

# **Dom Pedro the Magnanimous**

Second Emperor of Brazil

*Edited by*

Mary Wilhelmine Williams



CASS



DOM PEDRO THE MAGNANIMOUS



From a painting by Monvoisin at the Château d'Eu  
DOM PEDRO II IN 1847

DOM PEDRO  
THE MAGNANIMOUS  
*Second Emperor of Brazil*

By

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS



FRANK CASS & CO. LTD.

1966

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*Published in Great Britain by*  
FRANK CASS AND COMPANY LIMITED  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon,  
Oxon, OX14 4RN

Transferred to Digital Printing 2005

To the Friendly  
CO-OPERATIVE BRAZILIANS  
in Grateful Appreciation



## PREFACE

UP TO NOW, there has been no biography in English of Dom Pedro II of Brazil, who should be ranked among the ablest rulers of his century and among the finest historical characters of modern times. The present volume was written with the aim of supplying this lack. In this connection I tried to find and weigh all important available data relating to the Emperor.

Many people have aided me in my work. To the staffs of the following-named libraries I am indebted:—Goucher College, Enoch Pratt, and the Library of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union, the Library of Congress, the Lima Library of the Catholic University of America, the *Bibliotheca Nacional* of Portugal, the *Bibliotheca Nacional* of Brazil, the *Arquivo Nacional* of Brazil, and the Library of the *Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*. Miss Eleanor Falley, librarian at Goucher College, was tireless in her efforts to secure for me inter-library loans. Dona Maria Luiza de Maia Monteiro cheerfully kept me supplied with archival materials at the Château d'Eu.

For aid in gaining access to important sources I am indebted to Mrs. Manoel de Oliveira Lima of Washington, Dr. Bertha Lutz, Madame Jeronyma Mesquita, Dr. Max Fleiuss, and the Conde de Affonso Celso, all of Rio de Janeiro, the Honorable Walter C. Thurston, formerly chargé d'affaires in Brazil, Professor J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago, Professor Percy Alvin Martin of Stanford University, and, especially, to Professor Clarence H. Haring of Harvard University and to the late Edwin Vernon Morgan, for many years American ambassador to Brazil.

The Social Science Research Council made it financially possible for me to examine in 1933 important records in Europe and in Brazil relating to the Emperor.

In solving problems connected with my researches I received aid from Miss Clarissa Rolfs of Gainesville, Florida, Sra. Lucia Furquim Lahmeyer, librarian of the *Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, Dr. Alcides Bezerra, director of the Brazilian *Arquivo Nacional*, and Dr. Manoel A. Velho da Motta Maia, the son of Dom Pedro II's last physician.

I was helped by the following-named persons in securing certain illustrations for my book: Dr. E. Roquette Pinto, of the Brazilian *Museu Nacional*, Dr. Manoel A. Velho da Motta Maia, Mr. Paul A. McNeil, librarian of the Lima Library, Mr. Charles E. Babcock, librarian of the Columbus Memorial Library, and Miss Elsie Brown, editor of the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union.

President Ada Comstock of Radcliffe College granted me permission to use a long quotation from Lucy Ellen Paton's *Elizabeth Cary Agassiz*, the copyright of which belongs to the trustees of the College.

Most of all, I am under obligations to His Highness Dom Pedro de Alcantara d'Orléans Bragança, grandson of Dom Pedro II, who not only gave me access to the Bragança archives at the Château d'Eu and permitted me to have copies made of many portraits at the Château, but also helped clear up obscurities by answering my numerous questions, and otherwise showed constant and sympathetic interest in my efforts to produce in English a worthy biography of the Emperor.

Dr. Raul d'Eça of Washington checked for me a number of translations from Portuguese, and my colleague Professor Eugene Newton Curtis of Goucher read and helpfully criticized the entire manuscript.

For all of this aid I am very grateful.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation of the courteous coöperation of my publishers.

M. W. W.

Baltimore, Maryland  
September 24, 1937.

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DOM PEDRO THE MAGNANIMOUS



# I

## FOUNDING OF THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE

ONE AFTERNOON in April, 1831, Rio de Janeiro was festively decked and was stirred by unusual excitement. From windows and balconies hung gay damask draperies; flags and pennants of green and gold waved in the breeze. Crowds of people—black, brown, and white—were making for the large *praça* in front of the imperial City Palace on the margin of the Bay. Some of them carried green branches of the “national” croton shrub in yellow bloom. The military guard drawn up in front of the palace had decorated their caps and the barrels of their muskets with glossy sprigs from coffee trees spangled with starry blossoms and green and red berries. Also in the square were the municipal officers, on horseback and wearing ancient ceremonial uniform. Presently, from vessels in the harbor and fortresses on the hills came the boom of cannon. The crowds shouted joyfully, “Long live Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil!”

On a second-floor balcony of the palace was their sovereign, surrounded by his sisters and his ministers of state, who were likewise splendid in the imperial green and gold. The tiny Emperor, little more than five years old, was standing on a chair, that the people might more easily see him. He was a delicate-looking child, with light golden hair, fair skin, and German blue eyes, and with a slightly projecting lower lip which betokened his Habsburg ancestry. In almost baby wonder he gazed upon his cheering subjects and responded to their *vivas* by waving a handkerchief. On an English war vessel in the harbor was his father, Dom Pedro I, who had abdicated the Brazilian throne two days before and was soon to leave for his

native Portugal, to face even worse troubles than those left behind.<sup>1</sup>

The Bragança family and the two countries over which it ruled had long known perplexing problems; but difficulties had thickened about a generation ago, when Brazil was still a mere colony. Napoleon Bonaparte was at the time trying to make himself dictator of Europe and of lands beyond. England, the chief hindrance to his success, had been an ally of Portugal for more than four centuries. Repeatedly she had used her superior strength to impose upon and exploit the little Iberian kingdom, but Portugal, forced to choose between the devil of Napoleon's unscrupulousness and the deep, blue sea of British greed, inclined to the latter; for, after all, England was her best friend. Napoleon was bent upon starving England into submission, through strict enforcement of the continental blockade; but Portugal, bolstered by British agents, refused to coöperate. Since French invasion and conquest seemed imminent, it was decided that the Portuguese royal family and court should take refuge in the colony of Brazil. Accordingly, on November 29, 1807, a fleet of thirty-six vessels bearing the Bragança family and many thousands of nobles and hangers-on sailed out the mouth of the Tagus, under convoy of a British squadron, and set off across the Atlantic. Shortly afterwards Napoleon's army occupied Lisbon.

The leading members of the fugitive royal family were much inferior to some that the Bragança line had produced. The nominal ruler was Queen Maria, great-grandmother of the little Dom Pedro II who was joyfully acclaimed Emperor of Brazil on the April day in 1831; but she had long been hopelessly insane, and her son João was Regent. Dom João was mediocre mentally and poorly educated, slow, timid, and inde-

<sup>1</sup> João Alcides Bezerra Cavalcanti, ed., *Infância e adolescência de D. Pedro II: Documentos interessantes . . .*, pp. 32-33; J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*, III, 230-31, *Atlas*, pl. 51; "Traços biographicos de D. Pedro II extrahidos das collecções do *Jornal do Commercio*," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, pp. 609-11.

cisive, but kindly and, on the whole, well-meaning.<sup>2</sup> His wife, Princess Carlota Joaquina, daughter of Carlos IV of Spain, was vulgar, bad-tempered, unscrupulous, and malicious, and given to political intrigue, even against her husband, whom she despised and from whom she was estranged.<sup>3</sup> The oldest child of this jarring couple was nine-year-old Prince Pedro. The boy was active and impulsive, and his liveliness helped cheer the Portuguese court during the long voyage to the New World.

Brazil had experienced economic repression and discrimination under Portugal, and also most of the other ills that were the lot of colonies at the time. Many of the Brazilian leaders, influenced by French revolutionary philosophy, had become restive. They had little fondness for the mother country, and less for Portuguese nationals as a whole. Yet they joyfully welcomed the royal fugitives, since the presence of the sovereigns would enhance Brazilian prestige and since it offered bright hopes of a better status for the colony. This was not vain optimism: a change for the better soon began. The Regent opened several ports to the direct commerce of friendly nations, removed various galling restrictions from industry, introduced the printing press, and made other changes which placed the big colony upon the road to economic and cultural progress. All of this was gratifying, but perhaps the Brazilians were most pleased when, in December, 1815, their land was made a coördinate part of the Kingdom of Portugal, Algarve, and Brazil. The change in status was largely aimed to pacify and consolidate the vast, straggling colony, to foster its loyalty, and to offer better protection to it from the suspected designs of England.<sup>4</sup> In 1816, Queen Maria died and the Prince Regent became King João VI.

By now, the Brazilians had learned that the presence of their sovereign was not an unmixed blessing. To keep satisfied

<sup>2</sup> Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil*, II, 941-42; Pedro Calmon, *O rei do Brasil: a vida de D. João VI*, pp. 33-122, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, I, 261-82; Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-122, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, I, 529-39.

the horde of his subjects who had followed him into exile, King João distributed offices and titles with lavish hand, a procedure which added much to the original unpopularity of the Portuguese aristocrats. Moreover, the Brazilians found their taxes increasingly heavy, for the royal establishment and its hungry satellites were costly, as were also the wars in which King João engaged, especially that against the United Provinces of the Plata (Argentina) over the *Banda Oriental del Uruguay*, then hardly free from Spain. This conflict resulted partly from the ambitions of the energetic Carlota Joaquina, who had declared herself the heir of her brother Fernando VII of Spain when he was a prisoner of Napoleon Bonaparte. After six years of war, King João annexed the Banda Oriental to Brazil as the Cisplatine Province.

Though this territorial expansion pleased national vanity, the Brazilians were by now much dissatisfied with their refugee sovereigns. They heartily disliked Dona Carlota Joaquina, who frankly expressed her contempt for them and her preference for Portugal. Resentment towards the King had also grown, for he refused to grant a liberal constitution and he often acted tyrannically. As a result, there were uprisings in various parts of Brazil. Though these were crushed, the demand for a constitution was not silenced. The Crown Prince, Pedro, sympathized with the liberals, and Dom João, finding compromise necessary, planned to send Brazilian delegates to a meeting of the Cortes in Portugal. He also called a convention to discuss pending problems, but soon quarreled with it and dissolved it with troops. In the struggle a number of members were killed.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, things had been going badly in Portugal, where, nominally, a council of regency had ruled since the French had been driven out. João's return was demanded and, though he

<sup>5</sup> John Armitage, *The History of Brazil*, I, 22-33; R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, I, 187-99; Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-68.

preferred to live in Brazil, he finally prepared to go back. He made his son Pedro Regent over the Brazilian hornet's nest, and suggested that he assume the crown of Brazil if it became free from Portugal, to prevent another from getting control. In April, 1821, João set sail for Lisbon, taking with him a large fraction of the Portuguese nobles—a good riddance in the eyes of the Brazilians.<sup>6</sup>

Recent events had caused nationalism to grow rapidly in Brazil, and the leaders watched fearfully for the results of João's return to Portugal. Their suspense was brief, for soon the government at Lisbon restored various discriminations against the former colony, and followed this by ordering the Prince Regent to return to Europe. Apparently the colonial status was to be restored.

Brazilian alarm spread, and action quickly followed. Under the leadership of José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, Dom Pedro's minister of the interior and of foreign affairs, a bold stand was made for independence. The Prince Regent's wife, the Archduchess Maria Leopoldina of Austria, aided and abetted the revolutionary movement. There was considerable republican sentiment among the leaders, but separation from the mother country seemed better assured if Dom Pedro was asked to remain as constitutional ruler. This was done and, after considerable hesitation, the Prince consented. On September 7, 1822, he took the final step, when he and his suite were riding near the city of São Paulo in the south. Besides the little stream called Ypiranga he drew rein on his horse, tore from his uniform the Portuguese colors, flourished his sword, and shouted a formal proclamation of freedom: "It is time! . . . Independence or death! We are separated from Portugal!" This is known as *O Grito do Ypiranga* (The Cry of Ypiranga), Brazil's declaration of independence. On October 12, he was officially pro-

<sup>6</sup> Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, II, 1125-26; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *O movimento da independência, 1821-1822*, pp. 7-11; Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-47, 251, 277-78.

claimed Emperor of Brazil, and on December 1, 1822, was crowned.<sup>7</sup>

Dom Pedro I was twenty-four years old when he became sovereign of Brazil, which, under Portugal, had experienced three centuries of neglect and misrule. In appearance he was pleasing, for there was a courtly elegance about his short, sturdy figure, and his open countenance was dominated by large, expressive, dark eyes. He had an alert but poorly trained mind, and was fond of mechanics and the fine arts. For music he had decided talent and had composed a number of pieces. His disposition and character were now more pronounced and complicated than they were when, as an interesting little boy, he fled with his parents from the armies of Bonaparte. He was impulsive, but stubborn; energetic, but at times indecisive; democratic, generous, and friendly; but occasionally he resorted to wild fits of anger and to deeds of brutality. He was likewise romantic and sentimental, given to self-dramatization, and ambitious for glory. In morals as well as in character he was undisciplined, for as a child he had been permitted to run the streets freely and to associate with almost whomsoever he would. While still in his teens he had affairs with a number of women. In politics he inclined, theoretically, towards French revolutionary philosophy and liked to think of himself as a liberal. He took seriously his duties as a ruler and certainly he meant to do well by his subjects.<sup>8</sup>

His wife was an asset. Dona Maria Leopoldina—commonly known as Leopoldina—was the daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria and great-granddaughter of the famous Maria Theresa, archduchess of Austria and queen of Hungary.

<sup>7</sup> Oliveira Lima, *O movimento da independência*; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *Formation historique de la nationalité brésilienne*, pp. 154-67; Armitage, *op. cit.*, I, 80-98; Walsh, *op. cit.*, I, 206-17; Pedro Calmon, *O rei cavalleiro, a vida de D. Pedro I*, pp. 120-24.

<sup>8</sup> Max Fleiuss, *Páginas de historia*, pp. 80-82; Calmon, *O rei do Brasil*, pp. 36-45; Oliveira Lima, *Formation historique de la nationalité brésilienne*, pp. 149, 167; Alan K. Manchester, "The Paradoxical Pedro, First Emperor of Brazil," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XII (May, 1932), 176-79.

Her mother—also named Maria Theresa—was a daughter of King Ferdinand IV of Naples, and her elder sister, Maria Louisa, was the second wife of Napoleon Bonaparte. Dona Leopoldina was of German appearance, with sturdy figure, curly flaxen hair, fair skin, and blue eyes. The lower part of her face showed the strong jaw and prominent under lip of the Habsburgs. Her marriage to Dom Pedro took place in 1817, without the young people's seeing each other in advance. But she had exchanged many a letter with the young Prince, who was nearly two years her junior, had received his portrait, and was much attracted to him. Furthermore, she was somewhat romantic, and the idea of life in the American tropics appealed to her strongly.<sup>9</sup>

Dona Leopoldina, who possessed a superior mind and great intellectual interest, had received an excellent education, was interested in the whole field of knowledge, and read much and widely. The library accumulated by her in the residential palace at Boa Vista was the best in Brazil at the time, and she constantly added to it by orders from Europe. One, probably typical, list that she sent asked for the best recent books in the fields of "history, geography, natural history, politics, philosophy, belles-lettres, botany, travels, and journals."<sup>10</sup> Specific items that she requested ranged from a French treatise on the flora of Benin in Africa to Solvyn's four-volume work on the Hindus, and Thomas Malthus's *Principles of Political Economy*.<sup>11</sup> She introduced into Rio de Janeiro various plants and trees from Europe, and had them set out in the park at Boa Vista. With the strange and luxuriant vegetation of her adopted land she was delighted and fascinated, and she sent specimens of it, and also of Brazilian minerals, back to Austria.<sup>12</sup>

The coming of Dona Leopoldina raised the intellectual and cultural tone of the Brazilian court, and gave it a needed touch

<sup>9</sup> Max Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> João Alcides Bezerra Cavalcanti, ed., *A Imperatriz Maria Leopoldina: Documentos interessantes . . .*, p. 120.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-10, 181-210.

<sup>12</sup> Fleiuss, *Páginas de história*, pp. 205-47.

of refinement. She soon became a familiar figure to her new subjects, for she appeared often in public, usually on horseback, in company with Dom Pedro. Clad in blue dragoon uniform and boots with heavy silver spurs, she rode by his side when the troops were reviewed, and in parades and maneuvers. The people quickly became attached to her because of her friendly greetings and her kindness, which caused her to dispense money with generous hand for the relief of the poor. And their hearts were completely won through her definite support of their cause when the struggle came for separation from Portugal.<sup>13</sup>

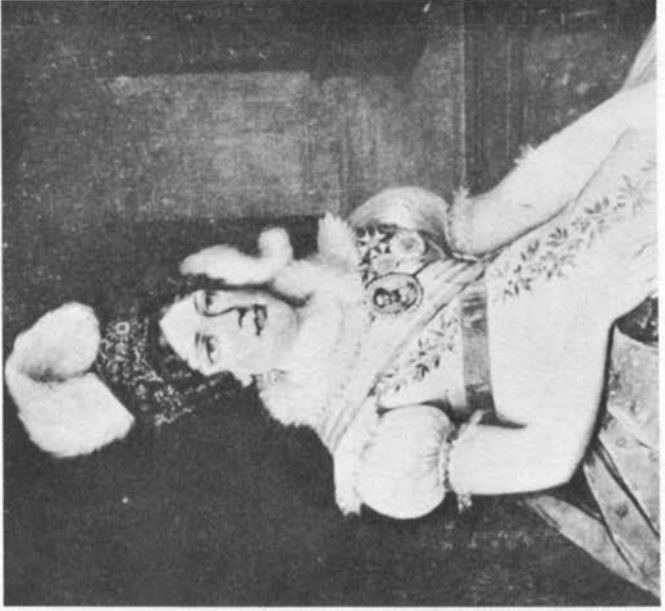
Her romantic attachment for Dom Pedro, formed in the days of betrothal, became a strong, deep affection. But it was not returned by her husband, for Dona Leopoldina lacked the charm needed to attract and hold his roaming heart. Both of them, however, delighted in their children, particularly the Empress, whose maternal instincts were unusually strong. The eldest child, Maria da Gloria, princess of Grão Pará, was born on April 4, 1819, while João was still ruler of Brazil, as was also the second child, Miguel, born April 26, 1820, and the third, João, born March 6, 1821. Miguel lived but a few weeks and in February, 1822, João died as a result of exposure suffered when the royal family fled into the country because of a military revolt in Rio de Janeiro during the struggle for independence. Another daughter, Januaria Maria, arrived on March 11, 1822, a little over a month after Prince João's death; Paula Marianna was born on February 17 of the next year; Francisca Carolina, on August 2, 1824; and on December 2, 1825, the parents were rejoiced by the birth of another boy, the subject of this book, who was named Pedro de Alcantara.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43, 291; Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 16, note; Bezerra Cavalcanti, ed., *A Imperatriz Maria Leopoldina: Documentos interessantes*, pp. 145-80.

<sup>14</sup> Bezerra Cavalcanti, ed., *A Imperatriz Maria Leopoldina: Documentos interessantes*, pp. 76-103; *passim*; Max Fleiuss, "D. Pedro II—seu nascimento—seus irmãos," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, pp. 21-22.



From a photograph in the Lima Library, Catholic University  
of America, of a miniature by Simplicio de Sa  
DOM PEDRO I



From a painting at the Château d'Eu  
EMPERESS LEOPOLDINA



Before the birth of Pedro, however, troubles had begun to harass both his parents. Dom Pedro I's problems were largely political, which was to be expected, for Brazil would have been a difficult country for any one to govern; and the young Emperor was poorly fitted for the task and was hopelessly handicapped by his Portuguese birth. Early in 1823 a convention met at his call to draw up the promised constitution. Here, Brazilian jealousy and resentment toward the Portuguese in the country caused serious discord and, finally, an open quarrel between the Emperor and many of the delegates. José Bonifácio de Andrada and his two brothers, three of the most enlightened liberals in the country, who had at first supported Dom Pedro, became estranged and began vigorously to oppose him. Dom Pedro, influenced by the Portuguese reactionaries, dissolved the convention in November, 1823, by use of troops, and exiled the three Andrada brothers.<sup>15</sup> This was his first serious mistake. Promptly afterwards he appointed a commission of ten which drew up a frame of government under his direction.

Even the declaration of independence and the coronation of Dom Pedro had not ended the unrest and dissatisfaction which was rife in Brazil when King João left for Portugal. When, therefore, the Emperor's high-handed treatment of the constituent assembly became known in the north it was used as justification for a republican revolt. Frightened by this, Dom Pedro swore to the new constitution on March 21, 1824, and it was proclaimed. The document provided for a two-house Parliament elected indirectly by limited suffrage, but it left much authority to the Emperor, through granting him *poder moderador*—moderating power.<sup>16</sup> On the whole, the constitution was as liberal as national progress justified.

It did not, however, satisfy the revolutionary provinces; and, led by Pernambuco, these organized and proclaimed the "Confederation of the Equator," using the United States of

<sup>15</sup> Calmon, *O rei cavalleiro*, pp. 132-46.

<sup>16</sup> Herman G. James, *The Constitutional System of Brazil*, pp. 237-52.

America as model. Only after considerable fighting were the refractory provinces subdued.<sup>17</sup>

But no sooner was this accomplished, than more serious trouble came in the south. The Cisplatine Province revolted and declared independence of Brazil. Political leaders of Buenos Aires came to the province's support, and soon Dom Pedro had a war on his hands with his transplatine neighbors. After a long and costly conflict the province, through British influence, was in 1828 given independence and became the Republic of Uruguay. The loss of it hurt the Emperor's prestige, for the expansionist spirit was strong in Brazil. In addition, many of the people resented the increased taxes caused by the futile war.

There was also dissatisfaction with the treaty of 1825, whereby Portugal recognized Brazil's independence, since the price the Empire had to pay for the boon was assumption of a considerable share of Portugal's debt.<sup>18</sup> This agreement increased hostility towards the mother country and made the Brazilians more suspicious of Dom Pedro's tendency to favor the Portuguese within the Empire.

The death of King João VI in March, 1826, heightened ill feeling, for the regency which João had appointed in Lisbon quickly proclaimed the young Brazilian Emperor as King Pedro IV of Portugal. The Brazilians were fearful that Dom Pedro would return to his native land and reduce Brazil to a subordinate position. Dom Pedro doubtless would have preferred to rule from Lisbon, but he knew that to attempt it would result in the loss of his New World empire. Therefore, after decreeing a constitution for Portugal, which the Liberals were demanding, he, on May 2, 1826, abdicated its throne in favor of

<sup>17</sup> Oliveira Lima, *Formation historique de la nationalité brésilienne*, p. 182; José Francisco de Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brasil*, VIII, 33-39.

<sup>18</sup> Alan K. Manchester, *British Preëminence in Brazil*, pp. 186-219; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *Historia diplomatica do Brazil; o reconhecimento do Imperio*, pp. 243-45.

his daughter Maria da Gloria, then seven years old.<sup>19</sup> His abdication was, however, conditioned upon Maria da Gloria's marrying his brother Miguel, and upon Dom Miguel's swearing to Portugal's new constitution. There was precedent in the Bragança dynasty for marriage of such close kin, since the law required that a sovereign queen of Portugal should marry a Portuguese.<sup>20</sup> The betrothal contract was signed at Vienna, in the presence of Emperor Francis I, the little Princess's grandfather; and Dom Miguel swore to the constitution that his brother had granted to Portugal. But before the marriage could take place that country was reduced almost to anarchy through strife between liberals and reactionaries. Therefore, on July 3, 1827, Dom Pedro made Miguel Regent. Opponents of constitutional rule and of Maria da Gloria as sovereign, who were numerous, urged Dom Miguel to set aside the constitution and to reign as absolute monarch. He yielded, and in July, 1828, took the oath as King.

One result of this was civil war in Portugal between the two brothers, during which conflict Dom Pedro spent Brazilian money in trying to uphold the claims of his daughter. His subjects resented this, and also the fact that Dom Pedro continued to call himself King Pedro IV of Portugal, until March, 1828, when he unconditionally abdicated.<sup>21</sup>

Even before the war of succession began in Portugal, the Emperor's private life had become a subject for serious criticism in Brazil, for he continued after his marriage the promiscuous habits of his early youth. It was his mistress Senhora Domitila de Castro Canto e Mello who caused the worst scandal at the

<sup>19</sup> Marquis de Rezende, *Éclaircissements historiques*, pp. 180-81; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *Dom Pedro e Dom Miguel, a querela da successão*, pp. 52-59; Oliveira Lima, *Historia diplomatica do Brazil*, p. 254.

<sup>20</sup> Walsh, *op. cit.*, I, 310-12; Armitage, *op. cit.*, I, 232-34; João Pandiá Calogeras, *A politica exterior do Imperio*, III, 324.

<sup>21</sup> Tudor to Van Buren, no. 136, Aug. 23, 1829, Dept. of State, Despatches, Brazil; Fleiuss, "D. Pedro II—seu nascimento—seus irmãos," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, p. 29; Armitage, *op. cit.*, I, 296; Walsh, *op. cit.*, I, 315-16; Rezende, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-82, 183-85, 188, 218, 239-40.

Brazilian court. In May, 1824, she bore him a daughter, but apparently the Empress did not learn of this gross infidelity until a year later. At about this time Dom Pedro made Domitila the Empress's first lady of the bedchamber, and later Marchioness of Santos. In public, the Empress maintained calm dignity in the face of these insults, but she suffered intensely from them, and finally, on October 23, 1826, she told the Austrian minister at Rio de Janeiro of her unhappiness and asked him to notify her father.<sup>22</sup> Subsequently, she had a violent quarrel with Dom Pedro over Domitila. But they seem to have become reconciled, and immediately afterwards, on November 24, the Emperor left for the south where frontier uprisings prompted by the war over the Cisplatine Province were in progress. Dona Leopoldina had been made Regent for the period of his absence, but she soon became ill, and grew rapidly worse. Miscarriage of a child followed, and puerperal infection developed. On December 11, 1826, she died in delirious horror over the presence of Domitila. At once there spread a rumor—which was probably false, but was generally accepted as fact by the Brazilians—that the Emperor had struck the beloved Dona Leopoldina during their last quarrel and that the injuries had caused her death. This added to the unpopularity of Dom Pedro, especially in the capital.<sup>23</sup>

After the death of the unhappy Empress, Dom Pedro's infatuation for Domitila increased. He gave her a voice in government councils, and even tried to secure for her full recognition at court. But to the nation as a whole, whose indignation grew with the scandalous situation, she was the "Madame Pompadour of Brazil."<sup>24</sup>

To help restore a semblance of respectability to the court,

<sup>22</sup> Alberto Rangel, *D. Pedro I e a Marquesa de Santos*, p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*; Bezerra Cavalcanti, *A Imperatriz Maria Leopoldina: Documentos interessantes*, pp. 46-74, 143-44; Alcides Bezerra, *A vida domestica da Imperatriz Leopoldina (1797-1826)*; Fleiuss, *Paginas de historia*, pp. 249-50, 257-58; Walsh, *op. cit.*, I, 255-59, 266-67.

<sup>24</sup> Rangel, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 ff.

the ministry urged Dom Pedro to marry again. Finally, a match was arranged between him and Princess Amelia de Leuchtenberg, a daughter of Princess Augusta Amelia of Bavaria and Eugene de Beauharnais, the stepson of Napoleon Bonaparte. Before the bride arrived, Domitila was sent back to São Paulo, probably through the influence of José Bonifacio, who, with his brothers, had returned to Brazil the year before and had been restored to royal favor. Dom Pedro's second marriage took place in Rio de Janeiro, in October, 1829. Princess Amelia, who was but seventeen years old at the time, was beautiful, charming, and kind. The Brazilians were delighted with her, as was the Emperor, and she, like Dona Leopoldina, became deeply attached to her husband.<sup>25</sup>

It was the Portuguese question that caused the most hostility towards Pedro I and that was the basic reason for his downfall. This cropped out chiefly in his relations with Parliament, which he had delayed calling until May, 1826, when the demand for funds for the war in the Plata basin made it necessary. After that, regular sessions took place. But trouble between him and the lower house began almost immediately. The deputies demanded a cabinet system modeled on the British, with the ministers responsible to them. The constitution included no such democratic provision, and Dom Pedro was unwilling to grant it. Hence, much friction resulted over the personnel of the cabinet, for the Emperor tended to give preference to ministers from the Portuguese party, since he could rely more upon loyalty and support from them than from the Brazilians. The deputies, who did not trust these foreign sympathizers, retaliated by refusing to vote the budget and by ignoring imperial recommendations for the national good. Thus, deadlocks were frequent, little was accomplished by Parliament, and the country drifted. The opposition press, which Dom Pedro dared not muzzle, emphasized his faults and played up the French Revolution of

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 203-56; Maria Junqueira Schmidt, *A segunda imperatriz do Brasil*; Tudor to Van Buren, no. 145, Oct. 26, 1829, Dept. of State, Despatches, Brazil.

1830 to his disadvantage. In this way, feeling against him was stimulated and crystallized.<sup>26</sup> Threatened uprisings in some of the provinces resulted in declaration of martial law.

The Emperor and his family spent the early part of 1831 in visiting Minas Geraes, where he hoped to revive some of the great popularity he had enjoyed there during the struggle for independence. It was in vain; even while he was present one of his ministerial supporters failed in the parliamentary election. Stimulated by his political friends, the Portuguese—some of whom were recently arrived fugitives from Dom Miguel—and other sympathizers celebrated his return to the capital, on March 11, by illuminations and bonfires. The opposition element refused to cooperate in the festivities. Insults were exchanged between the two factions, and a number of Brazilians were hurt in the street frays which followed during the nights of March 12 to 14.<sup>27</sup>

This produced a crisis. Parliament was not in session, but many members who opposed the Emperor were in Rio, and these met to plan for action. Evaristo da Veiga, editor of the *Aurora Fluminense*, the best paper in the Empire, was chosen to draw up a representation to the Emperor regarding the situation. This, after being signed by more than twenty deputies, was presented to Dom Pedro. It called special attention to the recent conduct of the Portuguese party and asked the Emperor to rid himself at once of the "traitors" with whom he was surrounded. Public confidence, it declared, was largely lost, and public order menaced; the tranquillity of the state, and even the throne itself, would be in danger if these representations did not receive attention.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *O Imperio brasileiro*, pp. 18-19; Walsh, *op. cit.*, II, 422-23; Alan K. Manchester, "Rise of the Brazilian Aristocracy," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XI (May, 1931), 163-67.

<sup>27</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, VIII, 239-44; Armitage, *op. cit.*, II, 112-15; W. S. W. Ruschenberger, *Three Years in the Pacific, Containing Notices of Brazil*, I, 38.

<sup>28</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, VIII, 244-46; Armitage, *op. cit.*, II, 117-22.

Dom Pedro promptly replied that the steps necessary to preserve peace and quiet had been taken, but this did not calm the nation, and in some provinces there were frank outbursts of rebellion.<sup>29</sup> On March 25, the anniversary of the imperial oath to the constitution, when Dom Pedro was entering church to attend a *Te Deum*, some one cried, "Long live Dom Pedro II!" This was the first implied wish that the Emperor might be displaced by his son. Other bystanders shouted, "Long live the Emperor!" But voices from the crowd added—"in so far as he is constitutional." With characteristic impetuosity, Dom Pedro turned and called out, "I am, and always have been, a constitutional monarch!"<sup>30</sup> He probably had been since he put the constitution into effect, but the constitution was of his own dictation and did not satisfy the Brazilian liberals.

Realizing that matters were serious, he became conciliatory. On March 19, he made changes in his ministry, putting in Brazilian senators of mediocre ability. But he found it difficult to work with them, and on April 6 he abruptly dismissed this cabinet and appointed one from reactionaries among his unpopular titled aristocracy. When this action became known, an excited crowd gathered in the Campo de Acclamação near the residential palace. With them were the deputies who had signed the communication of March 17 to the Emperor. The gathering demanded reinstatement of the former cabinet. Dom Pedro issued a proclamation assuring his indignant subjects that the government was constitutional, and promising to maintain it so, but the paper was torn from the hands of the officer who tried to read it to those who waited in the Campo. In the afternoon a deputation from the opposition called upon the Emperor at São Christovão and asked that the dismissed members be reinstated. Knowing that his constitutional prerogatives

<sup>29</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, VIII, 246-48; Armitage, *op. cit.*, II, 122-24.

<sup>30</sup> Anfriso Fialho, *Dom Pedro II, empereur du Brésil*, pp. 13-14; Armitage, *op. cit.*, II, 125; Calogeras, *op. cit.*, II, 554-55.

were at stake, Dom Pedro refused to comply. He is reported to have told the deputation, "I will do everything for the people, but nothing by the people."<sup>31</sup>

Some of the troops joined the mob in the square; the Emperor's battalion followed; and then his guard of honor. After some hours of deadlock, Dom Pedro, though unwilling to reinstate the former cabinet, finally decided to appoint one to suit the popular wish. He therefore sent for Senator Vergueiro, who belonged to the reform element, intending to ask him to head the new ministry; but the messenger failed to find the senator and was delayed. Farías, an officer of the rebellious troops, who had come to report the situation, urged prompt action, lest the crowd in the Campo get out of control.<sup>32</sup>

By now it was early morning of April 7, and Dom Pedro was weary, disgusted, and discouraged. To continue seemed futile. With characteristic impulsiveness, and without consulting his ministers, he took paper and wrote out an abdication in favor of his "much beloved and esteemed son, the Senhor Dom Pedro de Alcantara."<sup>33</sup> But he wept as he did so, and in his excitement he forgot to mention that it was the Brazilian throne he was giving up.<sup>34</sup> Handing the paper to Farías, he said, "Here is my abdication. May you be happy. I shall retire to Europe and leave the country which I have loved so much, and still love."<sup>35</sup> He next wrote out a statement naming as the tutor of his four youngest children José Bonifacio de Andrada, whom he called his "true friend." Farías galloped to the Campo with the abdication, which was received with joyful demonstrations. Soon afterwards the deputies and senators in the capital met and appointed a provisional regency.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Armitage, *op. cit.*, II, 127-29.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32; Calmon, *O rei cavalleiro*, p. 235.

<sup>33</sup> *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, April 8, 1831; Calmon, *O rei cavalleiro*, pp. 235-36.

<sup>34</sup> Oliveira Lima, *O Imperio brasileiro*, pp. 20-21; Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, pp. 49-50.

<sup>35</sup> Calmon, *O rei cavalleiro*, p. 236; Armitage, *op. cit.*, II, 132-33.

<sup>36</sup> Armitage, *op. cit.*, II, 134.

Meanwhile, Dom Pedro, Dona Amelia, and Princess Maria da Gloria<sup>37</sup> went aboard the British vessel "Warspite" which happened to be in the harbor. From there Dom Pedro heard the enthusiastic demonstrations in favor of his son when he was acclaimed in the praça before the City Palace. But he probably had no regrets, for, says Oliveira Lima, "His romantic soul was exalted by the idea of sacrifice."<sup>38</sup> Part of his time while awaiting departure was spent in fishing in the Bay. He also wrote for publication in the press a letter ending, "Farewell, Patria, farewell, friends, farewell forever!"<sup>39</sup> After some days on the "Warspite," he and Dona Amelia were transferred to the British frigate "Volage," which left for Europe on April 14.<sup>40</sup> Maria da Gloria sailed at about the same time aboard a French vessel.<sup>41</sup> Dom Pedro's remaining years were spent in warfare against his brother Miguel in behalf of his daughter's claims to the Portuguese throne. He was successful a short time before his death, on September 23, 1834.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Maria da Gloria, after futile attempts in Europe to get support for her claims to the Portuguese throne, had been recalled by her father late in 1829 and had since then remained in Brazil.—*Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>38</sup> *O Imperio brasileiro*, p. 22.

<sup>39</sup> *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*, April 14, 1831; Ruschenberger, *op. cit.*, I, 43, note.

<sup>40</sup> Calmon, *O rei cavalleiro*, pp. 240-41; *Diario Mercantil*, April 15, 1831.

<sup>41</sup> Armitage, *op. cit.*, II, 133-34.

<sup>42</sup> Oliveira Lima, *Dom Pedro e Dom Miguel*.

## BENDING THE TWIG

LITTLE Dom Pedro de Alcantara who became emperor of the vast land of Brazil in 1831 represented some of the bluest blood of the world. Ancestors of his, bad and good, had swayed European scepters for more than a thousand years. Among them were Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, William the Conqueror, Hugh Capet and Louis XIV of France, Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Emperor Charles the Fifth. More closely connected with his imperial crown were Count Henry of Burgundy, who founded Portugal; Emanuel, who, besides his Iberian heritage, ruled a far-flung empire in Asia; and also the eighth Duke of Bragança, who, in 1640, was crowned João IV of Portugal. The Bragança dynasty, from which the infant Emperor of Brazil was descended, had occupied the throne in Lisbon ever since.

Dom Pedro II was born December 2, 1825, at São Christovão, the imperial residential palace, which was then about three miles from Rio de Janeiro, on the estate of Boa Vista. Immediately after his arrival, the baby was formally presented to the court, assembled at the palace for the occasion. Following this, his father and his four little sisters gave thanks to God in two different chapels for the birth of the much-desired prince. The joy of the nation was expressed by cannon salutes fired at intervals for three days, and by a week of celebration, with *festas*, illuminations, and fireworks. In accordance with Bragança custom, the baby was baptized at the age of a week. Water from the River Jordan was used for the ceremony, in the Cathedral of Rio de Janeiro, with the principal royal chap-

lain in charge. The proud and happy Dom Pedro I carried the infant in the baptismal procession, and the baby's eldest sister, Maria da Gloria, then six years of age, was his godmother. Saint Pedro de Alcantara, Dom Pedro I's celestial protector, was made special guardian of the little Prince. In accordance with royal tradition, the child was given many names—Pedro de Alcantara João Carlos Leopoldo Salvador Bibiano Francisco Xavier de Paula Leocadio Miguel Gabriel Rafael Gonzaga. After the ceremony a *Te Deum* was sung, with music composed by Dom Pedro I.<sup>1</sup>

On January 2, when the baby was a month old, the Emperor brought him to the place of worship which had been his own father's favorite and was also his—the Chapel of Our Lady of Glory, for whom the Emperor's eldest daughter had been named. The shrine was situated on one of the hills overlooking the lovely Bay of Rio de Janeiro. Leaving his carriage on the street below, the Emperor, with the baby in his arms, climbed the steep slope—as King João had done in his day—and consecrated his son to the Madonna of the chapel by placing him on her altar.<sup>2</sup> In the following August, 1826, the Brazilian Parliament passed an act formally recognizing the infant as Prince Imperial and heir apparent to the throne.<sup>3</sup>

For the first two years of his life Dom Pedro II was nourished by a wet nurse, Senhora Maria Catharina Equey, a member of the Swiss colony of southern Brazil.<sup>4</sup>

His chief nurse, or governess, was Dona Marianna Carlota Verna de Magalhães Coutinho, a Portuguese aristocrat. Dona Marianna and her husband, Joaquin José Magalhães Coutinho, had come to Brazil in 1808, with the court of King João.

<sup>1</sup> Fleiuss, "D. Pedro II—seu nascimento—seus irmãos," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, pp. 20-26; Bezerra Cavalcanti, *Infancia e adolescencia de D. Pedro II: Documentos interessantes*, pp. 11-23.

<sup>2</sup> Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, pp. 38-39.

<sup>3</sup> Bezerra Cavalcanti, *Infancia e adolescencia de D. Pedro II: Documentos interessantes*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>4</sup> Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 19.

Joaquim José, who had been secretary of finance and keeper of the royal robes for Dom Pedro I, had died in 1823.

When the royal baby was barely a year old tragedy first came to him, in the death of his mother. Her body, clad in imperial robes reclined on cushions of green and gold silk ready for the solemn Portuguese ceremony of *beija mão mortuario*, which took place five days after she died. Little Prince Pedro, in charge of his chamberlain, was the first to kiss Dona Leopoldina's cold hand. His sisters came next, but only seven-year-old Maria da Gloria, who sobbed inconsolably, realized that it was a last farewell.<sup>5</sup>

Though not of robust health, for the Bragança line was weakly, the Prince made fair progress in physical growth as well as in mental development. A pleasing glimpse of him on his third birthday is given by Robert Walsh, rector of the Church of England parish in Rio de Janeiro, at the reception to the diplomatic corps in honor of the occasion. The little boy stood beside his father on the steps of the throne and was dressed in a "plain jacket and trousers such as he would play marbles in, and looked so simple and pretty that he interested every body. When I was presented," wrote the clergyman, "he put his hands in his breeches pockets, and looked very knowing at my dress, which was not exactly that of clergy he was accustomed to."<sup>6</sup>

The following year Prince Pedro acquired his stepmother, Empress Amelia. He became warmly attached to her and later called her his "second mother"; but she was young and inexperienced, and during her brief stay in Brazil of less than a year and a half she probably exercised very little real influence upon her husband's children.

Between father and son there was a strong, deep affection, and an incipient congeniality and understanding, despite the fact that the boy largely drew his mental as well as his physical char-

<sup>5</sup> Fleiuss, "D. Pedro II—seu nascimento—seus irmãos," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, p. 27; Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, pp. 43-44.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 525.

acteristics from his mother. In the evening before the Emperor's abdication, as he paced in the palace grounds pondering the political crisis, he held the hand of his little son, who walked by his side. The boy did not see his father after that night, for Dom Pedro I avoided awakening his children when he kissed them goodbye in the early hours of the following day.<sup>7</sup>

At the seven o'clock mass that morning in the royal chapel at São Christovão the members of the court were sad and the chaplain wept openly as he officiated at the services, but the royal children were not then permitted to know the cause for these signs of distress. Perhaps not until two days later—when the infant Emperor was acclaimed—did they realize, in a childish way, what had happened.

It was on the afternoon of the 9th of April that the four children were brought into the city in charge of Dona Marianna, for various ceremonies and to satisfy the desire of the people to see their new sovereign. During the drive the little boy sat on his governess's lap and, following her instructions, smiled and bowed to right and left in acknowledgment of the enthusiastic applause of the crowds. At one point, the populace, in a delirium of joy, wished to unhitch the horses from the royal coach and to draw it themselves, but this was prevented by Dona Marianna. The infant Emperor was taken to the royal chapel, beside the City Palace, where a *Te Deum* was sung, then to the palace itself where he received the diplomatic corps. At the reception for his subjects in the balcony, which has been described, his tutor, José Bonifacio,<sup>8</sup> supported him in the arm chair in which he stood, and his sisters, Januaria, Paula, and Francisca, were at his side. The exciting events of the day ended with a reviewing of the troops.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Fleiuss, "D. Pedro II—seu nascimento—seus irmãos," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, pp. 28-29.

<sup>8</sup> He was commonly referred to thus. In Brazil, all people—like royalty elsewhere—are often called by their first names, or by other parts of their full names, with or without titles.

<sup>9</sup> Debret, *op. cit.*, III, 230-31; Debret's *Atlas*, plate 51; "Traços biographicos de D. Pedro II," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, pp. 608-11; D. P. Kidder

In a farewell letter from the "Warspite," Dona Amelia had asked Brazilian mothers to adopt the "crowned orphan," Dom Pedro II, and to give him a place in their hearts. After their father's abdication, the royal children were, indeed, broadly speaking, the wards of the whole nation. The ex-Emperor, nevertheless, kept in close touch with them by correspondence, especially with his son, and also with those who were responsible for the children's care and training. And to all he gave wise and zealous counsel. The letters between the two Pedros began before the father left Rio de Janeiro Bay, with a loving note from the boy, probably written with Dona Marianna guiding his hand. His father was deeply moved by it and, in a reply beginning, "My beloved son and my Emperor," he urged the child to follow the advice of those who had his education in charge and to love his country and strive to be worthy of it.<sup>10</sup> The little Prince wrote his father in 1833 that he was cherishing with particular care the letters received from him, "as true guides for my present and future life."<sup>11</sup>

By keeping in close touch with the children he had left in Brazil, the ex-Emperor preserved for himself their deep affection. When his death was made known to them late in 1834 their grief was overwhelming. Dressed in deep mourning, the sad little group attended in the imperial chapel solemn mass for the repose of their father's soul. At the time Dom Pedro II was just nine years of age. Affectionate, gentle, sensitive, and old for his years, he was much shaken over his loss. He

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and J. C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, p. 214; information supplied through the courtesy of the director of the National Archives of Brazil, Dr. Alcides Bezerra, in December, 1936.

There is lack of agreement in the contemporary accounts as to the day on which this first holding of court by Dom Pedro II took place. Debret gives the 7th as the date, but this is unquestionably an error. As the official records show, the acclamation occurred on April 9th. Debret is also mistaken in saying that the Emperor was brought into the city in charge of the Condessa de Rio Seco.

<sup>10</sup> Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, pp. 25, 52-53, 71-72, 78.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

was reported to have been much changed by it, becoming more serious, almost somber, and his words and actions showed a new thoughtfulness.<sup>12</sup> In a letter of consolation to him, José Bonifacio wrote, "They err; Dom Pedro did not die. Common men die, but not heroes."<sup>13</sup>

Dom Pedro I's public record during his ten years' rule really contrasted pleasingly with the achievements of most contemporary European sovereigns. He granted independence and a reasonably liberal constitution to Brazil, under which the country progressed in some ways. He also gave Portugal a charter providing for representative government, and he spent the last years of his life as leader of the Portuguese liberal element in the effort, finally successful, to put the charter into effect. These aims and achievements, as well as his affectionate disposition and attractive personality, caused his son to have a lasting admiration and attachment for him.

During the first decade of the boy's life the person influencing him most was perhaps Dona Marianna, who was promoted in 1831 to the position of first lady of the Prince Imperial. She was forty-six years old when the baby was born and had at first objected, on the grounds of her age, to assuming the responsibility which his father asked her to take. But she was a good choice, for she was well-educated and cultured, and had high ideals and fine character, and was absolutely true to her trust. Towards her little charge she was tender and kindly, but sensible, firm, and strict. During his early, formative years she watched his health with loving care and directed his mental and spiritual development. The child, who called her "Dadama" (apparently a baby mispronunciation of "dama," the Portuguese for "lady"), came to love her like a son. His father, shortly before his death, declared that Dona Marianna had shown herself worthy to educate an em-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81; Fialho, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Pedro d'Orléans Bragança Archives, A, 4874, Dec. 4, 1834; Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 81, note 25.

peror. Doubtless she had an important share in making Dom Pedro II what he became.<sup>14</sup>

In the cooler months of the year the governess and her charges spent most of the time at the São Christovão Palace, but occasionally she took them for a change of air to the imperial *fazenda* (rural estate) of Santa Cruz, about forty miles to the south of the capital. During the summer, to escape the tropical heat, they usually stayed at a *fazenda* in the Organ Mountains, near the present Petropolis. Here, the nights were cool and comfortable, even from December to March, when the climate was oppressive in Rio de Janeiro.

Dom Pedro's earliest playmates were his sisters; but Princess Paula died in January, 1833, following a long illness. Dona Januaria and Dona Francisca, the two who remained in Brazil, were healthy, natural little girls who early satisfied domestic instincts by learning and practicing some of the mysteries of cookery. Whether Dom Pedro had a finger in these culinary activities is not apparent, but when he discovered what his sisters were doing he insisted upon sharing the dishes they prepared. Princess Francisca, her brother's favorite, who was unusually beautiful and lovable, had much initiative and a bubbling sense of humor. When the children played church, as they were fond of doing, she was usually the priest, dressed for the part, while Dom Pedro and Dona Januaria were acolytes.<sup>15</sup> All three of them had garden plots in the park at São Christovão, where they occupied themselves with planting and tending flowers. This perhaps helped foster the Emperor's later interest in agriculture.

Dona Marianna realized that the little Prince needed boy associates, and these she supplied by having several sons of Brazilian aristocrats come to the palace to be his companions. With

<sup>14</sup> Heitor Moniz, *A corte de D. Pedro II*, pp. 129-37; Calogeras, *op. cit.*, III, 387.

<sup>15</sup> Mozart Monteiro, "A família imperial," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, p. 82; Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, pp. 97, 109.

these he played soldiers and other boyish games. One of the boys, Luiz Pedreira do Couto Ferraz, later Visconde do Bom Retiro, proved congenial to Dom Pedro mentally as well as temperamentally and they became lifelong friends.<sup>16</sup>

Another companion of Dom Pedro's childhood was Rafael, a Negro soldier to whom his father had become attached on his visit to the southern province of Rio Grande. Rafael was the special servant, devoted friend, and military hero of the Prince, who during his early childhood loved to ride about the palace grounds on the Negro's broad shoulders. When the boy was a little older he delighted in visiting Rafael in his quarters on the southern slope of the palace grounds and in listening to his hair-raising tales of war and other adventures in the south of the Empire.<sup>17</sup>

It was Dona Marianna who gave Prince Pedro his first lessons in reading and writing when he was scarcely out of babyhood, and from her also he received his earliest training in religion and ethics. Before he was five she prepared for him a little book which was published in 1830 under the title *Introduction to the Small Historical Catechism offered to His Imperial Highness D. Pedro de Alcantara*. Her letter of dedication at the beginning of the volume shows some ideas she tried to plant in the child's mind. The Christian faith, she wrote, always makes for the happiness of society; and though mankind has invoked the name of religion while committing crimes, nothing can alter the purity and perfection of the faith. A truly Christian sovereign must not fail to work for the happiness of the people who are his subjects. Piety, justice, and charity are virtues of special importance in a ruler.<sup>18</sup> Dona Marianna's influence upon the young Emperor continued even after he reached manhood.

Soon after Dom Pedro I's abdication, however, the respon-

<sup>16</sup> Moniz, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-54.

<sup>17</sup> Mucio Teixeira, *O Imperador visto de perto*, p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 48.

sibility for the intellectual training and general welfare of his four youngest children passed to José Bonifacio de Andrada. Owing to opposition from the chamber of deputies, there was some delay before he was permitted to assume his duties.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile the Marquez de Itanhaén was provisional tutor.<sup>20</sup> The "Father of Independence," as José Bonifacio was called by some, was finally given charge of the royal children on August 24, 1831. He was then sixty-eight years old but was still alert and vigorous. He was the most distinguished scholar in Brazil, was remarkably versatile, possessed high ideals, was devoted to his country, and was fond of his young charges.<sup>21</sup>

Wise and kind in his attitude towards them, he had shown his sympathetic understanding promptly after their father's abdication by hurrying out to São Christovão early the next day and asking for them. With deep emotion he gathered the tiny Dom Pedro II into his arms, exclaiming, "My emperor and my son!" Dona Amelia had arranged that the children be given a certain portion of their toys each day, but José Bonifacio, bent upon helping them to forget their troubles, ordered that for the time they be permitted to play with them all.<sup>22</sup>

Though José Bonifacio had once been an ultra-liberal, by the time of Dom Pedro I's abdication he had developed a "furi-

<sup>19</sup> The chamber held that the appointment of a tutor rested with it, not with Dom Pedro I. José Bonifacio, at the time a deputy from Bahia, replied by publishing a *Protest to the Brazilian Nation and to the Entire World* against this attitude. Soon afterwards a permanent regency was appointed and it decreed that the tutor for the royal children should be named by, responsible to, and removable by the General Assembly. It also stipulated that the tutor should take no part in politics in the name of his pupils. On June 30, 1831, the two chambers met jointly as a General Assembly and—apparently in response to popular opinion—elected as tutor José Bonifacio.—Fleuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, pp. 63-65; Bezerra Cavalcanti, *Infancia e adolescencia de D. Pedro II; Documentos interessantes*, pp. 31-37.

<sup>20</sup> Fleuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 63.

<sup>21</sup> José Maria Latino Coelho, *Elogio historico de José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva*, pp. 1-31; Oliveira Lima, *Formation historique de la nationalité brésilienne*, p. 155.

<sup>22</sup> Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay, "A formação intellectual de Pedro II," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, pp. 888-89; Fleuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 92.

ous horror" of anti-monarchist principles. Influenced by the political turbulence in neighboring states, he was convinced that theoretical democracy, at least in Latin America, meant military despotism. Hence, his influence in the country tended to strengthen the throne. But he believed in progressive monarchy, and favored civilization of the Indians and abolition of the slave traffic; and he pointed out that Brazil was the only nation of European origin that still traded in African bondmen.<sup>23</sup> To what extent he influenced his imperial pupil along these lines is not apparent, for the records of his tutorship are meagre and his tenure was brief. At the time Brazil suffered from great unrest and from repeated political crises. This caused many to wish Dom Pedro I back, at least to serve as Regent until his son was old enough to rule. José Bonifacio was charged with being associated with the faction which worked for the former Emperor's return, and the accusation was perhaps just. He was, accordingly, dismissed from office on December 15, 1833.<sup>24</sup>

The Marquez de Itanhaén,<sup>25</sup> who had the general responsibility for Dom Pedro during the remainder of his minority, was very different from José Bonifacio. When he took up his new duties he was slightly past fifty years old, was tall, thin, and austere in appearance, but possessed of a dry sense of humor. While not bigoted, he was deeply religious, and during his afternoon walks at São Christovão Palace he carried his rosary in his hand and softly recited his prayers. His career had been agricultural rather than governmental, and he scrupulously avoided all political questions. The Marquez was not intellectually brilliant, and his education was in no way unusual,

<sup>23</sup> Oliveira Lima, *Formation historique de la nationalité brésilienne*, pp. 111-12, 154-56.

<sup>24</sup> Moniz, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-7. José Bonifacio took a defiant attitude saying that he would yield only to force, and was promptly arrested and imprisoned. Early in 1834 he was tried and acquitted, but he retired in disgust from politics. He died April 6, 1838.—Fleiss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 73.

<sup>25</sup> Manoel Ignacio de Andrade Souto Maior Pinto Coelho, Marquez de Itanhaén.

but he was modest and honorable and had a strong sense of duty. He came to love the boy Emperor deeply and worked constantly to make him a good man and a good king. For Dom Pedro II he had, indeed, an ideal of perfection.<sup>26</sup> He and Dona Marianna, in their aims for the boy, were much alike, but he was more exacting than she.

The Marquez established a very strict regimen, and during the six and a half years of his tutorship almost every minute of Dom Pedro II's time was accounted for. At seven o'clock—later, at six—the boy rose, dressed, and attended mass in the royal chapel; at eight, he breakfasted in the presence of the palace physician, who passed upon all of his food; after that, he rested until nine. From then until eleven-thirty he was at his lessons. During the next two hours he was free to play or walk in the palace grounds. At one-thirty he went to dress for dinner, which was served promptly at two, with the physician again present, and also his chamberlain and Dona Marianna. Conversation during the meal was expected to concern scientific or other useful subjects, with persons there who could foster the boy's education by answering any questions he might ask. After dinner came another period of rest. At four-thirty or five, according to the season, if the weather was good he went for a walk in the palace grounds, or for a horseback ride, which usually lasted until dusk; but care was taken that he not exercise to the point of fatigue. Returning to the palace, he spent some time in reading aloud, or in listening while another read to him. At first the matter selected was tales and stories, and during this period he probably read Scott's novels and Froissart's *Chronicles*, which he later remembered with delight; but as he grew older and stronger he was introduced to more informational works. Thus, the Marquez inspired in him a love for

<sup>26</sup> Moniz, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Mozart Monteiro, "A infancia do Imperador," *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, vol. 152, pp. 34-36; Fleiuss, in *Contribuições para a Biographia de D. Pedro II*, Pt. I, p. 79.