its whole History, the British informal occupation of twelve years, following the French invasion, short but very destructive. Still the Crown survived in the hands of the

House of Bragança and kept Brazil and the rest of the its colonial territories for over a decade. This makes the Portuguese and Brazilian history of this period somewhat different from that of both Spain and its American colonies and provides an interesting case for the study of the evolution of three main institutions and political concepts involved in the end of the Old Regime. These institutions are the Crown, the Empire and the Nation.

Their chronology in the long run of history is quite different. Crown is of course the oldest institution, the newest in both sides of the Atlantic being at that time the fascinating idea of Nation. What is interesting is the changing interrelation they undergo in this period, in which the co-existence of old and new institutions is visible. Their changing geography .appears both as a factor and a consequence of this process. .

1.Crown

The Old Regime showed a remarkable capacity of adaptation to the new times in Portugal, the enlightened despotism from Pombal to the Prince Regent D. João really introduced significant changes in different sectors, from administration, economy to education and culture. By the beginning of the XIXth century, the State had controlled and partly integrated the privileged seigniorial orders in the administration. As the sphere of state intervention grew, royal power was delegated to a complex institutional system. Economic liberalism was moderately being introduced, it preceded political liberalism by many years. A group of enlightened reformers were called by the Prince Regent to integrate his government the most known of them, R. Sousa Coutinho, would later on follow him to Brazil. A period of economic prosperity characterized the whole last quarter of the XVIIIth century up to about 1806. All this explains why liberalism appeared later in Portugal than in Brazil, as Silbert pointed out.

Is was in colonial Brazil that the effect of the American Revolution lead earlier to a critical view of both the Portuguese empire and the Crown. The conspiracy of the middle class in Minas Gerais (1789) a separatist movement,

partly tinted by republican ideals, was followed eleven years later by a revolt of mulatto artisans and merchants in Bahía. Actually, this sequence, following the revolt of slaves in Haiti, made the discontented middle classes more moderate in the expression of their political aims. The fear of the questioning of slavery by the negroes became real. The different response of the Portuguese Crown towards both movements, trying to integrate the conspirators of Minas Gerais, with one big exception, Tiradentes, who was executed, in contrast with the violent repression of the leaders of Bahia's revolt, all of them either executed or abandoned along the coast of Africa, was successful in calming the expression of discontent. By the turn of century, the measures taken thereafter by Sousa Coutinho had created a rather stable political situation. Moreover, the plan he drew in 1803, just before he left his office, would later on contribute strongly to the future success of monarchy in Brazil.

In fact, the political stabilization in Brazil was to become vital for the House of Bragança, when it had to move its capital to Rio de Janeiro in 1808. Also, in the other way round, the changes brought about by this main event were to become a fundamental factor in this stabilization.

By the end of November 1807, the Portuguese Royal Court undertook a transatlantic trip and changed its home. That was a paramount event, as it was the first time in European history that a Royal person and its family went to any part of their empire. In this case, it wasn't even only a visit, but a real change of residency, Rio de Janeiro becoming the capital, and temporarily replacing Lisbon, by then ruled by the French general Junot.

The absolute power of the Crown had not been questioned clearly in Portugal before the French invasions. Since the end of the XVIIIth century there were several signs of sympathy for political liberalism by different personalities, mainly among academic and liberal professions, But the first overt project of a constitutional monarchy appeared only in 1808, when a minority group addressed Junot, demanding a quite moderate constitution, similar to the Napoleonic Constitution of Poland, associated to the demand for a foreign "Napoleonic" king. The Napoleonic policy had .initially wide support

amidst the disciples of Pombal, that is among the more open minded nobility, the highest level of the third estate, some magistrates and half of University of Coimbra, if Carrion-Nissas, an officer of Junot, didn't exaggerate in his testimony. But the refusal of this constitutional project by Junot and his alliance with the traditional nobility put an end to such expectations for a long time to come.

The dimension of support preserved by royal power seemed initially quite solid. It can be measured through the changing attitudes of the people towards the French armies, induced by the contrasting orders of the Prince Regent in the winter of 1807 and later in the spring of next year. As he left Lisbon behind, D.João ordered the Council of Regents not to resist the foreign troops and to behave in a courteous manner towards them. This was thoroughly obeyed, the Regents went even to greet the French army, before their entrance in the capital. Six months later, as the situation in Spain and Europe changed, the Prince Regent declared war on France. Soon after, uprisings all over the country took place, uprisings that were made in the name of the Crown, asking for the return of the House of Bragança.

By then, the new geography of power, now centred in Rio de Janeiro, was bringing about the shaping of a whole new state apparatus. A copy of the Portuguese Old Regime State was established in Brazil, with its different Central Offices, Central Courts, security forces and so on. One main change, was the new Office of Brazil's Affairs, (*secretaria de estado de negócios do Brazil*), no longer part of the Marine and Overseas Office (*negócios da marinha e dos domínios ultramarinos*). The *Impressão Régia* was rapidly installed, with a brand new set of type that had just arrived in Lisbon from London, not even unpacked before being shipped together with the Royal Court. The National Library of Brazil was to inherit the rich Royal Library shipped with the Royal Court to Rio. These are just some of the many details in this extraordinary trip, which makes it so hard to believe that it went unplanned. Today, it is commonly accepted that it was just the exact date that was delayed to the last minute. At the dockyards of the Marine, the ships were

already being prepared since August, for at least the departure of the *Infante* D. Pedro, Prince of Brazil – which was the title of the throne's heir - had been decided.

But coming back to my main subject, the duplication of the political and administrative apparatus was to become quite quickly a source of conflict, between the Regency in Portugal and the Royal Court in Rio. Due to the military situation, the Portuguese affairs went mainly through the Foreign affairs and war Office that is Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho, and the routine affairs through the Brazil affairs office, what of course quite displeased the Regents. Moreover, all overseas affairs were now centralized in Rio, and the Council of Regents did not even have any authority upon Madeira and Azores. In the autumn of 1808, after the removal of the French army, the Portuguese government in Rio hesitated about the type of government to establish in Lisbon, and considered the establishment of a governor, associated to the presence of a member of the royal family.. But, facing a complicated internal situation in Portugal, the British general Dalrymple didn't wait for an order from the Crown and decided by himself to re-establish the Council of Regents, just excluding the members suspected of collaboration with the French. (18 September of 1808). Also he imposed one of the new members (the bishop of Porto) and had the nomination of the others submitted to him. It was only in January that the Regency was confirmed by Rio, and then its powers were largely reduced, the Crown fearing the loss of its power. The Regency reacted vigorously against the situation, and rejected the execution of these royal orders.

After nearly a year of conflict between Lisbon and Rio, the Crown gave in by the middle of December 1809 and enlarged the jurisdiction of the Regents. It is interesting to point out that in this Royal Act the alleged reason for the change was the Regents having stated that the “subjects” felt they were reduced to a colonial status, whereas they were accustomed to be the centre of the Kingdom. This argument means that public opinion had become a recognised political factor.

After the short French period of Junot, who took over the power for himself, with the English occupation another level of power had been created, which superimposed itself on the Council of Regents it had helped to re-establish. The help of the British Army was of course welcomed and even the help of a general to reorganize the Portuguese army was asked for. The power gained throughout this period by the English army, in their fight against the Napoleonic power over the Iberian Peninsula, was enormous. All this allowed the humiliating convention of Sintra, in which the Portuguese did not even participate. This agreement between French and English governments not only confirmed the already existent British military power but allowed their intervention in all matters, financial or administrative, that were related to the war. The Regency as well as the Portuguese military and administrative authorities were now clearly in a double dependency, from Beresford in a proximity relation, and from Prince John and his ministers, sitting in the distant town of Rio. As we have seen, the royal power was questioned at times by its own representatives in Lisbon, who had to face the internal discontent due to the double colonial status, vis-à-vis the Crown in Brazil and England.

All during this period, even before the form of government was in itself questioned, there was a fragmentation of royal power, that came to a climax in 1820. The period that followed the end of the war illustrates well this complex situation.

The end of the Napoleonic wars in 1814 didn't bring the Royal Court back to Lisbon. The establishment of the *Reino Unido de Portugal e Brazil* by the end of 1815 (16 de December), was followed by the coronation of King João VI in Rio, at the beginning of 1818 (6 February), one year after the death of D. Maria I. Received with joy in Brazil, it caused a major disappointment in Portugal. Also there was no sign of the English going back home or of their willingness to give up their power. In spite of the vast delegation of power he had acquired, Beresford in face of his growing conflicts of power with the Regents, felt the need to have the King clearly redefine his role in Portugal. The Portuguese Crown still had a word to say in Portugal during the British

occupation. Beresford was coming back from a trip to Rio to have his power reinforced, when he was caught at sea by the beginning of the 1820 Revolution. That put an end to his Portuguese period.

By then a reverse situation came about: the Regents informed the King of their recognition of the Cortes, not waiting for his authorization. A new power had appeared in the political scene: the Nation

In Brazil, the power of the Portuguese Crown was in general internally respected, except for the minority revolt of 1817, the same year of the Gomes Freire conspiracy in Lisbon. Not only were the luso-brazilians happy to have a King on hand, but in fact from practically all points of view, the conditions of the luso-brazilian elite had improved, and their wise eighteenth century republicanism was submerged. As Kenneth Maxwell has pointed out, radical revolutionaries had lost influence. The initial influence of the American Revolution had been affected by the fears brought about by the slave revolt in Haiti and the unrest in Bahia later on. Monarchy, which now had centred itself in Rio, seemed more suited to an evolution which would not endanger the slavery system. In fact, the coronation of D. João VI was an extraordinary event, there had never been a coronation of an European monarch in America.

In the international scene, on the whole, as long as the engagements with the British government were kept, everything went well. In the military and political situation of Europe and Portugal in 1807, the departure of the Royal Court was only made possible by the support of Britain and its Navy. That had a high political price, imposed by the British Government in the convention of November 1807 negotiated in London by the ambassador Domingos Sousa Coutinho. Though this convention was never signed by either side, it was in fact fully applied. In exchange of the guarantee given to the House of Bragança by the British government, that the Portuguese Crown would stay in their hands, whatever the future evolution, two main conditions had been settled.

Britain had imposed the opening of one port in Brazil, in the island of Santa Catarina, not all Brazilian ports, and the future signing of a treaty of trade

and navigation. Of course the opening of at least one port was necessary for the survival of the Brazilian economy. It also responded to very clear interests, that of the British merchants and the slave landowners. To this was added the treaty of 1810, signed in name of free trade, but defining unequal and asymmetrical conditions, which we will analyse further on. These two measures put an end to the Portuguese monopoly of Brazilian trade.

So saving the House of Bragança's rights and keeping Brazil in its hands, brought about the rupture of the luso-brazilian empire, by creating a cleavage between Brazilian and Portuguese interests, on both political and economic levels. That brings me to the second part of my paper, on the idea and reality of empire in the Portuguese context.

2. Empire

Since Vasco da Gama's voyage, the King of Portugal was named "King of Portugal, Algarve, Lord of near and far sea (*d'aquem e d'além mar*) in Africa, master of Guinea, and of the conquest, trade and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India". It was a seaborne empire as Charles Boxer so cleverly named it, meant to control the main routes of trade and navigation. The imperial structure that grew over such a world-wide area took a very diversified shape. Nor could it be otherwise. The control by a small country over so many different points situated in such a world-wide area, could only be managed through a flexible administration, adapted to each case. It was composed of two main types of administrative structures. A network of *feitorias*, and *fortalezas* and other lighter forms of connexion as the *Capitães de viagem*, were spread along the coast of western Africa and in the Indian Ocean and east Asia.. Then there were the more classical forms of territorial occupation with agricultural colonization, such as the Atlantic Islands and later on Brazil. In fact, Goa and its territories represented a transition form the first to the second. The State of India was followed by Brazil later on, and both had a special status, they both were ruled by a high officer, named vice-rei

Brazil became the main part of Portuguese empire, as the whole

system of Asian trade and navigation fell apart and went partly into the hands of other European competitors during the XVII century. So much so, that by 1735, years before even of Napoleon's birth, Luis da Cunha a reputed diplomat, in a visionary observation suggested that the King of Portugal should establish his Court in Brazil and become the emperor of the West, thus controlling better its richness. He reported Rio as a propitious place for the capital, the climate being quite moderate.

The role of the generation of 1790 has been pointed out by Kenneth Maxwell as essential in the idea of the Luso-Brazilian empire. Its roots go back to Pombal, in many ways, and specially in one aspect, that is the integration of Luso-Brazilians in the State apparatus, giving them high positions. Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho had a major part in this, continuing to promote the trend already set up by Pombal of sending students from Brazil first to Coimbra and then to Montpellier, and then appointing them in the administration.

Thus was created a new luso-brazilian elite well integrated, that was to become an axis in the imperial structure. He had a group of them sent to Brazil to study different aspects, among which the mining industry. By 1798, based on information thus brought together, he outlined his general policy for the empire. He was conscious of the need to adapt the administration in Brazil and the other dominions to the new times so as to maintain them under the Crown's power. Otherwise, he wrote, Portugal if reduced to itself would become a province of Spain. Reform to avoid revolution, was central in his political thought. Therefore he advised that the empire be regarded as being composed "of provinces of the monarchy, all possessing the same privileges and honours, all reunited with the same administration". He also proposed different fiscal and financial measures, among which the abolition of duties on internal trade in Brazil and the reduction of the royal fifth. But he only managed to abolish the monopoly of salt and to have the mining and manufacture of iron permitted, measures that answered previous demands of the luso- brazilian merchants.

When war in Europe irrupted in the first years of the XIX century, his

appreciation of the European situation led him in 1803 to advise the prince regent to establish the seat of the monarchy in Brazil. As Luis da Cunha seven decades before, he also thought "Portugal was not the best and most essential part of the monarchy" Of course this view faced strong opposition in Portugal.

But events took control and the Crown did move its residency to Rio. Maxwell has pointed that the pre-existence of a plan to change administration in Brazil, drafted by Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho was essential to the success of the first years of monarchy in Brazil. Still the reverse was not the case. Portugal did not benefit at all from the changes in the imperial structure, on the contrary. But even in the Luso-Brazilian press some criticism appeared.

Through the voices of two luso-brazilians, José da Silva Lisboa and Hipólito da Costa, we get different reactions to the liberal measures concerning international trade. José da Silva Lisboa, responsible for the *Mesa da Agricultura e Comércio* in Bahia when the King arrived, and afterwards his counsellor, was chosen to write the draft of the act of 1808, whereby all the ports of Brazil were opened to the trade of all countries, thus putting an end to the colonial monopoly of Portugal, what was then imperative. He soon after published *Observações sobre o comércio franco do Brasil* -the first book ever printed in Rio, at new *Impressão Régia* -faithfully supporting Adam Smith's theories and justifying this measure, and he spent the next years praising the treaty of 1810 and other measures of D. João, in name of the free-trade theory. The benefits a new basis of international trade for the development of Brazil seemed to him unquestionable and he believed it would be also beneficial for Portugal.

Though being also an apologist for free-trade, Hipólito da Costa considered necessary that free-trade should be moderated by some degree of protectionism, so he was moderate in his appreciation of Prince Regent's foreign economic policy. His knowledge of the United States and England, where Sousa Coutinho had sent him to meet merchants and industrialists and understand the ongoing changes in these countries, gave him a different

perspective of reality. After a short return to Lisbon, where he was put into prison by the Inquisition accused of Masonic activity, he established himself in London, where he became the editor of one of the main liberal newspapers in exile. It was widely read in both sides of the Atlantic. Even before the Anglo-Portuguese treaty was ratified, in 1809, he pointed out the risks of a treaty between a strong country and a small one. In the review of Silva Lisboa's writings published in *Correio Brasiliense*, he made two main observations, as Cardoso has recently reminded us. The first concerns the role of free-trade in the development of the United States, whereas he recalled the importance that some protectionist measures did have as well (referring to lower duties on merchandises transported by national ships).

The second observation concerns the lack of reciprocity in the conditions set up for brazilian merchants in England and those of the British in Brazil. In fact, the treaty excluded the main productions of Brazil, sugar, coffee and any other production similar to colonial products of the English colonies from admission in England and its empire, except for re-exportation. Of course this was in itself vital at that moment.

Both the opening of the ports to all nations and the treaty were generally accepted in Brazil at that stage, as conditions for brazilian exports and reexports to London were improved (and later on from there to other countries), and low duties on industrial products did not directly hurt its economy, due to the practical inexistent industry. It was the treaty of alliance with its clause on slavery that was quite disquieting for luso-brazilians.

On the contrary, in Portugal, where factory owners and merchants were badly hurt by the privileged conditions given to English interests, the treaty was strongly criticised. Clearly, Portuguese economic interests were completely sacrificed by the Regent and his ministers. Not only had political power been largely transferred to the English, so had the control of trade circuits. A symbol of the inversion that was taking place is the fact that Portuguese merchandises were taxed 1% more than the British at the entrance of Brazilian ports. Another humiliating condition was that any change of the Portuguese tariff system

needed the agreement of the British merchants. Shortly after its signature, the Portuguese merchants 's Club in London began the edition of a newspaper with the clear objective of sustaining Portuguese interests as distinct from those of the colony of Brazil . The *Português*” edited by Rocha Loureiro, exiled in London was published regularly until well after the revolution of 1820.

The situation was so unfavourable for Portuguese industry, that the duty of 30% on woollen merchandises established after the Methuen treaty, included in the treaty of 1810, seemed now a desirable protection, as compared with the general duty of 15% on all industrial products. But even this difference was abolished by a royal decision of 5 of May 1814, against the advise of the Council of Finance (*Conselho da Fazenda*). Oriental trade was also redirected to Brazil, from where re-exportation to Europe was to take place henceforth (*alvará* of 4 .2.1811).

Not surprisingly that in this context, the measures taken by the Prince Regent to induce a more legal flexible structure for the development of industry and agriculture in Portugal were totally ineffective(law of 1809 and reform of the *forais* 1810), and so was as a matter of fact the freedom for the establishment of industry in Brazil, where the treaty was only renounced in 1844.

The consequences of the end of the colonial exclusive trade and the change in the relations between Portugal and Britain were immediate and catastrophic. The commercial balance that had been positive till 1810, suffered an profound disequilibrium. In 1811 the British exports to Portugal became 13 times greater than the Portuguese exports. The Brazilian market was invaded by British merchandises. And the trend remained unchanged in the following years, inspite of slight recuperation after the war ended.

Royal policy was regarded with growing criticism, as the situation didn't change after peace was established in Europe. The power of the Crown began to be questioned in Portugal. as D. João VI remained in Rio and the colonial system was disrupted.

3.Nation

Two questions will be considered now in the third part, concerning the idea of Nation. The chronology and content of attitudes towards the foreign occupant, in the two different tempos, the French occupation and the British presence. The second question regards the connection between nationalism and liberalism.

The first conflict between Portuguese and French was of popular origin, it took place when the Portuguese flag was replaced by the French one at the top of Saint George's Castle in Lisbon, in 13th of December of 1807. As time went by, different measures taken by the French wounded religious sentiments of the people, such as the prohibition of the use of church bells, of Christmas festivities, the celebration of Carnival and the lodging of the troops in convents. The emergence of national-wide uprisings coincided with religious festivities in June and July of 1808.

Though popular movements in Portugal and Spain did develop mimetically, and there are some connections between them, on the whole they had a quite different course. Most uprisings in Portugal, even when of popular origin, came easily under the local direction of the rural aristocracy and clergy. The clergy played a main role in its ideology, giving to this movement the content of a crusade, in defence of the King and the religion, its enemies being identified as impious people. Anti-Semitism was thus renewed and associated with Jacobinism or collaborationism with the French. A secret pact of loyalty towards the monarchy of divine right was sustained in the proclamations, as well as the right of resistance in face of a external tyrant. In contrast with this quite conservative movement, in Spain the Juntas gave way to a revolutionary movement, resulting in the Cortes of Cadiz. Nothing similar happened in Portugal, but in the South (Beja and Vila-Viçosa), where uprisings did not have the direction of local aristocracy and clergy, the peasants had to search the support of Spanish generals of Badajoz and Seville. Also the Juntas did not always manage to contain the outburst of popular discontent as was the case of Porto and in the whole North of the country during the Spring

of 1809. The dramatic assassination of the officer Bernardim Freire de Andrade by the people of Braga is a major example of the disorder and the lack of confidence in the ruling class's capacity to face the French army. In this context, the help of the British army in fighting the French and establishing authority was largely welcomed by the ruling class.

It was mainly after the end of the war, that the discontent in Portugal acquired a different political content. What seemed temporary, justified by the danger of a new foreign invasion, appeared now as having become permanent and not anymore justified in peaceful times. There were no signs of the King coming back, the coronation of King John in Rio was a deceiving event in Portugal. Neither was there any sign of the British wanting to leave. The treaty of 1815, signed in Vienna didn't even allow the revision of the treaty of 1810, before the delay of 15 years passed since its signature. It was then that there was a clear perception of the disastrous position of Portugal, now felt strangely as being dependent of both the Brazilian part of the newly born United Kingdom and of Britain. The exile press had a main role in the expression of nationalism and liberalism that now were closely connected. In name of the Nation, both the Crown and Britain were criticised.

Though the revolution of 1820 was the result of an elitist movement, brought about by a small masonic structure, the *Sinédrio* composed of military and civil members, its success and the work of the Congress in 1821-22 awakened in the population a widespread hope of change in their lives, accompanied by a strong will for political participation. The wide petitionary movement that expressed itself in the 20's is a sign of a profound involvement of people of different strata in political life from all over the country, from North to South. A very significant type of document are the *memórias* offered to the *Soberano Congresso*, which identified problems and proposed measures to face them. This petitioner's movement with such a wide dimension was quite new, and can only be compared to more recent phenomena in Portuguese contemporary political life. It represents very clearly the emergence of a strong and widespread sense of citizenship for the first time.

Altogether these petitions and *memórias*, which were directed to the different parliamentary committees, give us a very complete picture of the crisis of the Old Regime, in its full extent, political, institutional, social and economic aspects and in that sense it can be compared to the French *Cahiers de Doléances*.

The emergence of the nation and citizenship was revealed also in the attitudes regarding the international position of the country. The change of at least some conditions of the treaty of 1810 was strongly demanded and the delegates responded to it: the 1% differential was abolished and the conditions of the Methuen treaty re-established anew, in spite of quite strong opposition of the British diplomacy.

Among the nine major Parliamentary commissions created by the Congress, one of them was to occupy itself with Brazil. This was of course a major question. The first liberal revolution in 1820 can be defined as being both nationalist and colonialist. Changing its position in the *Reino Unido* was a vital question for Portugal, but it meant the inversion of the position acquired by Brazil. If the liberals then saw Brazil as an inseparable part of the Nation, that would benefit as much as themselves from the new application of principles of equality and freedom, at same time they tried to change institutions to submit Brazil again to the central government of Lisbon. From Brazil, the view was exactly the opposite.

The separation of Portugal and Brazil was a very complex process, each part wanting to dominate the other, in name of a union that had become void, but whose ideal was slow to die away on both sides of the Atlantic, though more so on the Portuguese side. The treaty of 1825 put an end to the Portuguese pretension of regaining a privileged commercial position in Brazil, in exchange for the recognition of independence. The British clearly waited for this recognition before accepting the revision of the treaty of 1810, that way excluding Brazil from this process. But D. João VI died before the revision of the treaty of 1810, then under negotiation, was settled, and therefore it stayed unchanged for another decade. A fierce political battle between absolutists

and liberals followed during the next eight years, leaving this and other questions unsolved.

The readjustment of Portugal's position in Europe and the world after the independence of Brazil would only take place after the liberal revolution of the 30's. The first step was the reform of State and Society, in which Mouzinho da Silveira played then a fundamental role. As he put it so clearly and repeatedly, it was the *conquistas* that had supported the old regime structure. Once they were gone, it was the whole structure that had to be reorganized. The root of his reforms was the need to find new financial resources for the State, but their scope was much wider. They involved the whole society of the Old Regime. Reforms, some foreseen in the 1820's, but then adjourned, were now felt as inevitable. The birth of Liberal State and society in Portugal took then place.

Changing the old Anglo Portuguese treaty continued to be a main objective of the strong nationalist movement of the 30's. It was essential to implement a new and modern tariff, which was ready but blocked by the treaty. Fruitless negotiations led to the treaty being renounced by Portugal unilaterally in 1836. This had become a main banner of nationalism of this period, associated with criticism of Britain, a target that remained throughout the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

The beginning of the crisis of the Old Regime in Portugal and its empire was induced by one main external cause, the conflict between France and England. The new geography of power inside the luso-brazilian empire and in the triangular relation Portugal-Brazil-England provoked the rupture of the economic basis of the Old Regime. If political factors intervened in the origin of the crisis of the Old Regime, the economic evolution that followed deepened it and made imperative a profound change of society and State. The abolition of the Old Regime, which began in 1820, would take over a decade to be completed, through a sequence of political and social conflicts. As a result,

Crown and Nation, then without the luso-brazilian empire, came to share power following the guidelines established in a constitutional text that lasted over seven decades. By then, the construction of a new African based empire, begun in the 30's, was changing the Portuguese economy and political life.

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