

The archives of the Portuguese government during the  
residency of the Court in Brazil, 1808–1821

Ana Isabel Silva Canas da Cunha Delgado Martins

Thesis submitted for Ph.D in Library and Information Studies

School of Library, Archive and Information Studies

University College London

University of London

2004



ProQuest Number: U643488

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest U643488

Published by ProQuest LLC(2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

## Abstract

The need to understand what happened to the dispersed and previously unsatisfactorily described records of the archives of the central Portuguese administration during 1808-1822, in order to assign a provenance to the records, was the original motivating force behind this thesis. Several aspects of the rule of Portugal and Brazil and of the process of governmental decision-making were little and fragmentarily known and there was no study on the archives of the main offices during the same period. An extensive survey of the archives was undertaken, to locate and identify series and documents of the *Secretarias de Estado* and other state offices, mainly in Portugal and Brazil. Private papers and British Foreign Office and some French official records were also researched.

The first four chapters present aspects of the political, institutional and administrative history of Portugal and Brazil as the context for the archives. First the structure of the central administration before the invasion of Portugal by the Napoleonic armies, including the offices in Brazil, is traced. This is followed by an account of the departure of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro. The forms of government and administration in Portugal from November 1807 till September 1820 are examined next, beginning with the occupation led by Junot, the Regency and its replacement and their impact on the creation of official records. The following subchapters trace the fighting against the French and the establishment of *juntas* of government and examine the composition and working of the governors of the Kingdom, as well as studying the British military presence and its influence on the government during the Peninsular War. Finally the governance and the continuity of the British presence after 1814 and till September 1820 are analysed. Chapter four studies the reconstruction and working of the central government and administration in Brazil for the period between March 1808 and September 1820.

Chapter five examines how offices in Portugal and Brazil created records and how these circulated and were kept. Types of documents are featured and their usage explained. The arrangement of records, including systems of classification, is analysed. Special attention is paid to the archives of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* and also of the *Gabinete do Rei* and to the records of the *Conselho de Estado*. The frontiers between private and public records as well as procedures of secrecy within public offices are examined. The

sixth chapter traces the Liberal Revolution of 1820 in Portugal, the return of King D. João VI to Lisbon and the independence of Brazil in 1822.

The last chapter examines the transfers of records and archives of the Portuguese central administration from 1808 to 1822, especially between Portugal and Brazil, but also with reference to the repercussions of the French occupation and the Peninsular War. Aspects such as the impact of international conflicts on archives, seizure and informational value of records, safekeeping of official records, relationship between political changes, administrative practices and the management of records, evidential value of records and official memory are studied. The main issues analysed concern the custodial history and the current location of the archives of the *Secretarias de Estado* and other public offices. In addition, successive Brazilian and Portuguese initiatives in the nineteenth and twentieth century to identify, describe and access records produced by these offices before the independence of Brazil in 1822, are critically examined.

The conclusions reached in this thesis suggest that the main change in the records was the creation of new series: namely the *contas dos governadores do Reino*, in consequence of the resettlement of the state apparatus in Rio de Janeiro and of the establishment of the governors of the Kingdom in Lisbon. As these worked as an intermediary body regarding the King and secretaries of state, the ways in which records circulated were often different to those prior to 1808. The bulk of the archives of the *Secretarias de Estado* which were transported to Rio de Janeiro returned, but not the records produced during 1808-1822 and those relating to Brazil. The location of these records and a list of them are provided for the first time. As a result of the research and findings of this thesis, it is hoped that the arrangement of the series of records of these offices and their connected departments will be simpler and more precise and the enrichment and production of new finding aids will be a natural consequence.

## Contents

Abstract.....	2
Contents.....	4
Abbreviations.....	7
Acknowledgements.....	10
Introduction.....	12
<b>1</b> The Portuguese central administration before the French Invasions.....	22
1.1 The reforms of the 18 <sup>th</sup> century.....	22
1.2 The administration of Brazil.....	29
<b>2</b> The move to Brazil.....	34
<b>3</b> The government in Lisbon, 1807-1820.....	40
3.1 The French rule, December 1807-August 1808.....	40
3.1.1 The Portuguese Regency and the French occupation, December 1807- February 1808.....	40
3.1.2 The French direct government, February-August 1808.....	46
3.2 The British presence and the Portuguese government, September 1808- September 1820.....	61
3.2.1 The provisional governments, Juntas, July-September 1808.....	61
3.2.2 The reestablishment of the Regency and the initial working, September 1808-1810.....	68
3.2.3 Reorganisation of the Regency and its working, 1810-1814.....	90
3.2.4 The government after 1814.....	112

4	The government in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1820.....	125
4.1	The government structure and working.....	125
4.2	The monarch ruling.....	143
4.3	The government and the main political events: the Brazilian priorities.....	153
5	Records between Portugal and Brazil, 1808-1820.....	164
5.1	Creation and circulation of records.....	164
5.2	Transport and time of circulation of records.....	199
5.3	Record-keeping systems.....	209
5.4	Public and private records.....	239
5.5	Secrecy and records.....	251
6	The ruptures, 1820-1822.....	266
6.1	The Liberal Revolution.....	266
6.2	The echoes of the Revolution in Brazil and the return of D. João VI to Portugal.....	273
6.3	The independence of Brazil.....	277
7	The destiny of central Portuguese administration records.....	287
7.1	War and peace, effects on Portuguese archives and libraries.....	287
7.2	The seizure of records to the French, their use and destination.....	301
7.3	Safekeeping of records and papers.....	310
7.4	The demand of records from Rio de Janeiro.....	318
7.5	Memory and records.....	323
7.6	Brazil and Portugal, the vicissitudes of a common heritage.....	327
	<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>358</b>
	<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>361</b>

Appendixes

1	Governors of the Kingdom and Secretaries, Lisbon.....	407
2	Secretaries of State, Rio de Janeiro.....	410
3	Councillors of State.....	412
4	Chronology.....	413
5	Glossary.....	418

## Abbreviations

AA	Arquivo do Arquivo, IANTT
AAE	Archive des Affaires Étrangères, Paris
ACIB	Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil
ADB	Arquivo Distrital de Braga, Braga
AFL	Arquivo da Família Linhares, Cascais
AHU	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon
AHI	Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro
ALB	Arquivo Lencastre Bastos, Lisbon
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
ANRJ	Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro
ARJ	Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro, IAN/TT
BAC	Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, Lisbon
BCM-AH	Biblioteca Central de Marinha - Arquivo Histórico, Lisbon
BL	British Library, London



BNRJ	Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro
CEHCA	Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, Lisbon
CL	Colecção Linhares
Cod. or / and COD	Codex
Col.	Collection
COLUSO	Comissão Luso Brasileira para a Salvaguarda e Divulgação do Património Documental
CP	Colecção de Portugal
CR	Casa Real
cx.	caixa (box)
FO	Foreign Office
FUP	Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa
IAN/TT	Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/ Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
IDD	Instrumentos de descrição documental
IGP	Intendência Geral da Polícia
IHGB	Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro

liv.	Livro (book)
mct.	Macete (little bundle)
micr.	Microfilm
MCO	Mesa da Consciência e Ordens
MF	Ministério da Fazenda/Finanças
MNE	Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros
MNEJ	Ministério dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e da Justiça
MR	Ministério do Reino
n.	note
n.d.	no date
no.	number
NP	Negócios de Portugal
pac.	Pacotilha or pacote (bundle)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
WO	War Office

## Acknowledgements

This work included the usual difficulties in looking for the balanced ways of researching, analysing, selecting and structuring information and writing. Often it seemed to me that the progress was slow. But I always felt from Professor John McIlwaine the encouragement that I needed. His supervision was clear, calm and sound. I am deeply grateful to him for his knowledge and wisdom to led my work to the end.

I found in Dr. Kate Peters a cordial co-supervisor, whose availability and knowledge I sometimes was not able to benefit of. During Dr. Kate Peters' leave of absence Ms. Elizabeth Danbury became co-supervisor and I knew that I could count on her for the progress of the work.

I also received a permanent encouragement from Professor Hugo Gil Ferreira and Professor Karin Gil Ferreira. Both bet on my capacities and helped me to go on. Professor Gil Ferreira was special responsible for the decision to present a programme of work. I thank them for all this.

Dr. Carmo Ponte's knowledge of English and Portuguese and her friendly patience made the text more readable. However, any persisting language failures are my own responsibility.

The *Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia*, through the PRAXIS Programme, provided a scholarship for the PhD during 1999-2001. The Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, through its former director, Professor Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, and afterwards Professor Miriam Halpern Pereira, allowed me not to work during this period. Professor Luís Filipe Barreto, from the Department of History of the Faculdade de Letras of the Universidade de Lisboa also believed in my work.

I also thank several colleagues and staff in archives and libraries where I made my main searches. In Portugal, in the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, Maria de Lurdes Henriques, also Eugénia Costa, besides Catarina Guimarães and Paulo Tremoço. In Brazil, in the Arquivo Nacional, its director Jaime Antunes da Silva, Sílvia Ninito, Vítor Fonseca and also Beatriz Monteiro and Sátiro Nunes; in the Biblioteca Nacional Carmen Moreno; finally Esther Bertoletti, dynamic technical coordinator of the Brazilian Project Resgate.

The love and daily patience of my husband, Henrique Delgado Martins, were the invisible support for this work.

December 2003

## Introduction

In 1997 I was involved both in the preparation for, and as a participant in a technical mission whereby Portuguese archivists visited Rio de Janeiro to identify and eventually to microfilm documents that existed in Brazilian institutions and which had been created by the central administration during the colonial period. The research focused both on the records transferred to and from Portugal after the move by the Portuguese Court to Brazil and those actually produced in Brazil between 1808 and 1821. One of the aims of this research project was to complement record series stored in Portuguese archives. Although the available finding aids were frequently inadequate, it was nevertheless possible to make a selection of several records, record series or parts of series, parts of fonds or archives and collections. However the identification of the provenances of these records was limited and the provenances of many others were not identified to the detriment of their description and availability to researchers.

The inadequate information available regarding relevant documents is reflected in the lack of data present in the finding aids of the records in Brazilian institutions. Despite the obvious usefulness of those that do exist, and even when the provenance of the fonds or collection can be inferred, there still remains the gap left by the lack of custodial and archival history as well as the absence of administrative and biographical history of the creating agencies and individuals which does not permit full reconstitution of the series. A very good example is the difficult access to the documents forming part of the archives of administration and central Portuguese government, which are contained in the boxes of the collections of the *Negócios de Portugal* in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*. An inadequate attempt to reorganise these documents has rendered the main existing finding aids partially obsolete, and further attempts in the 1980s to improve the level of archival description of the sources have had only limited success.

Portuguese institutions holding archival units produced and accumulated by the *secretarias de estado* and other government agencies during the stay of the Portuguese Court in Brazil did not always have adequate and accessible finding aids, although this varied according to the level, particularly in relation to the establishment of provenances. According to the Brazilian scholar José Honório Rodrigues, these limitations were to a

large extent due to the 'great disregard for the archives' on both sides of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, work on aspects of the institutional and administrative history exist, relating particularly to the Joanine period (1808-1821) but also to previous decades, as they determined in many ways the characteristics and functioning of the institutions of independent Brazil (Manuel de Oliveira Lima, Caio Prado Jr., Arno Wehling). Incidental reorganisation of these records was made, especially to meet external demands from researchers. But the priorities under which archival work was carried out in Brazil were different.

On the other hand, Portuguese scholars interested in this period see it within the context of the history of the Portuguese State. For this reason their interest is focused on the historical aspects dealing with the French invasions and Peninsular War, political and economic links with England, South America dominance of the foreign policy of the Portuguese Court in Rio, the Constitutional Revolution and the independence of Brazil (António Pedro Vicente, Jorge Borges de Macedo, Valentim Alexandre).

Although some Portuguese archivists (Carlos Alberto Ferreira and recently Eugénia Costa and Paula Lomelino) had the notion that the transfer of the Portuguese Court to Brazil in 1807 had affected the organisation of the archives of the administrative agencies and of the government (*secretarias de estado, tribunais - mesas, juntas e conselhos*), they did not study them from that viewpoint. Furthermore, the level of disorganisation of the fonds that constitute those documents required and in certain cases still does require an extensive archival arrangement. These were the main priorities. It is well to remember, that it was only as recently as 1992-1993 that a significant part of the archive from the *Ministério do Reino* was transferred to the National Archive, fitting in with other parts of the documents of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino/Ministério do Reino*, which had already been transferred and which were being arranged. On the other hand, it has been common practice to regard the Liberal Revolution of 1820 and the subsequent institutional and administrative changes, as a chronological marker relevant to Portuguese history and by extension to the history of the archives. Studies of the detail of the Portuguese institutional and administrative structures between 1808 and 1822 were rare and of those of the related archival situation did not exist.

Finally, studies by non-Portuguese scholars, despite providing valuable insights into different aspects of the History of Portugal and Brazil, not only do not cover the whole period but seldom consider the archives as subject matter in themselves (Manchester, Fuente, Vichness, Clayton and Barman).

The *Rencontro* project under the responsibility of the Portuguese Section of the *Comissão Luso Brasileira para a Salvaguarda e Divulgação do Património Documental* (COLUSO) following on from the above mentioned technical mission of 1997, brought to the fore the knowledge of the documents produced by the central administration and Portuguese government up to 1822, within the custody of Brazilian institutions.

I became convinced that it was necessary to find out what had happened to the archives of the central Portuguese Administration agencies during the period 1808-1822 and to constitute anew their custodial history in order to facilitate the location of the respective documents today, and their use and interpretation by scholars. In particular, it was important to find out about the processes of creation and circulation of the documents between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, and the ways in which they were organised and kept, as well as to systematise information about transfers of archives or of documents both ways. These were the origins of this study.

In order to analyse the archives, it was necessary to contextualize them politically and above all institutionally and administratively. This approach was the more pertinent as, between the end of 1807 and 1821-1822, Portugal and Brazil underwent several major changes in governmental and administration structures with direct impact on the archives and public agencies. The most important were the reorganisation of power and central administration from Brazil, resulting in the political subordination of Lisbon, mainly after the end of the Peninsular War and the Americanisation of the Portuguese monarch's politics. At the same time other important events occurred in Portugal, such as the occupation by the French and the government of Junot; the anti-French uprisings and the formation of governmental juntas; the British military presence; the British participation in the government both in the war and in the defence of the country; the continuity of that presence after Napoleon's defeat; as well as the progressive weakening of the government and of the political administration aggravated by the King's permanent residence in Brazil. Furthermore, the politico-administrative changes that followed the constitutional

Revolution of 1820 in Portugal and the independence of Brazil in 1822 also had repercussions on the archives.

In order to try to find answers to all these aspects, archival research was initiated. Firstly, it was necessary to carry out bibliographical searches in the fields of history, archival studies and diplomatics. In the field of history, particular attention was given to the political and administrative history of Portugal and Brazil for the period between the end of the eighteenth century and 1825, the year in which the independence of Brazil was recognised by Portugal. In addition, aspects of the history of Napoleonic Europe, French and British history relating to Portugal were also studied. A great part of these historical sources were used in the narrative regarding the politico-military situation and administrative structures. In the area of archival studies and diplomatics, different themes were referred to, which surfaced as the research and the writing progressed, namely: the history of archives, especially in Napoleonic Europe; archival terminology; principles and notions used by the archivists and their application; organisation of archives both current and non-current; types of documents and diplomatics denominations and features, and also, additionally, the standardisation of archival description.

Archival research was at the centre of this study. The archives of two out of the four *secretarias de estado*, superior organs of central Portuguese administration were the main object of research: the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, but excluding from the latter the archive of the department of War Affairs. The restriction of the study field can be justified because of the necessity of carrying out research in both Portugal and Brazil within the time available. Research was carried out in Rio de Janeiro for about a month, on two consecutive visits in 1999 and 2000. Direct knowledge of the institutions and part of the fonds and Brazilian collections had been obtained during my participation in the two official missions that took place in 1996 and 1997. Subsequently, microfilms of documents of the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, *Biblioteca Nacional* and *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty* were consulted in Lisbon at the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo*, under the scope of the activities of the COLUSO. However, more grounds were found for this approach. The main axis of circulation of official documents and information between the government stationed in Rio de Janeiro and the regency in Lisbon went through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. This



*secretaria de estado* retained a wide sphere of influence within the country's internal affairs and the person in charge was simultaneously the assistant to the king's ministerial dispatch. Taken into account also was the fact that the study of the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* with its specific organisation and functions offered a good reference point. Besides, the conducting of foreign affairs assumed particular relevance in this period of Portuguese political and military weakness. Studied in less detail but never forgotten were the archives of other *secretarias de estado* and departments: *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos* and department of War Affairs. The archive of the King's Cabinet was selected and the documents of the *Conselho de Estado* were studied despite this latter not having its own archive. Equally, archives or private collections of Portuguese officials who occupied public posts of relevance, particularly in the *secretarias de estado*, and who kept documents pertaining to their function were studied. Isolated records that had been part of archives of the *secretarias de estado* and which were now located in collections of manuscripts were also studied.

The documents and collections belonging to these archives are dispersed among several different Portuguese and Brazilian institutions. In Lisbon, the archival research was carried out mainly in the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo* and the *Biblioteca Nacional – Divisão de Reservados*, *Biblioteca da Ajuda*, the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, the *Biblioteca Central de Marinha - Arquivo Histórico* and also the *Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga – Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*. In Rio de Janeiro the research was mainly carried out at the *Arquivo Nacional* with consultation of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty* and *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*.

In the process of archival research a very varied collection of finding aids concerning fonds, collections and documents kept in these institutions were used, with different levels of description and also produced to address a variety of audiences. Some have not been published and are only locally available or exceptionally can be studied from reproductions in the spirit of cooperation among similar institutions. Other finding aids were published and a few are available on line.

The identification of the provenance of many records, record series and parts of archives of agencies of the Portuguese central administration of this period, mainly of *secretarias de estado*, and their location, was only made possible by cross referencing the information of finding aids and the documents themselves. In several cases, the reference to the context of production of the documents has been lost and it was necessary to reconstitute their custodial history, not only between 1808 and 1821, but also after the independence of Brazil, since it differed necessarily in both countries.

In order to establish their provenance, documents housed in the above-mentioned institutions, particularly in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* and in the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo* were directly checked. The objective was to obtain information on the irregular and discontinued process of transfer of documents from the *secretarias de estado* and other organs of administration from Portugal to Brazil and later on, from Brazil to Portugal.

In reality, part of these records was used not only as an object of study and source of information for the archives per se but also as a source of information of the political, institutional and administrative context. It was mainly with this objective in mind that research was carried out in London in the Public Record Office and British Library Manuscripts Room and also in Paris, in the *Archives nationales*. At the Public Record Office, several series and subseries of records from the Foreign Office and some from the War Office were consulted, keeping in mind the strong British presence in the Portuguese government on the Continent and the close ties with the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro. The correspondence belonging to the British representatives in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro also provided some information relating to English expressions used then to designate Portuguese posts, duties and institutions. In the British Library some documents belonging to British entities that carried out Government duties during the Peninsular War were also consulted. The main objective in the brief incursion to the *archives nationales* in Paris was to obtain items dealing with the effects of the French occupation in the area of archives, particularly that pertaining to public administration.

The narrative text of the thesis is structured as follows.

The first chapter contains a brief summary of the workings of the central Portuguese administration up to the eve of the first French invasion in November 1807 with particular reference to the creation and duties of the *secretarias de estado*. The

organs of administration and the government of Brazilian territories are also studied: on the one hand, the departments based in Lisbon and on the other those based in Brazil. This chapter is also used as a framework for the wide changes and continuities at institution and administration levels, which occurred with the move of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro. The short second chapter refers in more detail to the move of the Court and the political situation that initiated it as well as the political and government instructions left by the monarch.

The third chapter discusses the forms of government and administration that took place in Portugal. The first subchapter examines the French occupation: from the initial attempt to keep the Portuguese administrative apparatus running albeit subjected to the occupier, followed by the attempts to introduce gallicizing changes in some sectors of the administration. Also mentioned are alterations introduced by the French relating to the creation, characteristics and circuits of official documents. The second sub-chapter presents the running of the Portuguese administration, the anti-French uprisings, the constitution of government juntas and intervention by British forces. It goes on to refer to the reestablishment of the Regency in Lisbon, the dysfunctions of political vigilance and administrative control over the structure of power in Portugal carried out by the monarch and secretaries of state at a distance. The different re-organisations of government, requirements of war and British participation in government as well as British military stay after the peace and governance difficulties until 1820 are also studied.

Chapter four focuses on the government and administration established in Brazil, during the period between the arrival of the monarch in March 1808 and the Liberal Revolution in Portugal in September 1820. The reconstruction of the central government apparatus in Rio de Janeiro is discussed first. This includes newly established government organisms similar to those functioning in Lisbon or on a lesser scale, using those already existing in Brazil. The study looks also at the changes in competence, the extinction of certain institutions and the additions of others, the nomination and succession of people responsible for politico-administrative posts. As a follow up, some aspects of the style of government of the Prince Regent, afterwards King D. João VI, are also mentioned, as are the great questions concerning the government from the Brazilian perspective. In both this chapter and in the previous one, the consequences at the level of documents produced by the administration are mentioned, but it is in chapter five that this study is extended.

In chapter five, the processes of creation and circulation of documents from the *secretarias de estado* are investigated, above all those documents from the *Secretaria de*

*Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, as other agencies of central administration in connection with the already mentioned *secretarias de estado*. The functioning of the circuits of the documents between the governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries in Lisbon and the secretaries of state and the king in Rio de Janeiro is explained. A careful examination of the organisation and systems of classification applied in the archives of the two *secretarias de estado* is carried out. At the same time, the understanding and practices of this period as to the notion of private document within the archives of the state are also examined. Finally, the relationship between secrecy and documents produced or received by these entities is touched upon. It comprises the variability and contexts of procedure, orientation of collective memory and power of secrecy, classification of documents from this perspective, secrecy and type of documents, skills in preservation and breach of the secret character of documents.

In chapter six, the great political ruptures influencing Portugal and Brazil that culminated in the period under study are narrated. They allow an understanding of part of the custodial and archival history of the records of the *secretarias de estado* and other organs of the Portuguese central administration. The chapter opens with a description of the eruption in Portugal of the Liberal Revolution in 1820, including the resultant political and governmental changes. The consequences of the Revolution in Brazil, the return of the monarch and further developments culminating in the declaration of independence of Brazil in 1822 and its recognition by Portugal in 1825 are also narrated.

Chapter seven focuses again on the archives, looking at the trajectory of documents created or integrated within the Portuguese central administration between 1808 and 1822. Of special interest is the exchange between Portugal and Brazil after the king's return to Lisbon. The effects of the French occupation and the Peninsular War in general and the impact on Portuguese archives and libraries are narrated in sub-chapter 7.1. The procedures and negotiations that took place after the expulsion of Junot's armies and later on, after the General Peace in Europe, and the return of movables or compensation to Portuguese subjects are also studied here. Sub-chapter 7.2 deals briefly with the seizure of records from the French: provenance of documents, informational value of some of them, the movement of documents within the government and organs of administration and present location. Sub-chapter 7.3 sums up the measures taken for safekeeping of official records, mainly in the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* in view of the threat of the French re-occupation of Lisbon. This is followed by two sub-chapters:

7.4 which sums up the requests of documentation from central administration by the government in Rio de Janeiro, and 7.5 which narrates the position of the government in relation to official documents of a sensitive matter evocative of uncomfortable memories. To end this chapter, 7.6 deals with the erratic movements of the archives of the Portuguese central administration, between Portugal and Brazil, even after the latter's independence. Firstly, sets of documents from the *secretarias de estado* and from other public departments that stayed in Rio de Janeiro and those that were taken to Lisbon were listed and located, allowing the intellectual reconstitution of some archives. The degree of completeness is variable, depending on the stage of arrangement and on the amount of time available for the direct search, which primarily targeted the archives of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*. Following this, the main initiatives carried out in Brazil and Portugal to identify and access documents created up to the independence of Brazil are introduced. Parallel initiatives or initiatives in cooperation with institutions of both countries, corresponding to different and specific needs through time are described. Nowadays, these actions aim at 'rescuing' intellectually speaking, records created when Brazil was still a colony and which are kept in Portugal. In its turn, Portugal would like to retrieve the information that completes and complements its holdings. Both countries have the common interest of making available more widely the knowledge of the respective holdings.

Auxiliary instruments for the comprehension of the text form the appendixes. Appendixes 1-3 contain lists of those responsible for the organs of government in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro during the period under review. Appendix 4 contains a chronology while appendix 5 contains the general glossary of archival and diplomatic terminology.

In the course of writing up this thesis two underlying factors were kept constantly in mind, namely, the archival and diplomatic terminology and the translation of Portuguese expressions pertaining to institutions and administration. Another important factor has been the attempt to transfer accurately the original meaning contained in the expressions that needed to be translated. In some instances, names of institutions as well as those of government and administration agencies were kept in Portuguese for two reasons: either a suitable direct translation could not be found or British historical reality presented different characteristics from that of Portugal. Nevertheless, every attempt has been made to offer a suitable translation, either the first time the expression occurs in the

text or in the glossary, which for all intents and purposes functions as a dictionary. The same procedures were used for archival and diplomatic terminology. As far as the archival references cited in the footnotes are concerned, they are translated in the majority of cases, although one or two designations of documents were kept in the original Portuguese. An exception is made in the systematic lists and more extensive archival references as well as in the final list of documents used in the bibliography.

# 1 The Portuguese central administration before the French Invasions

## 1.1 The reforms of the 18th century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Portugal had an absolutist government strongly inspired by Enlightened Despotism.<sup>1</sup> Its central administrative apparatus went through significant changes, in the previous century as part of the royal efforts to achieve political centralisation and State reinforcement.<sup>2</sup> As a result there was an increasing complexity of responsibilities related to the need to deal with economic and international affairs and to the control of the social classes ‘with more energy’, as Jorge Borges de Macedo puts it.<sup>3</sup>

Already under the reign of King D. João V (1707-1750) some measures had been undertaken. But it was with King D. José (1750-1777) and the Marquis of Pombal who became his key minister, that more extensive reforms shaped the Portuguese political and administrative organisation.<sup>4</sup>

At the upper level of the government, there were the *secretarias de Estado* reorganised according to the Royal *Alvará* of 28 July 1736. They included the following: ‘*Negócios Interiores do Reino*’, generally called *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*; ‘*Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*’ also known as the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e Conquistas*, or *Marinha* or *Marinha e Ultramar*; finally ‘*Estrangeiros e Guerra*’. Almost half a century later, on 15 December 1788, another *Secretaria* ‘*da Repartição da Fazenda*’ or ‘*dos Negócios da Fazenda*’ was envisaged, though it was not operational before 6 January 1801, when it was internally regulated.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Jorge Borges de Macedo, ‘Absolutismo’ in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, [Lisbon]: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1979, vol. 1, pp. 13-14 and ‘Despotismo Esclarecido’ in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, [Lisbon]: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 290-292. For a brief general characterization see Norberto Bobbio, ‘Despotismo. O Despotismo Iluminado’ in Norberto Bobbio *et alii*, *Dicionário de Política*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed., Brasília, DF: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1995, pp. 345-346.

<sup>2</sup> Jorge Borges de Macedo, ‘Centralização Política’ in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, [Lisbon]: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 39-41.

<sup>3</sup> Macedo, ‘Despotismo Esclarecido’ in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. [Lisbon]: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1979, vol. II, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> For a critical appreciation of use of the concept of Enlightened Despotism in what concerns the period and the governmental activity of the Marquis of Pombal see Jorge Borges de Macedo, ‘Prefácio da terceira edição’ in *A situação económica no tempo de Pombal*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Lisbon: Gradiva, 1989, pp. 11-20.

<sup>5</sup> IAN/TT, MFF, liv. 3802, f. 1r-1v.

The four *secretarias de Estado* concerned different areas of government, just as their denominations suggest. The *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* dealt with an extensive range of matters. These were the affairs of the Military Orders and of Coimbra University, home affairs, the administration of justice,<sup>6</sup> royal finances, the Police, and the affairs concerning the common good of the people interests and of all the parties.<sup>7</sup> The *Secretaria de Estado* was also responsible for the creation and appointment of the titles and high-ranking officers of the *Casa Real* (*Royal Household*), donations and landlordship, jurisdictions, privileges, rents, homage and any other examples of royal favour of the Kingdom. Appointments were made by the same *Secretaria de Estado*, of prelates, presidents and ministers to the *tribunais*,<sup>8</sup> the *relações*,<sup>9</sup> ‘Liberal Arts posts’,<sup>10</sup> all of the Kingdom and Overseas Dominions, and to other posts of the Kingdom excluding the ones attributed to the other *secretarias de Estado*. Thus the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* had the Kingdom of Portugal, including the islands of Madeira and Azores, as its main geographical sphere of activity.

The *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* in turn supervised the affairs of the Navy and the overseas territories. Its supervision included the sending of fleets, the administration of the finances of the Navy stores, the dispatch of the passports of the ships leaving the port of Lisbon and of orders related to the ships arriving and all the Navy dependencies. Other responsibilities of this *Secretaria de Estado* were

---

<sup>6</sup> Although justice here is not defined it seems suitable to infer that this corresponds to the ‘distributive justice’, related to the distribution of ‘honours’, goods and other divisible things, in the sense explained by Felix E. Oppenheim ‘Justiça distributiva e Justiça reparadora’ in *Dicionário de Política*, p. 662. Moreover ‘distributive justice’ includes the repairing justice, i. e., when someone offended by another requests for reparation.

<sup>7</sup> Following the 28 July 1736 *Alvará* published in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 23 August 1736, pp. 406-407. About the notion of common good in the Ancien Regime societies, see António Manuel Hespanha, *Poder e Instituições no Antigo Regime: Guia de estudo*, Lisbon: Edições Cosmo, 1992, pp. 21-23.

<sup>8</sup> Tribunals, which were not Courts in *strictu sensu* but high public departments, such as the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, the *Conselho da Fazenda* or the *Conselho Ultramarino*.

<sup>9</sup> Appeal and Supreme Courts such as the *Casa da Suplicação* and the *Relação e Casa do Porto*. In a simple manner, *Relação* was a *tribunal de Justiça*, (court of justice) where contentious matters were judged in council. And the other referred *tribunais* decided matters of *graça*, that is, privileges and benefices granted by the sovereign. Joaquim José Caetano Pereira e Sousa, ‘Graça’ in *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*, Lisbon: Typographia Rollandiana, 1827, vol. 2 and ‘Relação’, and ‘Tribunal’ in vol. 3. Also Pedro de Alcântara Pereira Rolim, ‘Sistêma Que regula a divisão, e colocação dos Papeis do Archivo desta Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino; organizado na Epoca da Restauração da Monarquia no anno de 1808’, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 17r.

<sup>10</sup> Such as *desembargadores*, *corregedores*, *provedores*, *juizes de fora*, etc., requiring university attendance to a core curriculum based on the seven liberal arts (grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music), which after a public examination provided the degree of bachelor.



the appointment of the viceroys, governors and *capitães-generais* of the States of India, Brazil and Maranhão, the Kingdom of Angola, the Islands of Madeira, Azores and Cabo Verde, and the African fortresses. It was also responsible for the appointment of the military, justice and financial posts, and of the dignities, canonry, parishes and other benefices of the churches of those dominions, besides the affairs of the *Missões*.<sup>11</sup> In short, it was responsible for the administration of justice, royal finances and commerce as well as the government of the Overseas Dominions or Conquests, linked with the Navy.

The third *Secretaria de Estado*, that of the *Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* established simultaneously for Foreign and War Affairs, had the following functions. In the area of the Foreign Affairs, it conducted negotiations with other countries, was in charge of the administering of all treaties (peace, war, marriage, alliance, commerce, etc.) and of talks with foreign ministers in Portugal except when the King assigned someone else for that purpose. The same *Secretaria de Estado* was responsible for the appointments of the Portuguese diplomatic representatives, their correspondence and financing likewise the correspondence with the foreign Kings, princes and other people. The *Secretaria de Estado* supervised the war branches, the corresponding armies and the corps of troops in peacetime. It was additionally responsible for the administration of the department for war accountancy (*Contadoria-Geral de Guerra*), of the inspection departments (*vedorias*), the hospitals, fortifications, enlistment and depots, war munitions, appointments to all troop ranks and to the posts of the respective departments<sup>12</sup> and lastly military regulations. In 1801, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* was temporarily divided according to the

---

<sup>11</sup> The Society of Jesus was expelled in 1760 from the *Missões* of the Indians in Brazil as well as out of the other Portuguese territories. See Serafim Leite, 'Jesuítas no Brasil' in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. 3, pp. 371-375.

<sup>12</sup> Pereira e Sousa refers to the following public departments ('*estações*') that dealt with war affairs through this *Secretaria*: *Junta dos Três Estados*, *Junta do Arsenal do Exército*, *Inspecção-Geral das Tesourarias*, *Delegado do Físico-Môr*, *Contadoria Fiscal dos Hospitais Militares*, *Subinspecção do Correio Geral*, *Intendência dos Viveres e Transportes do Exército*. See 'Secretaria' in Joaquim José Caetano Pereira de Sousa, *Esboço de hum Diccionario Juridico, Theoretico, e Practico, Remissivo às Leis Comiladas e Extravagantes*, Lisbon: Typographia Rollandiana, 1827, vol. 3.

two aforementioned main classes of affairs.<sup>13</sup> After six months they were again reunited, under the same *Secretaria de Estado*.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, the last to be created, was intended to assist the monarch in the dispatch of financial matters, but its role, however, remained largely undefined until at least 1812.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the 15 December 1788 decree established the post of ‘*Ministro e Secretario de Estado da Repartição da Fazenda*’ and the joint appointment of the Viscount of Vilanova da Cerveira, afterwards Marquis of Porto Santo, to it and to the Presidency of the *Real Erário* (Royal Treasury) and of the *Real Junta do Comércio, Agricultura, Fábricas e Navegação* (Royal Committee for Trade, Agriculture, Manufacturing and Navigation). The monarch emphasised the Viscount’s qualities and above all his request to be freed from the portfolio of *Negócios do Reino*, which was thus permitted.<sup>16</sup> However it seems that this appointment to *Secretário de Estado da Fazenda* was honorary as shown by the fact that no officer was appointed to the respective office, during the following twelve years.<sup>17</sup>

More than a decade later, through the 6 January 1801 Decree, in addition to recalling and restating the junction of the Presidency of the *Real Erário* to this *Secretaria de Estado*, Prince Regent D. João only ordered the head officer to appoint the junior

---

<sup>13</sup> Already in 1788 there were two interim head officers for each of the sections: Martinho de Melo e Castro for Foreign Affairs and Viscount of Vila Nova da Cerveira for War. *Almanach [de Lisboa] para o anno de MDCCLXXXVII*, p. 190. However it seems that it did not correspond to a formal division.

<sup>14</sup> The separation of the business (‘*expediente*’) of the War Affairs from the *Secretaria de Estado* was decided by the 6 January 1801 Decree, which appointed the Duque de Lafões for their head officer and also for *ministro assistente* (assistant minister) to the Prince Regent’s Cabinet. More decrees were issued on the same date, namely for the other *Secretarias de Estado* and Portuguese legations, corresponding to a government reshuffle. These decrees were referred to in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 2, 13 January 1801, [p. 4]. The reassembling of both repartições, in the way it was before, was settled in the 23 July 1801 *Aviso*, referred in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, supplement to no. 31, 7 August 1801, [p. 4]. This brief period almost coincided with the so-called ‘War of Oranges’ that followed the invasion of Portugal by Spain, with French agreement. Although the Spanish withdrew, the effects for Portugal were heavy and the incompetence of Duque de Lafões was acknowledged. About this war and its context see Jorge Borges de Macedo, *História Diplomática de Portugal*, [Lisbon]: Instituto da Defesa Nacional, n.d., pp. 343-344.

<sup>15</sup> Portaria, 8 October 1812, printed, *Legislação Portuguesa: 1808 a 1817*, IAN/TT, SP 2275.

<sup>16</sup> IAN/TT, MFF, liv. 3802, f. 1r. Published in *Exposição histórica do Ministério das Finanças: Notícia histórica dos serviços: catálogo: bibliografia*, Lisbon: [Ministério das Finanças], 1952, pp. 53-54.

<sup>17</sup> I.e. till the death of the *Secretário de Estado*. See register of the *parecer* (recommendação) from Salter de Mendonça, Lisbon, 12 September 1812, enclosed to conta no 191, from the Governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 10 October 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 115r-116r. At this time Salter de Mendonça was secretary of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* in Lisbon, and the Court was in Brazil.

officers considered necessary.<sup>18</sup> It thus seemed that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* was not carrying on the corresponding affairs next to the King, in the more autonomous way the other *Secretarias de Estado* did, especially as regards the *tribunais* with similar competencies.<sup>19</sup>

In general, the secretaries of state (*secretários de Estado*) presented to the King the documents (such as *consultas*, *cartas de contas*, *petições*) addressed by the secretaries of the *tribunais* and of the subordinate public departments and the ministers and by the private individuals or organs. They then reported to the monarch and provided for the issue of the corresponding royal orders.<sup>20</sup> But they were not mere links between the King and the administration. At least from 1761 onwards<sup>21</sup> the secretaries of state were called

---

<sup>18</sup> IAN/TT, MFF, liv. 3802, f. 1v. Also published in *Exposição Histórica do Ministério das Finanças: Notícia Histórica dos Serviços. Catálogo. Bibliografia*, Lisbon: 1952, p. 55. Salter de Mendonça added that this decree supposed that the creation of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* and its union with the Presidency of the *Real Erário* had been stipulated by the 15 December 1788 Decree. Thus it conferred to D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, appointed simply President of the Real Erário, the power to nominate the officers. Register of the *parecer* (advice) from Salter de Mendonça, Lisbon, 12 September 1812, enclosed to conta no 191, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 10 October 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 115r-116r.

<sup>19</sup> There are no studies about the *Secretarias de Estado* as such but the one of *Negócios da Fazenda* has deserved even less attention. On the one hand the administrative history and the custodial history of the corresponding archives might explain it. On the other, their arrangement and the production of finding aids are still going on. It is the case of records transferred from the Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Finanças (afterwards extinguished) to the Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo in 1990. Among them there are records whose provenance is the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*. For instance, few books of register of *avisos* to the *Corte e Reino*, afterwards subdivided in books of register of *avisos* to the *Reino e Ultramar* and books of register to the *Corte e Cidade*, dated 1801-1809 (Information provided by Catarina Guimarães, IAN/TT). In 1992, there was a transfer of records of several provenances from the National Library to the Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, supervised by Paula Lomelino. The careful lists of transfer on the records of the *Ministério da Fazenda/Finanças* include references to records produced by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, though dated after 1820. These lists work as finding aids. Although they do not concern the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* the following finding aids, regarding two other financial departments, can help to approach its activities and the kind of documents and information created by this *Secretaria de Estado* in the early nineteenth century. António Frazão, *O Conselho da Fazenda: inventário e estudo institucional*, Lisbon: Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, 1995; Alzira Teixeira Leite Moreira, *Inventário do fundo geral do Erário Régio: Arquivo do Tribunal de Contas*, Lisbon: no publisher, 1977.

<sup>20</sup> Paulo Merêa, 'Da minha gaveta: os secretários de Estado do antigo regimen' *Boletim da Faculdade de Direito*, Coimbra, 40 (1964) p. 184, citing Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, *Prelecções de Direito Público, feitas no ano lectivo 1795-1796*, Coimbra: 1858, p. 172.

<sup>21</sup> Merêa, 'Da minha gaveta...' p. 186. About the use of the denomination *Secretário de or do Estado* and its introduction in Portugal on the late sixteenth century due to Castilian influence, but proceeding eventually from France, see Francisco Manuel Trigoso de Aragão Morato, 'Memoria sobre os secretarios dos reis e regentes de Portugal desde os antigos tempos da Monarquia até à aclamação d'el rei D. João IV' in *Historia e memoria da Academia Real das Sciencias*, Lisbon, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, vol. 1, part 1 (1843), pp. 58-60.

'*ministros secretários de Estado*'. By the end of the eighteenth century the King consulted with them on matters pertaining to the respective *secretarias de Estado*. They controlled the implementation of royal decisions and even decided and signed documents (*cartas, avisos, portarias*) in his name.<sup>22</sup> They might also decide not to present the King with all the *consultas* addressed by the Tribunals.<sup>23</sup> The scope of the functions and of the effective power of the *secretários de Estado* was variable, and grew up in the Portuguese administrative structure, but the absolutist monarch retained mechanisms to regulate it.<sup>24</sup>

The other major components of the Portuguese central administration in the transition from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> were the *tribunais*.<sup>25</sup> In almost all cases, the place they occupied in relation to the *secretarias de Estado* is not yet clear. If they tended to work as the main connection between them and the Crown for the majority of their affairs,<sup>26</sup> a few of them, such as the *Erário Régio* (or *Real Erário*, the afore said Royal Treasury) reported directly to the monarch.<sup>27</sup> Several of them had private jurisdiction over certain affairs the extent of which varied.<sup>28</sup> Although they exceeded twenty in number,<sup>29</sup> we will describe just some of those most relevant. In the first place and briefly the *Conselho de Estado*, which will be studied more in depth for the period 1808-1822, and afterwards those related with the administration of Brazil.

The *Conselho de Estado* was a distinct political and advisory body of the monarch who presided over its meetings. It was established and regulated as such already in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup> As far as it is possible to deduce, although it was

---

<sup>22</sup> Merêa, 'Da minha gaveta...', p. 185, citing J. Ferreira Cardozo da Costa, *Compilação sistemática das leis extravagantes*. Lisbon: 1799, pp. 60 and follow.

<sup>23</sup> That was the case, for instance, of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, in relation to the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço* the *tribunal*, which had jurisdiction over the administration of justice, including the judicial career, besides other matters. See José Subtil, 'O Desembargo do Paço (1750-1833)', Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon: 1994, vol. I, p. 252.

<sup>24</sup> Merêa, 'Da minha gaveta...', p. 185.

<sup>25</sup> The corresponding Portuguese word *tribunais* was then frequently used as a category or class comprising high and relatively autonomous public institutions. There were some designated *Mesas, Juntas* and *Conselhos*.

<sup>26</sup> Again in what concerns the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and the *Desembargo do Paço*, see Subtil, 'O Desembargo do Paço (1750-1833)', vol. I, p. 251.

<sup>27</sup> Rolim, *Sistêma Que regula a divizão, e colocação dos Papeis do Archivo...*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 15r.

<sup>28</sup> Rolim, *Sistêma...*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 19r.

<sup>29</sup> Number based on the *tribunais* that created documents received and kept by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, which were listed by Rolim, *Sistêma...*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 15r-17r.

<sup>30</sup> Francisco Manuel Trigoso de Aragão Morato, 'Memoria sobre os secretarios dos reis e regentes de Portugal desde os antigos tempos da Monarquia até à aclamação d'el rei D. João IV' in *Historia e Memoria da Academia Real das Sciencias*, Lisbon, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, (1843), vol. 1, part 1, pp. 47-48.

working in the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>31</sup> the dominance of the *secretarias de Estado* seems to have accompanied the decline of the *Conselho de Estado* in the final period of the reign of D. João V (1707-1750).<sup>32</sup> However, in 1760, the royal appointment of the secretaries of state and an additional five new members revived it. But they were not replaced and three decades later the *conselheiros de Estado* were reduced to the *secretários de Estado*. Again, in 1796, through the 4 July *Alvará*, the Crown increased the number of its members and decided that the *secretários de Estado* should be its members for-life.<sup>33</sup> The *conselheiros de Estado* were really active then, advising on Portugal's policies in international affairs.<sup>34</sup> Their activity intensified during the months previous to Junot's invasion of the country and the Court's embarkation to Brazil in November 1807.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> An 'Inventory' of the *Secretaria de Estado* previous to the *Secretarias* established in 1736 refers to around 55 books and bundles of the *Conselho de Estado* from 1569 until 1715, which were destroyed subsequent to the 1755 earthquake. This reference, however, denotes the working of the *Conselho de Estado*. See 'Inventario dos Livros, Cartas dos Principes e Ministros Assistentes nas Côrtes estrangeiras, Assentos do Conselho d'Estado e de Juntas o qual se fez no anno de 1716', ms. extended till 1736, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 191. Cited by Luís Teixeira Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Histórico do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros' in Eduardo Brazão (ed.), *Estudos Históricos*, [Lisbon]: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, [1984], pp. 163-256.

<sup>32</sup> There are not many documents from or about the *Conselho de Estado* till 1821. Besides, the custodial history of its documents is not yet established in a consistent way. Therefore the studies concerning the *Conselho de Estado* reflect these gaps. See José Subtil, 'Os poderes do centro' in José Mattoso (dir.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores: 1993, vol. 4, pp. 157-193, especially p. 180; 'Conselho de Estado' in Joel Serrão, *Roteiro de fontes da História Portuguesa Contemporânea*, Lisbon: INIC, 1984, vol. I, pp. 172-173; Conde de Tovar, 'O Arquivo do Conselho de Estado' in *Academia Portuguesa de História. Anais*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, vol. 11 (1961), pp. 53-67. In chapter 5.3 it will be added information on how the documents of the *Conselho de Estado* were kept and where to find a part of them.

<sup>33</sup> 'Conselho de Estado', in Sousa, *Esboço de hum Diccionario Juridico...*, vol. 1.

<sup>34</sup> See, for instance, Assentos do Conselho de Estado, 1796, 1798, n.d., Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Negócios de Portugal, cx. 713; Assentos do Conselho de Estado, 1794, 1795, 1800-1805, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Negócios de Portugal, cx. 714.

<sup>35</sup> Enéas Martins Filho published an important part of the corresponding *assentos* and *pareceres*, kept in Rio de Janeiro, in the Arquivo Nacional in *O Conselho de Estado Português e a transmigração da família real em 1807*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministerio da Justiça, Arquivo Nacional, 1968.

## 1.2 The administration of Brazil

The administration of Brazil on the eve of the arrival of the Court was carried out by a multiplicity of institutions and posts. Following Arno Wehling in his presentation, by levels, of the ‘administrative spheres’,<sup>36</sup> we recall the concerns of Caio Prado Jr. about some easy anachronisms to be avoided. Firstly, there was not, then, any clear distinction between the ‘functions’ and the ‘powers’ – legislative, executive and judicial governmental areas - of a state. And the same was happening with the corresponding state activities at different geographical levels. Besides, the religious obligations and the legal duties of an individual were deeply bound together. Therefore, the division of state functions was essentially formal.<sup>37</sup> We stressed that we will summarize the features of the state administration of the Brazilian colony<sup>38</sup>, which seemed significant for the scope of this study. Thus areas like the ecclesiastical, the military or the financial administrations are largely left aside, in so far as it is possible to separate them.

At the first level, in Portugal, the administration of that colony – as well as of all possessions in Africa and in the East as far as Macao - was the responsibility of the *Conselho Ultramarino*, together with the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*. Its capacities had been continuously enlarged since its foundation in 1642-1643.<sup>39</sup> Thus, in the eighteenth century, and corresponding to a relatively successful effort of rationalisation, it controlled the colonial administration excluding a few matters.

Some examples of the few matters of exception include the *Erário Régio*, which dealt with monetary affairs. On the other hand, the Brazilian resources were managed by the *Conselho da Fazenda*. The *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* in its turn exerted jurisdiction on the ecclesiastical affairs, the administration of the property of the deceased and without resident owners and on the administration of the three military orders (Christ, Avis and Santiago). In the judicial area, the *Casa da Suplicação* was the Court of Appeal

---

<sup>36</sup> Arno Wehling, ‘Esferas Administrativas’ in Vicente Tapajós (ed.), *História Administrativa do Brasil*, vol. 6, *Administração Portuguesa no Brasil de Pombal a D. João (1777-1808)*, Brasília: FUNCEP, 1986, pp. 45-59.

<sup>37</sup> Caio Prado Jr. refers to ‘preconceptions’. See *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1967, pp. 347-348.

<sup>38</sup> The Portuguese corresponding word *colônia* became common in the eighteenth century, side by side of the word *domínios ultramarinos* (overseas dominions) and *conquistas* (conquests). Besides, and as we will see, Brazil and Maranhão constituted officially *Estados* (States). Marcello Caetano, *O Conselho Ultramarino: esboço da sua história*, Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1967, p. 47.

<sup>39</sup> Caetano, *O Conselho Ultramarino: esboço da sua história*, pp. 41-42.

in relation to the *Relação da Bahia* and to the *Relação do Rio de Janeiro* (High Courts). The *ouvidores* (local judges) were under the aegis of the *Desembargo do Paço*. Still, the *Conselho de Guerra* (Council of War) supervised military affairs. Moreover the *Tribunal da Bula da Cruzada* (Crusade Bulla Tribunal) controlled the sale of indulgences whose receipt was generally used in welfare works.<sup>40</sup> Finally, the establishment of the *Real Junta do Comércio, Agricultura, Fábricas e Navegação*, in 1755, and of the *Conselho do Almirantado* (Council of the Admiralty), in 1795, implied a further reduction of the *Conselho Ultramarino*'s jurisdiction.<sup>41</sup>

All this spreading of administrative competencies over Brazil among other metropolitan bodies than the *Conselho Ultramarino* and the *secretarias de Estado* produced conflicts. That is why, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, legislation was published emphasising, with few exceptions, the primacy of the *Conselho Ultramarino*.<sup>42</sup>

The extensive intervention of the *Conselho Ultramarino* in Lisbon included the regulation of the movement of the ships, appointments to overseas posts with the mentioned exceptions and *mercês* (benefices) awarded in exchange for services rendered in overseas territories.<sup>43</sup> It also included the pettiest of questions such as the issue of passports, various licenses or discharges of soldiers.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the bulk of correspondence directed to the King from those dominions was addressed to the *Conselho Ultramarino*. Frequently, however, its control was not effective partly due to the time-consuming communication through the administrative channels on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Wehling, 'Esferas administrativas...', pp. 45-46.

<sup>41</sup> A. J. Russell-Wood, 'Governantes e agentes' in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998, vol. 3, p. 169. The *Junta do Comércio* interfered with the administration of Brazil in the organisation of the fleets, the control of some goods circulating through the customs and in the repression of smuggling. See Jorge de Macedo, 'Comércio, Junta do' in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. II, pp. 106-108. The *Conselho do Almirantado* due to its navy functions was charged with the preparation of convoys for the merchant fleet and of a squadron to defend the coast of Brazil. See André Mansuy-Diniz Silva, 'Imperial re-organization, 1750-1808', in Leslie Bethel (ed.), *Colonial Brazil*, repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 256-257. Silva adds the *Junta do Tabaco* (Tobacco Board) as another metropolitan organization through which went 'specialized matters' related to Brazil.

<sup>42</sup> Rodolfo Garcia, *Ensaio sobre a história política e administrativa do Brasil (1500-1810)*, Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editôra, 1956, p. 229.

<sup>43</sup> Caetano, *O Conselho Ultramarino: esboço da sua história*, pp. 43-44; Russell-Wood, 'Governantes e agentes...', p. 169, using mostly Caetano.

<sup>44</sup> Wehling, 'Esferas Administrativas...', p. 45.

<sup>45</sup> Prado Jr. extends the delays in the dispatch up to ten years, *The colonial background of modern Brazil*, p. 357. Wehling mentions an 'administrative time' which delayed decisions and prejudiced the government machinery. See Arno and Maria José C. de M. Wehling, *Formação do Brasil colonial*, Rio de Janeiro. Nova Fronteira, 1994, p. 302.

Wehling suggests that the detailed control reflected the ‘paternalistic relationship between the interested party and the royal bureaucracy’ characteristic of the patrimonial administrations.<sup>46</sup> Moreover that relationship was stressed by the colonial feature, which meant a strict dependency on Lisbon and the monarch as the centre of power.<sup>47</sup> The members of the *Conselho Ultramarino* advised him, pointing out the overseas policies and promoting the royal will.<sup>48</sup>

The role played by the *Conselho Ultramarino* in relation to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* in the administration of Brazil, as well as of the other overseas dominions has yet to be evaluated. Partially because the corresponding archives were mixed and lost their provenance and the original order.<sup>49</sup> Since there was a political dominance of the *Secretaria* over the *Conselho*, they were the main metropolitan governmental structures that ruled Brazil from Lisbon, at the passage into the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Portuguese administration was carried into the territory of Brazil at several levels through which the Crown tried to centralize and achieve some administrative unity in order to pursue its political and economical policies.

First, steps were taken to reorganize the territorial division. In the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there were two *Estados*, the *Estado do Maranhão* renamed *Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão* in 1751 and the *Estado do Brazil*. They were subdivided into captaincies (*capitanias*) whose number status and area changed. Besides, the crown captaincies incorporated the remaining private ones. The seat of government of the *Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão* was S. Belém do Pará where a governor and captain-general ruled. It was abolished in 1774 and the respective captaincies were integrated into the *Estado do Brasil*. This *Estado* was ruled by a governor-general who, since 1549,

---

<sup>46</sup> Wehling, ‘Esferas administrativas’, p. 45.

<sup>47</sup> Wehling, ‘Esferas Administrativas’, p. 46, mentioning Stuart Schwartz., *Burocracia e sociedade no Brasil colonial*, São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1979.

<sup>48</sup> Russell-Wood, ‘Governantes e agentes...’, p. 169, using Caetano, *O Conselho Ultramarino...*

<sup>49</sup> The 30 August 1833 Decree, which abolished the *Conselho Ultramarino*, established (article 2<sup>nd</sup>) that its archive would go to the *Secretaria de Estado*. See Caetano, *O Conselho Ultramarino...*, p. 55. Nowadays the overwhelming part of the documents of both institutions is in Lisbon in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. The documents of the *Conselho Ultramarino* and of the *Secretaria de Estado* till 1833 formed the 1<sup>st</sup> Section of that Overseas Archive but between 1931 and 1950 they were mingled and the whole was described as pertaining to the *Conselho Ultramarino*. Recently, in the scope of the Brazilian *Resgate* Project, some of the register books related to the activities of both institutions over Brazil were correctly identified. See José Sintra Martinheira, *Catálogo dos códices do fundo do Conselho Ultramarino relativos ao Brasil existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, Rio de Janeiro: Real Gabinete Português de Leitura, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000, p. 27.



resided in S. Salvador da Bahia and from 1763 onwards in Rio de Janeiro, which became the capital. Simultaneously the title of viceroy definitively replaced that of governor-general.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the title *Estado do Brasil* could designate the whole territory or have the aforementioned restricted sense.<sup>51</sup>

It thus seems reasonable to place the post of viceroy in Rio de Janeiro as the head of the Portuguese State administration located in Brazil.<sup>52</sup> However, in practice, he had no effective power over the governors of several important captaincies. And this appears to have been encouraged or manoeuvred by the Lisbon central authorities.

At the level of the captaincies (the 'regional level' always according to Wehling) there were *capitanias-gerais* and subaltern captaincies, which were sometimes under the aegis of the *capitania-geral* – sometimes under more than one, according to the kind of jurisdiction - or were directly responsible to the viceroy. Governors and *capitães-generais* who exerted similar functions to those of the viceroy directed the *capitanias-gerais*.<sup>53</sup> Also as with the viceroy, the Crown appointed them through the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos*. Their relative absence of dependency on the viceroy is reflected in the fact that the correspondence with him seems to have been less than with the Lisbon administration or even among them.<sup>54</sup>

Fourthly, in the local administration the *câmaras municipais* (municipal councils) played a crucial role over their corresponding *termos* (counties). Their autonomy was variable through the times and geographically. However, on the eve of 1808 the Crown authorities tended to be more present as a result of their centralising efforts.<sup>55</sup> Not only

---

<sup>50</sup> Silva, 'Imperial re-organization, 1750-1808' in *Colonial Brazil*, pp. 253-254; Heloísa Liberalli Belloto, 'O Estado português no Brasil: sistema administrativo e fiscal' in Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (ed.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, [Lisbon]: Editorial Estampa, 1986, vol. 8, pp. 276-77.

<sup>51</sup> Caio Prado Jr., *The colonial background of modern Brazil*, p. 355. He adds that after 1774, signs of the previous reality of the two *Estados* ('pseudo-states') remained in the judicial and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. And related traces persisted even in 1808.

<sup>52</sup> At the 'central level' of the administration, the second, after the metropolitan one, following Wehling, 'Esferas administrativas...', p. 46.

<sup>53</sup> These included Bahia, Pernambuco, Minas Gerais, S. Paulo, Pará, Goiás and Mato Grosso. See Wehling, 'Esferas administrativas...', p. 49. About the relations between the viceroy and the governors and captains-general, see also Dauril Alden, *Royal government in colonial Brazil with special reference to the administration of the Marquis of Lavradio, Viceroy, 1769-1779*, Berkeley, C A.: University of California Press, 1968, p.447-472.

<sup>54</sup> Alden, *Royal government in colonial Brazil...*, p. 455-456; Francisco Bethencourt, 'A América portuguesa' in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, 1998. vol. 3, p. 241.

<sup>55</sup> Prado Jr. although attributing to the *Câmaras Municipais* 'special features' like own patrimony, sources of revenue and 'a certain judicial authority' emphasises also the fact that they worked as bodies of the central government, namely of the governor and the viceroy and in the considered period. See *The colonial background of modern Brazil*, pp. 366-372.

the senior officers of the captaincies and of the *Estado do Brasil* could exert interference but also locally the *juizes de fora* (court or outside judges). The Crown appointed these and they co-existed with the *juizes ordinários* (justices of the peace), whom the *Câmaras* elected. Both had judicial and administrative functions. In fact, the appointment of the *juizes de fora* was sometimes directly made to survey the activity of the other judges.<sup>56</sup>

Moreover, many of the administrators in Brazil at the time (excluding almost all the viceroys, governors and military commanders) were involved with the regional and local groups and interests. Several were already born there. The coherence of the colonial and metropolitan bureaucracy resulted from the fact that these administrators had studied in the *Reino*, namely at Coimbra University or even in Brazil.<sup>57</sup>

Despite nominally being just one *Estado* with the seat of the viceroy in Rio de Janeiro, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Brazil was governed from Portugal much like a 'colonial federation'.<sup>58</sup> There was more than one administrative channel between the Brazilian territories and the centre of the Portuguese Empire. Lisbon, on the one hand, used various horizontal links with the captaincy-generals and their seats like Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Maranhão. On the other hand, it tried to reach the smaller settlements, vertically through the more important administrative units, sometimes directly. At the time the Brazilian colony already had a political and administrative framework that was successful in spite of significant limitations.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Wehling, 'Esferas administrativas...', pp. 50-55; Caio Prado Jr., *The colonial background of modern Brazil*, p. 372.

<sup>57</sup> Wehling, 'Esferas administrativas...', p. 35.

<sup>58</sup> Wehling, 'Esferas administrativas...', p. 35.

<sup>59</sup> Wehling, 'Esferas administrativas', pp. 29, 36, 55. Arno and Maria José Wehling add that it was this administrative action that, in a renewed way and together with Catholicism and the Portuguese language, linked Brazil in 1808. *Formação do Brasil Colonial*, Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1994, p. 339.

## 2 The move to Brazil

The overseas interests and even the survival of Portugal as an independent country were in danger in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Portugal was under diplomatic pressure from Napoleon to close the ports to English ships, to force Great Britain to a Continental Blockade, and was also confronted by the offer of her British ally to assist Portugal in case of an attack, honouring previous treaties, and sustaining mutual Atlantic interests.<sup>1</sup>

Internally, the Portuguese were not prepared for a war. Although there had been some scattered efforts to train and organize the Army with the help of foreign generals, it did not exist as such. In addition, the financial situation was unfavourable.

On 19 July 1807 Napoleon informed the Portuguese minister in Paris that ‘Portugal must close her ports to Britain and seize all British goods in the country or risk his hostility’<sup>2</sup>. Nearly a month later, the French and Spanish ambassadors in Lisbon presented notes threatening war if Portugal did not fully act against Britain. On 30 September those ambassadors left Lisbon after the refusal of the Portuguese to close their ports to British ships and to sever diplomatic relations. Then, a French force under General Junot’s command was sent to Portugal in the middle of October. Moreover, on 27 October 1807 Napoleon signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Spain, dividing the Portuguese territory into three regions to be ruled by different politic powers,<sup>3</sup> an outrage to Portugal.

However, five days before, Portugal and Great Britain had signed a secret Convention, in London, establishing a plan that had been discussed since 1805. The agreement anticipated the possibility of the Portuguese Court withdrawing to Brazil and of the military occupation of Madeira by the British in order to preserve the Portuguese Monarchy and to abort the French blockade of the ports.<sup>4</sup>

Informed of the recent French steps related to Portugal, the British government was preparing an intervention. A British fleet, commanded by Sir Sidney Smith was sent

---

<sup>1</sup> About the choices Portugal had and the contours of the international context that lead the Portuguese monarch to go to Brazil, see Macedo, *História diplomática de Portugal*, pp. 349-353.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> See summary and references in José Manuel Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos diplomáticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, vol. 1, Rio de Janeiro: Jornal do Commercio 1912. Facsimile reprint, Brasília: Senado Federal, 1997, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> See summary and references in José Manuel Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos Diplomáticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, vol. 1, pp. 62-63.

to the Tagus to assist the embarkation of the Court or to blockade the port of Lisbon if the Portuguese hesitations persisted. Besides, the temporary occupation of Madeira was envisaged. The Portuguese government then decided to appeal to Britain for ‘understanding’ and pondered, seriously, on the departure of the Court if the French did not accept the concessions still proposed. The British cabinet agreed with it but, in spite of all, Portugal went on delaying and trying by every mean, to avoid conflicts with either country.<sup>5</sup> The aim was to gain time.

Arriving in the middle of November, the British fleet imposed a blockade of Lisbon after consulting with Lord Strangford, British Minister at the Portuguese Court.<sup>6</sup> Simultaneously, the latter tried to convince the Prince Regent D. João (afterwards King D. João VI), to depart quickly. The news that the French armies were crossing Portugal’s borders accompanied by Napoleon’s propaganda Proclamation that the *Casa de Bragança* (Household of Braganza, the Portuguese dynasty) had ceased to reign in Europe hurried the departure.

On 26 November 1807, and according to the decisions of the session of the *Conselho de Estado* two days before, the Prince Regent decreed the move of the royal family to Rio de Janeiro and the nomination of a Council of Regency to rule during his absence<sup>7</sup>. This was only published one or two days later, when the royal family and the main political and social personalities were embarked.<sup>8</sup> There was an atmosphere of secrecy although the news of the departure was spreading in particular among senior officers and the people charged to provide for it. Even members of the Council of

---

<sup>5</sup> Robert Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 29-30.

<sup>6</sup> Alan K. Manchester, ‘The transfer of the court to Brazil’, p. 152, which is the best detailed account. Using some additional documents, mainly from the *Arquivo Histórico Militar*, see also Nuno Valdez dos Santos, ‘A viagem da família real para o Brasil’ in Alice D. Berkeley (ed.), *New lights on the peninsular war international congress on the Iberian Peninsula: selected papers 1780-1840*, imp. Almada, British Historical Society of Portugal, 1991, pp. 243-257.

<sup>7</sup> Alan K. Manchester, ‘The transfer of the Court to Brazil’, p. 152-153. The governors appointed were Marquis of Abrantes, Francisco da Cunha Menezes, *tenente general* (lieutenant general) of the Armies, Principal Castro, King’s councillor and *regedor* (chairman) of Justice, Pedro de Mello Breyner, King’s councillor and president of the *Real Erário* in the absence of Luís de Vasconcellos e Sousa, D. Francisco de Noronha, *tenente general* of the Armies and president of the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* and to replace any absentee, Count *Monteiro-mór* president of the *Senado da Câmara* (Municipal Council of Lisbon) and two secretaries, Count of Sampaio and, as his substitute, D. Miguel Forjaz, and the *desembargador do Paço* and *procurador da Coroa* João António Salter de Mendonça. See royal decree, Ajuda Palace, 26 November 1807, printed, IAN/TT, SP 2239.

<sup>8</sup> Strangford to George Canning, Ship *Hibernia* off the Tagus, 29 November 1807, PRO, FO 63/56, f 274r-279r; Strangford to George Canning, Ship *Hibernia*, at sea, 30 November-2 December 1807, PRO, FO 63/56, f 280r-285v.

Regency were clearly informed about their appointment only after the Prince Regent had embarked.<sup>9</sup>

Rush orders were issued to pack the royal treasury and also some of the archives of public offices. These measures had already been suggested at the end of the summer 1807, after discussions about the critical situation of Portugal held at the *Conselho de Estado*. D. João de Almeida de Mello Castro (afterwards *Count of das Galveias*) had proposed them, when he recommended the evacuation of the royal family.<sup>10</sup> Now it was imperative to do it.

Records of the Foreign Affairs and War Office, at the time directed by António de Azevedo Araújo, were arranged and packed in two days. Awakened suddenly on the night of 25 to 26 November 1807, he ordered Christiano Müller to provide urgently for the packing up of the belongings of that *Secretaria de Estado* under his inspection. Therefore, in the afternoon of 27 November, thirty-seven large boxes were taken aboard the *Medusa* anchored in the Tagus River. Due to the rain, the treasure and the chest containing secret documents went aboard only on the day after, received by an officer of the same *Secretaria de Estado*. When the squadron left the Lisbon harbour, Müller was still waiting for other orders from Araújo de Azevedo. But there was no time left.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Salter de Mendonça evoked these anguish days writing that as soon as he knew of the royal decision he went to the *Paço* (Court) to receive orders to embark and to serve. Lying down before the Prince, crying, he was told to him that he left him charged with a commission. Salter returned the following day and became aware the Prince had gone aboard. That same night he was informed he should begin to exert the function of secretary in the new Government. Request of Salter de Mendonça, enclosed to ofício from him to the Conde de Aguiar, Lisbon, 21 August 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 709, pac. 1,43.

<sup>10</sup> Manchester, Alan K., "The transfer of the Court to Brazil", p. 150, citing Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, Negócios de Portugal, cx. 714, Pareceres do Conselho de Estado, doc. 97. Published by Enéas Martins Filho, *O Conselho de Estado Português e a transmigração da Família Real em 1807*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça; Arquivo Nacional, 1968, p. 38-39. In mid October arrangements were being made for the transport of the royal family and of luggage. Inácio da Costa Quintela mentioned to the secretary of state for the Navy and Overseas Dominions, a hundred of people from the royal family to be transported by the *Charrua 'Tétis'* and the need of providing for another ship to transport only the carriages and the voluminous objects. But apparently, the secretary of state, Viscount of Anadia, had not the '*honra*' (honour) of directing these arrangements. Ofício from Inácio da Costa Quintela to Viscount of Anadia, 15 October 1807, BCM – Arquivo Histórico, cx. 667, mç. *Navios de Guerra Portugueses: Charrua Tétis*. Joaquim José de Azevedo, Baron of Rio Seco, treasurer of the Casa de Bragança, interfered in the preparations for the departure of the royal family, Rodolfo Garcia, 'Explicação' to the 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos, escritas do Rio de Janeiro à sua família em Lisboa, de 1811 a 1821', p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Christiano Muller to Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Portuguese representative in London, 10 January 1808, BNRJ, Coleção Linhares, I-29, 20, 1, no. 88, also cited by M. Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil*, 3rd ed., Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1996, p. 50. Müller, a German and protestant pastor converted to Catholicism was translator of the *Conselho do Almirantado*, censor of the *Desembargo do Paço* and Director of the *Impressão Régia*. See João Pedro Ferro,

Records of the other *secretarias de Estado* were also transported to the ships. However, several documents of these offices that afterwards came to be needed by the government in Brazil remained in Lisbon.

On the other hand, the Prince Regent ordered that the papers remaining in the cabinets of his library should be burnt immediately after he had left the harbour entrance. It is not clear yet what these documents were, and why they were not destroyed.<sup>12</sup> There might have been some sensitive documents related to the Prince Regent's dispatch, which he did not want to fall in French hands. The holdings of the Royal Libraries, including the Ajuda books and manuscripts, as well as those of the Library of the *Casa do Infantado* (Infantado Estates) were packed up with the intention to go aboard at the same time as the Court. But they stayed on the quay and were sent in three shipments in 1810 and 1811.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, the holdings of the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* (Royal Archive of Torre do Tombo) also remained in the Portuguese capital. There was still a plan to remove some records of the Royal Archive to Brazil during this critical and tense period.<sup>14</sup> But it was not put into practice. What in fact happened was its keeper's order of closure on 28 November, probably as a safety measure, at the departure of the Court.<sup>15</sup>

---

'Intelectuais alemães em Portugal: Johann Wilhelm Christian Müller (1752-1814) in A. H. de Oliveira Marques *et alii* (coord.) *Portugal – Alemanha – África: do imperialismo colonial ao imperialismo político*, Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1996, pp. 309-341.

<sup>12</sup> The head officer of the Royal Library, Dr. Alexandre António das Neves Portugal alleged it was impossible to do it. Letter from Alexandre Portugal to the Prince Regent cited, without referring to the source, by Ferreira, Ma., *Biblioteca da Ajuda: esboço histórico*, p. 24. Dated presumably after the withdrawal of Junot in September-October 1808. The Royal Library referred to is the Ajuda Library in the Royal Palace of *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda* that began to be built after the 1755 earthquake.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Alexandre Portugal to the Prince Regent cited, without referring the source, by Ferreira, Ma., *Biblioteca da Ajuda: esboço histórico*, p. 24; letter from Luis Santos Marrocos to his father, 12 April 1811, BA, COD, 54-VI-12, cited by Ferreira, Ma., p. 14 and published in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos, escritas do Rio de Janeiro à sua família em Lisboa, de 1811 a 1821' *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, 56 (1939), pp. 29-30; Carlos A. Ferreira, *O regresso dos arquivos das secretarias dos Ministérios do Reino, Marinha, Estrangeiros e Guerra do Rio de Janeiro*. Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1943. João Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa, *guarda-jóias* (jewel keeper) of the Casa Real, received an order from the Prince, dated on board 28 November 1807, to safeguard in the Belem Palace a great amount of chests that were left on shore. Some of them belonged to the royal family while other belonged to the *Casa Real*. Register of officio from Carvalhosa to the *Conselho do Governo* (Council of Government), Lisbon, 28 September 1808, IAN/TT, Casa Real, liv. 2979, f. 18r-18v.

<sup>14</sup> At the beginning of November, the British Minister in Portugal, reported 'that Directions were assigned yesterday for the removal of the State Archives lodged in the Torre do Tombo', though he was not completely sure of this. Dispatch no. 86 from Lord Strangford to George Canning, Lisbon, 5 November 1807, PRO, FO 63/56, f. 155v-156r

<sup>15</sup> Request of Duarte Ferreira Soares de Azevedo Sardinha, *escriturário* (office assistant) of Torre do Tombo, in order to be readmitted, post. 24 September 1808, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 616, folder year 1808.

Finally, on 29 November 1807, the royal family, accompanied by the Court and many of the most prominent nobles, sailed to Brazil, escorted by the British.<sup>16</sup> They took what was possible: circa fifty percent of the portable wealth of the country,<sup>17</sup> among which the noblemen's personal treasures, public chests (*caisses publiques*) including funds and Church silver.<sup>18</sup>

Soon after, British forces commanded by William Carr Beresford occupied Madeira, as an important strategic and commercial island. The governor and captain general, Pedro Dantas Meneses welcomed them following implicit orders probably reinforced when supply ships that accompanied the Prince Regent stopped there. Beresford even ruled the Islands, for some months, in the name of the British monarch.<sup>19</sup> But after the exchange of diplomatic correspondence with the British cabinet, through the Portuguese representative in London, Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, the government was returned to the Portuguese<sup>20</sup> although the British forces stayed till 1814, after the end of the war in the Peninsula.

The governor and captain general of the Azores Islands, although initially unaware of the exact political situation of the Azores after the evacuation of the Crown to

---

<sup>16</sup> The estimated number of ships and people that went to Brazil varies even among contemporary writings. Strangford, for instance, claimed that the fleet consisted of 36 sails: eight sails of the line, four large frigates, several armed brigs, sloops and corvettes and a number of Brazilian ships, Strangford to George Canning, Ship *Hibernia* off the Tagus, 29 November 1807, PRO, FO 63/56, f 274r-279r. A list of the ships and the people embarked that belonged to the Linhares Family (the first Count of Linhares having included the fleet) mentions around 5 000 people, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 20, 1, no. 7. However, the number usually referred to is ca. 15 000 people. See, for instance, Nuno Valdez dos Santos, 'A viagem da Família Real para o Brasil', p. 248, and the document he cites. See also 'Relação dos nomes dos passageiros que vierão no Bergatim Lebre de Lisboa, pera o Rio de Janeiro', by the captain Daniel Thompson, on board Brig 'Lebre', Rio de Janeiro, 1 February 1808, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 244, no. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Donald D. Horward, 'Wellington and the defence of Portugal' *The International History Review*, XI, I (February 1989), p. 40.

<sup>18</sup> Letter from General Junot to the Emperor, Headquarter at Lisbon, 30 November 1807, AF IV 1604 plaqueette 1<sup>1</sup>, pièce 16. Or its copy in BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 40v-43r. In this letter Junot refers also to the composition of the squadron and to more than 2000 the people embarked.

<sup>19</sup> The capitulation of Madeira signed there, on 26 December 1807, was published in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, supplement to no. 12, 25 March 1808, [p. 4], under the French Government as an effort of anti-British propaganda.

<sup>20</sup> On this affair of Madeira see records pub. in José Ferreira Borges de Castro, José Ferreira Borges de (ed.), *Collecção dos Tratados, Convenções, Contratos e Atos Publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais Potencias desde 1640 até ao Presente*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1857, 1857vol. 4, pp. 236-253 and pp. 264-273, and *Suplemento à coleção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos públicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potências desde 1640*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1878, vol. 7, pp. 61-97.

Brazil,<sup>21</sup> co-operated with the status quo in Madeira. After the arrival of the Prince Regent to Brazil, the authorities of Azores diverted their official correspondence to Brazil, via Falmouth and with caution in face of the French enemy.<sup>22</sup> In one way or another, the Portuguese colonies were outside French influence. The links with the Portuguese Crown were re-established through Brazil, albeit under close British observation. Goa was effectively under British rule,<sup>23</sup> and the British briefly occupied Macao.<sup>24</sup>

In the end the preservation of the legitimate Portuguese sovereignty was, in its essence, secured.

---

<sup>21</sup> Copy of the letter from D. Miguel António de Melo, Governor of the Azores to Pedro Fagundes Bacelar Dantas e Meneses, Governor of Madeira, Angra, 14 January 1808, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 521.

<sup>22</sup> See, for instance, Falmouth, 3 May 1808, receipt of Guilherme Ivens, of the deliver to António Rodrigues, captain of the Brig 'S. António Firme', of two vias of correspondence from the governor and juiz de fora Judge of Ponta Delgada, which were covered in a prisoner cloth, ANRJ, NP, cx. 642, pac. 1,11.

<sup>23</sup> In May 1808 the British became in charge of the defence of Goa and of its dependencies. See Convention between the Count of Sarzedas, Viceroy and Captain General of the Portuguese Possessions in India and Captain Coortland Schuyler, British Resident at Goa, according to Instruction from Lord Minto, Governor General of British India against the French, their allies or dependants, Palace of Pangim, 25 May 1808, Conselho Ultramarino, pub. by Biker, *Suplemento à coleção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos públicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potências desde 1640*, vol. 7, pp. 165-169. This British presence was not really consented as the protests from the Portuguese Government going on still in May 1809 show. Records of the MNE pub. by Biker, *Suplemento à coleção dos tratados,...*, vol. 7, pp. 184-194.

<sup>24</sup> The occupation of Macao was brief due to Chinese opposition. Between September 1808 and December 1808 British troops lead by Admiral Drury tried to disembark in Macao. This gave origin to an intense correspondence between the Portuguese authorities, especially the Governor and Captain General of Macao, Bernardo Aleixo de Lemos, and the British Admiral and the Council of the British India Company, as well as between several Chinese southern authorities (the mandarin of Hiang-xam, the 'suntó' of Canton) and the Portuguese (in particular the procurator of Macao) and also the British Admiral. Macao was unwilling to the British occupation and the Chinese refused it. They alleged that if the city needed to be defended from the French, the mandarins would send troops. See records mainly of the Conselho Ultramarino, pub. by Biker, *Suplemento à coleção dos tratados*, vol. 7, pp. 271-396. See also Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 30.



### 3 The government in Lisbon, 1807-1820

#### 3.1 The French rule

##### 3.1.1 The Portuguese Regency and the French occupation, December 1807-February 1808

The vanguard of the Corps of Observation of the Gironde, comprising around 25,000 men,<sup>1</sup> under General Jean Andoche Junot entered Lisbon on 30 November 1807, without fighting, but failing in the key purpose: to keep the Portuguese monarch under his control. Later on, Spanish troops comprising around 4,000 men, joined the Frenchmen and occupied the Northern Provinces (*Entre Douro e Minho*) with a presence in Porto, and also in Algarve and *Alentejo* with headquarters in Setúbal, a seaport 60 km south of Lisbon, till May 1808, when the insurrection in Spain erupted.<sup>2</sup> The Captain-General of Galicia, D. Francisco Taranco y Lano, commanding the army of the North, arrived in Porto on 13 December 1807. The troops of the Captain-General of Estremadura, D. Juan Caraffa, joined them. In the south, the army commanded by the Captain-General of Andalusia, D. Francisco Maria Solano Ortiz de Rozas, Marquis of Socorro, arrived by degrees.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> General Maximilian Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808, Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, facsimile reprint, Felling: Worley Publications, 2000, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Précis des travaux de l'armée française entrée en Portugal à la fin de l'année 1807, sous les ordres du General en chef Duc d'Abrantes, memorandum by an officer adjunct to Junot, (engineer?) [July 1809], published by Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI, príncipe e rei*, vol. 1, *A retirada da família real para o Brasil*, Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1953, pp. 192-204. According to Pereira, this memorandum belonged to the Royal Cabinet. It was probably sized to the French Army and sent to the Court in Brazil. There are lots of these accounts. See, for instance, those cited by António Pedro Vicente in several of his studies published in *O Tempo de Napoleão em Portugal: estudos históricos*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Lisboa: Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2000. About the context of the presence of the Spanish armies in Portugal see Macedo, *História Diplomática de Portugal*, p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> António Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa (a invasão de Junot vista através dos documentos da Intendencia Geral da Policia, 1807-1808): estudo político e social*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1923, p. 115. About the Spanish forces and their march over Portugal, see Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 17 and following.

The recently appointed Regency received Junot who, in a sign of confidence, was surrounded by a Portuguese guard and afterwards flattered himself to Napoleon about the charm effect it produced.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, the instructions that the Prince Regent had left for the Governors instructed them, in an exaggerated and cautious manner, to greet the French.<sup>5</sup> The ambiguity of their terms would be used, later on, as justification for less honourable behaviour towards the French, in the public administration and among the Governors. They were instructed to take care of the justice administration and to respect the Kingdom's laws, as a whole. And more specifically, they should:

- Keep the privileges conceded to nationals;
- Appoint to the Liberal Arts, Justice and Finances posts in the usual way;
- Take care to defend the people and their belongings and choose worthy people for the military jobs;
- Maintain the peace in the Kingdom, quarter and assist the troops of the

French Emperor, avoiding any insult and punishing it severely, whenever it occurred.<sup>6</sup> Beyond that, the Prince Regent's instructions included two items related to the working of the Regency. The first instructed them to decide through votes the consultas presented

---

<sup>4</sup> Letter from General Junot to the Emperor, Headquarter at Lisbon, 30 November 1807, AN, AF IV 1604 plaquette I/1, pièce 16.

<sup>5</sup> See instructions of the Prince Regent to the governors, printed, Ajuda Palace, 26 November 1807, IAN/TT, SP 2239. A conciliatory tone initially characterised the official attitudes. Dated 27 November 1807, an *aviso* from the Regency, through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, to Martinho de Sousa e Albuquerque, Lieutenant-General of the Royal Armies ordered him to greet, in their name, the general commander of the French troops wherever he was, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, macete 6, f. 1r. So it happened two days later in Sacavém, near Lisbon, where Junot received the compliments of several people, including many freemasons. See letter from General Junot to the Emperor, Headquarter at Lisbon, 30 November 1807, AN, AF IV 1604 plaquette I/1, pièce 16. Still, in 17 December 1807, the Regency sent circulars to the *Governadores das Armas da Corte e Província da Estremadura e das Províncias e Reino do Algarve* (Arms Governors of the Court and Estremadura Province and of the Provinces and Kingdom of Algarve) i.e. military regional commanders, in order that they manifest the best reception and civility to the French and Spanish troops. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, macete 6, f. 18r. About the incoherence of the instructions to welcome the French in relation to the departure of the Royal Family see Macedo, *História diplomática portuguesa...*, p. 367, n. 9.

<sup>6</sup> These royal instructions of cooperation with the French were suspended only by the Manifesto from the Court of Portugal, published in Rio de Janeiro, on 1 May 1808 that ended with a declaration of war against France, formally decreed on 10 June 1808. See Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1993, pp. 177-179. Later on the Manifesto was re-introduced in Portugal by the Imprensa da Universidade, and appeared in Lisbon during the uprisings. See António Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, p. 457, foot note i.

by the tribunais. The second provided for the election of new governors when vacancies occurred.

The first proclamations of Junot aimed at calming the people about the invader's intentions, at drawing attention to England's pressure on Portugal and at stressing the way they had been abandoned with the escape of the royal family to Brazil.<sup>7</sup> At the same time he forbade any maritime movement in the Lisbon port.<sup>8</sup>

Initially, the Portuguese administration worked almost on its own although conditioned by the French demands. The accommodation and provision for the army, which had arrived in poor condition, was a priority for the French General in chief. Priorities were also, naturally, some elementary immediate security and military measures in a country which had been occupied, at the first sight so easily<sup>9</sup>.

The Regency took charge the same day the Prince Regent departed, with the absence of some of the members and the discomfort of others. The Count *Monteiro-Mór*, President of the *Senado da Câmara*, designated by the Prince Regent to replace any absentee member was called but he stayed at Algarve.<sup>10</sup> Pedro de Mello Breyner, King's Councillor and President of the *Real Erário* in the absence of Luís de Vasconcellos e Sousa remained for several days in Porto, where he acted as Justice governor.<sup>11</sup>

The common procedure of the Regency was not to implement any act that opposed the French. Breyner mentioned a reaction of panic at the mere possibility of any such act.<sup>12</sup> It worked for the first two months mainly to deal with public order, with provisions for the French Army such as food, shoes, beds, headquarters and various

---

<sup>7</sup> See the proclamation to the Lisbon inhabitants, 4 December 1807, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, supplement to no. 38, 4 December 1807, [p. 2]. In French and Portuguese.

<sup>8</sup> Macedo, *História diplomática portuguesa...*, p. 353.

<sup>9</sup> Junot reported to Napoleon that he used the emissary of the Regency, General Albuquerque, whom he received, before entering Lisbon, to order that the Portuguese troops should keep the tranquillity of the town and to fix the cannon pieces, which defended the port. Letter from General Junot to the Emperor, Headquarter at Lisbon, 30 November 1807, AN, AF IV 1604 plaqueette 1<sup>f</sup>, pièce 16.

<sup>10</sup> Register of the aviso from the Council of Regency to the Count Monteiro-Mór allowing him to extend his stay in Algarve only while he was obviously needed there, 19 December 1807, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, macete 6, f. 21v. Pedro de Melo Breyner, another member, stated that although convoked twice, the Count never presented himself. Ofício from Pedro de Melo Breyner, Lisbon, 7 October 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 2,2.

<sup>11</sup> The Regency summoned Breyner to appear as soon as 29 November 1807. Register of aviso to Pedro Melo Breyner, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, macete 6, f. 1v. A week later its members authorized him to remain in Porto while necessary, i. e., probably till the settlement of the Spanish Army. Register of aviso to Pedro Melo Breyner, 6 December 1807, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, macete 6, f. 9r.

<sup>12</sup> Breyner was accused of pro-French attitudes and this mention was made in defending himself. Ofício from Pedro de Melo Breyner, Lisbon, 7 October 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 2,2.

buildings to install the invading troops and their commanders,<sup>13</sup> and with the French determination in learning the state of finances and in demanding silver. Various orders were sent to the civil central departments and to the provincial military authorities to comply with those matters.<sup>14</sup>

These orders included a significant and early one that preceded the secondary but pragmatic objectives of Junot's invasion, beyond the retention of the Portuguese monarch. This was the appointment in the French Emperor's name, but through the Regency and the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, of the late consul in Portugal, Mr. Herman, to the post of *administrador geral das Finanças* (general administrator of Finances) as soon as the beginning of December.<sup>15</sup> In practice, he was the head officer of *Conselho da Fazenda*<sup>16</sup> and of *Erário Régio*,<sup>17</sup> and acted as the French commissary at the Regency.<sup>18</sup>

Herman decided at once that no more expenses or *mercês* of *ofícios* and *benefícios* should be made. Moreover, the royal *mercês* issued during the act of the departure or just before were annulled. Likewise, the *patentes* (letter patents) of the latest military promotion, as well as the *alvarás* and *cartas* issued following the Prince Regent's decrees were not signed.<sup>19</sup> He also ordered the extinction of several *contadorias* (accountants' sections) of the *Erário Régio*, related to the Portuguese colonial Empire,

---

<sup>13</sup> This meant the settlement in royal or private quarters belonging generally to noblemen. In principle it implied the inventory of the wealth, which on the one side was not wanted by some Frenchmen, and on the other was afterwards frequently used to rob. In Lisbon, for instance, Junot resided, with his Head Quarters at the Baron of Quintela's Palace in Rua do Alecrim; General Delaborde (or La Borde), military governor of Lisbon, in the royal residence of Bemposta, and afterwards in the houses of António de Araújo de Azevedo, Minister for the Foreign Affairs and War, gone to Brazil; officers in the Duke of Cadaval's Palace and Thielbaut the chief of Junot's general staff, in the house of Ratton, a French merchant and industrialist. See Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, pp. 205 and 207.

<sup>14</sup> Diaries of the Deliberations of the Regency, 27 November 1807-30 January 1808, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, macete 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Avisos* and circulars were issued in 3 December 1807 to the *tribunais* and other authorities informing them of this appointment, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, macete 6, f. 5v. Although Junot did not confide too much on Herman's ruling capacities as well as in anybody's, in those first days of December 1807. See register [69] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 2 December 1807, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 43v-44v.

<sup>16</sup> From December 1807 till January 1808, the Regency sent him *avisos* related to *consultas* made by the *Conselho da Fazenda*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 38, f. 202r.

<sup>17</sup> Ofício from Pedro de Melo Breyner, Lisbon, 7 October 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 2.2.

<sup>18</sup> Salter de Mendonça, one of the two secretaries at the Regency Council, recalling afterwards Herman's nomination expressed the desire he then had of abandoning the Regency. Request of Salter de Mendonça, enclosed to ofício from him to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 21 August 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 709, pac. 1,43.

<sup>19</sup> Ofício from Pedro de Melo Breyner, Lisbon, 7 October 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 2.2.

with the same purpose of saving and due to the evident fact that it escaped from the Lisbon's government.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, and according to the Portuguese representative in London at the time, one of the first acts of the Regency, with whom he never communicated, was to dismiss, by a circular, the ministers in the foreign courts. All his colleagues received this circular, though they did not pay attention to it. Moreover, the Regency had not been put in charge of Foreign Affairs.<sup>21</sup>

Besides, in the course of this first period of the French occupation, the Portuguese militia began to be abolished and the army disbanded, namely by the grant of furloughs.<sup>22</sup> By the beginning of 1808 their numbers, 6,000 and 30,000 men respectively, had dropped to less than a half.<sup>23</sup> Only the Police Guard in Lisbon was kept, under the control of the French emigrant Count Novion, who was one of the many foreigners that had been recruited to the Portuguese Army.<sup>24</sup>

Junot had an existing plan for the civil administration of Portugal, but he was aware of the immediate usefulness of an already working government<sup>25</sup> and, on the other hand, he was expecting for some weeks Napoleon's and his minister's instructions.<sup>26</sup> However, later on, he began to feel worried and impatient with the uncertainty of

---

<sup>20</sup> Lisbon, 30 December 1807, copy, BNRJ, CP, I-32,31,026.

<sup>21</sup> D. Domingos de Sousa de Coutinho to George Canning, London, 27 September 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 207r-211v. This ineffective order of the Regency was probably a way used by the French to underline their authority upon Portugal. As we will see afterwards the Portuguese diplomats, whenever the unstable international relations allowed, re-established their links with the Court in Brazil.

<sup>22</sup> See, for instance, decree from Marquês del Socorro, Francisco Solano, General-in-Chief of the Army of the Province of Alentejo and Kingdom of Algarve, Setúbal Head-Quarter, 31 December 1808, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, second supplement to no. 1, 9 January 1808 [pp. 2-3].

<sup>23</sup> Number suggested by Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 68. He also refers to desertions.

<sup>24</sup> Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 68; Vicente, *O Tempo de Napoleão em Portugal: Estudos Históricos*, pp. 70-71, citing Nuno Daupias d'Alcochete, 'Le Comte de Novion Commandant Général de la Garde Royale de la Police de Lisbonne', *Arquivo do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. 8 (1974), sep.

<sup>25</sup> He wrote to Napoleon, at the time: 'quelque mauvais que soit le Gouvernement actuel, il vaut encore mieux, dirigé par moi, que s'il ny en avait pas du tout'. Register [69] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 2 December 1807, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 43v-44v. And afterwards: 'Je laissait subsister le Conseil de Régence, parce qu'il était seul en état de faire marcher l'administration, dans ces premiers jours de troubles, en me réservant toutes les fois, la direction des ordres qu'il aurait à donner.' Register [85] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 19 Janvier 1808, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 56v.

<sup>26</sup> On 1 December 1807, Junot received in Lisbon mail from Napoleon issued on 8 November 1807. Register [68] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 1 December 1807, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 43r. Napoleon was in Northern Italy, Stuart Woolf, *Napoleon's integration of Europe*, London: Routledge, 1991, p. 39.

Portugal's administration. This seemed to be aggravated, by the end of December 1807, with the menacing news for the Portuguese that France had created the '*répartition du Portugal*' suggesting that the country would have no autonomy<sup>27</sup>

The administrative cooperation of the Regency was not enough for the French purposes. If Junot ever considered, truly, the possibility of replacing its members by other Portuguese, he quickly observed that there were not many able to perform ruling functions. The majority had accompanied the Court. Besides, Junot tried, in vain, to assemble in the capital the noblemen from the provinces.<sup>28</sup>

Furthermore, the fact that the country was divided between French and Spanish, though the latter were to some extent controlled by the former, made the working of the administration impossible without the intervention of the national departments. According to Ferrão, the Spanish General Taranco did not even interfere in the functions of the Portuguese authorities and the ruling decisions taken by General Solano were friendly.<sup>29</sup> However the Marquis of Socorro, General in Chief of the Spanish Army occupying Alentejo and Algarve considered that the local ministers of the Civil Police and Justice depended on a Spanish minister rather than on the Portuguese Administration, in this case the *Intendência Geral da Polícia*.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the French General regarded the home administration of Portugal as bizarre, compared to the rest of Europe: particular legislation in each 'district', and several parallel sources of power such as the *corregedores*, (royal magistrates) and the *juizes de fora* (Court judge or outside judge).<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Register [77] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 16 December 1807, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 50r-50v; register [80] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 27 December 1807, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 52v-53r.

<sup>28</sup> Junot complained: 'il faut de mois pour faire bouger un portugais', slowness suggested by other foreigners at the time but in this context due also, certainly, to a passive resistance to cooperate with the occupier. Register [85] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 19 Janvier 1808, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 56v.

<sup>29</sup> *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, p. 215.

<sup>30</sup> Register of *ofício* from the *intendente geral da Polícia* to the governors of the Kingdom, 13 January 1808, IAN/TT, *Intendência Geral da Polícia*, Livro IX das Contas para as Secretarias, published by Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>31</sup> He added: 'les ordres qui émanent de Lisbonne, ne réçoivent plus d'exécution sur la Rive Gauche du Tage'. Register [85] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 19 Janvier 1808, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 56v. Woolf points out the fact that despite the immense collection of information about the territories and peoples under French domination, this was made using rigid categories. Hence it often failed to explain concrete situations that did not fit the rationalised French model of administration. See Woolf, *Napoleon's integration of Europe*, pp. 84-85.

### 3.1.2 The French direct government, February-August 1808

On 1 February 1808, Junot directly assumed the administration of the Kingdom in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, thus dissolving the Regency Council. Following Napoleon's orders dated from the beginning of January, he organised what he called a provisional Government, although he claimed that he had not received instructions about its form or structure<sup>32</sup> nor about the conduct towards the Spanish. Thus he ordered the Council of Regency to assemble and in an orchestrated ceremonial announced the news.<sup>33</sup>

The extinction of the *Casa de Bragança* and the establishment of a *Conselho de Governo* (Government Council) presided over by him were decreed. It was composed of three secretaries of State of French origin but residing in Portugal and of Portuguese *conselheiros* (councillors). For *Secretário de Estado do Interior e das Finanças* (Secretary of State for Home and Finances), Francisco António Herman,<sup>34</sup> previous French Consul General in Lisbon, and 'imperial commissioner',<sup>35</sup> with the Portuguese councillors D. Pedro de Melo Breyner who had been one of the governors, for the *Repartição do Interior* (Home Office) the *desembargador* António Coutinho d'Azevedo for the *Repartição das Finanças* (Finances Office). The Portuguese Principal Castro<sup>36</sup> was appointed *Conselheiro do Governo* in charge of *Justiça e Cultos* (Justice and Religion) with the title of Regedor.<sup>37</sup> For *Secretário de Estado da Guerra e Marinha* (Secretary of state for War and Navy), the Frenchman Luithe, who was a 'directing

---

<sup>32</sup> However, Junot as soon as he had arrived in Portugal had described the main governmental structure, which he was intending to set up, and it coincided with the one introduced in February 1808. Register [67] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, Lisbon, 30 November-1 December 1807, f. 40v-43r.

<sup>33</sup> Register [88] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 4 February 1808, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 59r-59v; *Gazeta de Lisboa*, supplement extraordinary to no. 5, 5 February 1808, [p. 1]. D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz had already resigned from the Regency on 18 January 1808, following his dismissal as a brigadier of the Army, on 13 January 1808. See Francisco de la Fuente, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: His Early Career and Role in the Mobilization and Defence of Portugal during the Peninsular War, 1807-1814', Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University: 1980, p. 63 footnotes 20 and 21.

<sup>34</sup> This and other Christian names of the Frenchmen appointed to posts in Portugal were frequently translated in the Portuguese documents, which did not happen with the surnames. In this case, the French full name was François Antoine Herman, which we saw in other sources. On the other hand, several documents mention only the French surnames. Finally, there were sometimes errors or slight graphic variations in the writing of the French names, as happened also with the Portuguese names.

<sup>35</sup> Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>36</sup> Principal Francisco Rafael Castro.

<sup>37</sup> Five months later, when the anti French uprisings were spreading, Castro resigned and Junot appointed Count da Ega councillor of the government for Justice. See Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, p. 419, footnote i, citing *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 4 July 1808.

commissary of the French armies<sup>38</sup> with the Count of Sampaio, Portuguese councillor for both *repartições*, and who was another of the members of the ex-Regency.<sup>39</sup> For *Secretário Geral do Conselho do Governo* (Secretary General of the Government Council) and supervising the Archives, the French ‘inspector of reviews’<sup>40</sup> Vienez-Vaublanc. All the high-ranking officers of the civil service were to be kept, (such as *corregedores*, judges, the *Senado* of Lisbon, and other municipal councils, the *Junta do Comércio*, the president of the *Terreiro Público*<sup>41</sup>) excluding some reductions and changes in their activities. In each province there would be a *corregedor-mor*, to direct the whole of the administrative field, survey the provincial interests and point out the improvements to introduce in Agriculture and Industry, in practice to try to unify the civil administration outside Lisbon. He was under the orders of the appropriate secretary of state and, in what concerned Justice and Religion, corresponded with the *regedor*, who presided over those affairs. Also in all provinces, there would be a general to maintain the order and tranquillity, with exclusively military functions. However he would have the *corregedor-mor* sitting on his right side during public ceremonies, symbolising the former’s supremacy, in accordance with the practices of a military occupation.<sup>42</sup>

From the administrative standpoint, the *secretarias de Estado* were set up differently in relation to the Portuguese Prince Regent’s administration. Previously, Home and Finances Offices were separate offices, the War and Foreign Affairs had a joint direction and the same happened with the Navy and the Overseas Dominions. This arrangement was not completely new and occurred again in Portugal and in Brazil. Besides, under French occupation, and with the Court’s escape, the suppression of the Foreign Affairs and the ineffectiveness of the Overseas Affairs were obvious. There was also a change of the names of two of the offices: *Negócios do Reino* (Affairs of the Kingdom) into *Interior* (Home), and *Fazenda* into *Finanças* (Finance). But it appears to have been simply an adaptation of the French equivalent office’s titles (*Intérieur* and *Finances*).

On the other hand, the *corregedores-mores* were posts newly created for the French control of the civil administration in the provinces, similar to the French *préfets* in

---

<sup>38</sup> Foy, *Junot’s Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 72.

<sup>39</sup> They were supposed to work in the offices of the old ministers. Register [67] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, Lisbon, 30 November-1 December 1807, f. 40v-43r.

<sup>40</sup> Foy, *Junot’s Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 73.

<sup>41</sup> Terreiro do Trigo, department responsible for the providing of wheat.

<sup>42</sup> Bilingual decree, 1 February 1807, IAN/TT, SP 2275. Also published as an edict, in Portuguese, in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, supplement extraordinary to no. 5, 5 February 1808, [pp. 2-3].



the *départements*. They were supposed to function within the pre-existing judicial and administrative system, even as regards to one of the priorities, the collection of taxes, and not to interfere unless in most urgent cases. But at the same time they had strong inspection powers over a large scope of areas, among which were the conduct of the *corregedores*, *provedores*, and other magistrates of the respective *départements* from whom they could demand reports namely about the on going of the lawsuits under the latter's responsibility. They were also required to be acquainted with the situation of the *Câmaras* namely the number of their officials and the nature and amounts of the taxes they levied. On the other hand, the collectors' *caisse* (chest) was under their inspection and in case of suspicion they could bring a verbal suit against them to send to the *Sécretaire d'État des Finances*. Besides, the *corregedores-mores* received the petitions not related to the usual carrying on of affairs, sent them to the local magistrates requiring a quick report and then communicated this to the secretary of state. They were to survey the Crown domains and the observance of the *forais*<sup>43</sup> and of the government's rights. Finally the *corregedores-mores* had to make tours around their *départements* to be aware of the state of the means of communication, Public Security, Police, Health, Agriculture, Commerce and factories. All these activities resulted in written information addressed by *comptes rendus* (reports) to the secretaries of state and through them to Junot.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, the *corregedores-mores* were, in the civil administration, an imported and key link between the frenchified government and the Portuguese public authorities at the provinces or *départements*.

The territorial division of Portugal was kept and so was the unity of the whole territory. The political and frontier changes established in the Fontainebleau Treaty were made a dead letter by Napoleon. That explains why the Spanish military involvement was manifestly artificial.

In parallel, the Treasury's penury anticipated the announcement of the suppression of various bureaux and the dismissal of employees.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Charters granted by the King or a Landlord, laic or ecclesiastic, to the inhabitants of an administrative unit, defining the rights and responsibilities of both. At this time they were used mainly as records of local taxes.

<sup>44</sup> Copy of the instruction no. 1 from Herman, secretário de Estado do Interior e das Finanças, to the *corregedores-mores*, in French, Lisbon, 2 April 1808, BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163. The making of this regulation was attributed to the Portuguese José Seabra da Silva, then an ex-minister of State. See letter about the behaviour of people during the French occupation, [September 1808], in English, IHGB, DL 356.3, no. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Translation into French of the letter from the Austrian plenipotentiary minister at Lisbon to the Count of Stadion in Vienna, Lisbon, 6 February 1808, intercepted, BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de

Two months after the replacement of the Portuguese Regency, Junot appointed other Frenchmen to crucial posts of the administration. Among them, Lagarde, sent from Italy by the Emperor,<sup>46</sup> replaced the Portuguese Lucas Seabra da Silva at the head of the vital security department, *Intendência Geral da Polícia* (General Intendancy of Police). Its functions were independent of those of the *secretarias de Estado* and thus Lagarde reported directly to Junot.<sup>47</sup> Later on Lagarde was also appointed to the Government Council.<sup>48</sup> In his turn Felix Berthelot was named to the *Recebedoria-Geral das Contribuições e Rendimentos* (General Receivership of the Contributions and Revenue) in order to proceed with the inventory of the public revenue and expenses, that is to say, to control finances and levy taxes.<sup>49</sup> Again, Frenchmen occupied the majority of the posts of *corregedores-móres* of the provinces: three auditors of the French Council of State<sup>50</sup> at Abrantes, Province of Estremadura, at Porto, Province of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, and at

---

Roma, pac. 105, 163. In this letter, the Austrian minister also described the replacement of the Portuguese Regency. See also lists of the employees transferred and dismissed, [1808] BNRJ, CP, I-32,31,026. On the other hand, on 20 February 1808, a decree abolished several posts of the Casa Real, such as *estribeiro-mór*, and *gentil-homem da Câmara* of the Prince Regent Register of avisos from Esteves Negrão and José Roberto Vidal da Gama, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior, 23 February 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 38, f. 228r.

<sup>46</sup> Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 73.

<sup>47</sup> Decree from Junot, 25 March 1808, issued by the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Interior e Finanças*, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 14, 5 April 1808, [p. 4].

<sup>48</sup> Decree from Junot, 16 April 1808, summarised in Brito Aranha, *Nota acerca das Invasões Francesas em Portugal, principalmente no que respeita à primeira invasão do comando de Junot – contém muitos documentos relativos aos sucessos assombrosos na Europa no fim do século XVIII e princípios do século XIX*, Lisbon: Typ. da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1909, p. 86.

<sup>49</sup> Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, pp. 29-30. See also order from Herman for the drawing up of the *termo da posse* (document where the entrance into office was recorded) of Feliz Bertelot, [1808], BNRJ, CP, I-32,31,026. António Ferrão refers to the following Frenchmen appointed to the administration after 1 February 1808. Foye, to *inspector-geral dos Domínios da Coroa, do Infantado e de todos os bens dos outros príncipes da Casa de Bragança* (general inspector of the Estates of the Crown, the Infants and of the other princes of the House of Braganza) and also to inspect the forests and the belongings of the resident Englishman. Guichard, *inspector-geral das Alfandegas* (general inspector of the Customs) and Millié *inspector-geral das Contribuições* (general inspector of the Contributions). See *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, pp. ccl-ccli. On 18 February 1808 a provisional Junta was established in order to receive the declarations and lists of belongings and rents submitted to contribution, as well as lists of silver delivered in the *Casa da Moeda*. Seated in the *Palácio do Correio Geral*, this Junta was composed by four Portuguese magistrates: *Desembargador of the Conselho do Ultramar*, Lázaro da Silva Ferreira, *Desembargadores of the Casa da Suplicação*, Lucas da Silva de Azeredo Coutinho and João de Matos Vasconcelos Barbosa Magalhães, João Manuel Guerreiro de Amorim Pereira, and the referred French Milié, assisted by Manuel Travassos da Costa e Araújo as secretary. Register of aviso from Francisco António Herman, to Francisco Feliciano Velho da Costa Mesquita Castelo Branco, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior, 18 February 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 38, f. 225v-226v.

<sup>50</sup> About the role of auditors in transmitting the values of the French Empire and mainly about the service in the occupied territories as a 'step in the career' of the young ones, see Woolf, *Napoleon's integration of Europe*, pp. 44 and 72-73.

Setúbal, Province of Alentejo, and another Frenchman in Algarve. The Portuguese José Pedro Quintela was appointed to Coimbra, Province of Beira.<sup>51</sup>

The establishment of direct control of Portugal by Napoleonic France provoked changes in the public records that were decreed on the same day.<sup>52</sup> These alterations were introduced at the level of their creation, in the formularies of the protocol and in the validation, according to the author of the record and the mechanism of decision, with correspondence to the previous Portuguese ones.

In fact the titles of all the public acts, laws, sentences, etc., independently of their nature that began in the name of ‘*S. A. R. o Príncipe Regente*’ (HRH, the Prince Regent), would be replaced by ‘*Em nome de S. M. o Imperador dos Francezes, Rei de Italia, Protector da Confederação do Rheno*’ (In H. M. name, the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Rhine Confederation). All the administrative and executive acts related to any decree or order issued by the Government would have, added to the formulary above, the following: ‘*E em consequencia do Decreto ou das Ordens de Sua Excellencia o Governador de Paris, Primeiro Ajudante de Campo de S. M. e General em Chefe do Exercito Francez em Portugal*’ (In consequence of the Decree or of the Orders of His Excellency the Governor of Paris, First Aide de Camp of H. M. and General in Chief of the French Army in Portugal). When the government was consulted, the records would be initiated with the French Emperor’s titles cited above followed by ‘*ouvido o Conselho do Governo*’ (heard by the Council of the Government). After them, would appear Junot’s titles, ‘*O Governador de Paris, Primeiro Ajudante de Campo de S. M., e General em Chefe do Exercito Francez em Portugal*’ (Governor of Paris, First Aide-de-Camp of H. M., and General-in-Chief of the French Army in Portugal) followed by the

---

<sup>51</sup> Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 73. Also the Portuguese Diogo Bivar was appointed to *juiz de fora* of Abrantes. See summary of decrees from Junot, issued by the *Secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Interior e das Finanças*, 25 March 1808 in Brito Aranha, *Nota acerca das Invasões Francesas em Portugal...*, pp. 79-80, and reference to them in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 15, 15 April 1808, [pp. 3-4]. The news of the appointment of the *corregedores-móres* was transmitted to the head officers of the main departments by avisos issued by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*. See for instance, the register of the avisos regarding the appointment of de Mr. Gouet to *corregedor-mór* of the *Reino dos Algarves* sent to Manuel Nicolau Esteves Negrão, Lucas Seabra da Silva, Francisco Velho da Costa, Esteves Negrão, José Roberto Vidal da Gama, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*, 5 April 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 38, f. 251-252r.

<sup>52</sup> Decree from Junot, Headquarter Palace, 1 February 1808, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, supplement extraordinary to no. 5, 5 February 1808, [p. 4]. The execution of the decree was charged to the secretaries of State and to the *regedor*. Junot had already mentioned this kind of modification in the records to be created, when writing to Napoleon about the plans concerning the structure of a Government to Portugal. See register [67] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, Lisbon, 30 November-1 December 1807, f. 40v-43r.

verb indicating the act, '*decreta*' (decrees). In case there was no deliberation by the government, the title would be that of the Emperor, succeeded by Junot's titles and the same verb or '*ordena*' (orders). Finally, the seal of the French Imperium, with the legend '*Governo de Portugal*' would be adopted by the Government.<sup>53</sup>

As the frenchified offices and departments went into operation there was a need to clarify the alterations in the public records to be produced. Thus, models of several types of records were published, at least for the Home and Finances Affairs Office and the related departments. They included models of *alvarás*, *sentenças*, *pautas*, *portarias* and *provisões*.<sup>54</sup>

Beyond these significant changes in the public records, the French maintained, in essence, the previous types of records and how they were kept. But the ways they circulated were sometimes different. The French political dominance did not last long enough to introduce any deeper alteration. On the other hand there were barriers to it. One of the most obvious was the difference of language.

Christian Müller, who had assisted Araújo de Azevedo, the later Portuguese minister for the Foreign and War Affairs, did not go Brazil. He worked in the *Imprensa Régia* (Royal Printing Office), which became *Imprensa Imperial* (Imperial Printing Office) under the orders of the French and was the only director able to communicate with them. Therefore he had always to be ready to translate, to order to be printed and to correct a multitude of decrees, orders and other documents issued by the occupier Army. He even considered that in general the French were not well lettered and wrote poorly in their language.<sup>55</sup>

The high-ranking officials of the *secretarias de Estado* had to copy and translate for themselves the resolutions that the French secretaries of State issued in the *consultas*, since they did not know how to write them in Portuguese. The same happened with the junior officials in what concerned the writing of all the orders of the secretaries of State

---

<sup>53</sup> See also register of the avisos sending copies of the decree regarding the seal of the documents registered in the Chancery, to Lucas Seabra da Silva, Francisco Feliciano Velho da Costa Mesquita Castelo Branco, Conde de Peniche, Manuel Esteves Negrão, José Roberto Vidal da Gama, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*, 17 February 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 38, f. 224v-225r.

<sup>54</sup> Decree from Junot, Headquarter Palace, 17 February 1808, and 'Formulas' enclosed, signed by Herman, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Interior e das Finanças*, and by Joaquim G. da C. Posser, senior official, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*, 17 February 1808, IAN/TT, SP 2275.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from João Guilherme Christiano Müller to D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Portuguese representative in London, Lisbon, 10 January 1808, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 20, 1, n° 88.

that were then signed by the senior officials. Finally, the *tribunais* and other authorities executed these resolutions and determinations, issuing diplomas in the name of the French Government. The correspondent officials drew up the diplomas that were signed by the respective secretaries or scribes, then counter signed by the secretary of state to which those *tribunais* and authorities were linked and, finally, signed by Junot.<sup>56</sup>

Several of the records accumulated by the central administrative bodies from 1 February 1808 till the reestablishment of the Portuguese Regency in September 1808 are not easily retrievable, with the exception of many of the register books and similar documents.<sup>57</sup> As we will see later on, some original records then produced were replaced and then destroyed. Others were often displaced from their original order and even from their provenance. Among these, some were seized from the French following their defeat and were not reintegrated into the records where they came from. Several were moved and sometimes appended to new documents to serve as a possible proof of Jacobinism, frenchified attitudes and other anti-patriotic behaviour. Or else the documents were separated and kept secret due to the fact that they informed about similar compromising conduct. Even so it is possible to analyse a few of those surviving from 1807-1808 records. And in spite of some different internal features, there was continuity in the way they were produced and kept.

Take the case of the requests of Cândido José de Sousa, ex-employee in the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, addressed to the Government, through the Home Office, in order that his readmission was ratified.<sup>58</sup> One of the requests was written in Portuguese, the other is a French contemporary version. Both have identical documents enclosed that are certified copies, dated Lisbon, 24 February 1808, of documents created during the carrying out of the Portuguese Regency Council and under the French direct Government. These include firstly, another request from Sousa to Francisco Velho da Costa, interim

---

<sup>56</sup> Ofício from Joaquim Guilherme da Costa Posser, *oficial maior* (senior official) of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, to the Count of Aguiar, minister of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil e Fazenda*, in Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, 1 May 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 709, pac. 1,49. Posser explained all this in order to justify the fact of having written several records signed by Junot, afterwards cancelled by order of the Prince Regent.

<sup>57</sup> The *Arquivos Municipais* (Municipal Record Offices) also did not keep many of those records. Reis, *Invasões Francesas: as Revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, pp. 10-11. Even the corresponding registers of the register books of the local as well as of the central administration were afterwards annulled.

<sup>58</sup> These petitions belong to a group delivered by Pedro de Mello Breyner, *conselheiro do Governo para os Negócios do Interior*, with other papers, to the new Regency, after the Restoration of the *Casa de Bragança* on September 1808. Their authors asked to be readmitted to the Royal Archive, as they had been excluded from readmission that had taken place on 18 January 1808. See IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 616.

keeper of the Torre do Tombo, which presents a final formula according to the French political dominance: ‘*Pede a Vossa Magestade Imperial...*’ (Asks to Your Imperial Majesty...). Secondly, a *portaria*, dated 8 February 1808, whose sole difference in relation to the previous same type of document was to have been initialled by ‘Mr. Herman’ the French *secretário de Estado do Interior e das Finanças*. Thirdly, a certificate, dated *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, 9 February 1808, and signed by Paizinho, one of its officials, of the *aviso* from Salter de Mendonça, member of the Portuguese Regency Council, to Velho da Costa, interim keeper of the Torre do Tombo, dated 26 January 1808. Finally, a different request with enclosed documents, from the same Sousa, to be readmitted as ‘*officier des Archives*’. This request has a note in French, signed by the French officer Carrion de Nizas, forwarding it to a bureau established by Junot’s Government.<sup>59</sup> Another petition, from the officials of the Ship ‘Princesa Real’, also written in Portuguese, had a similar administrative trajectory. Carrion forwarded the petition to the ‘*Département de la Marine*’ of the same bureau, writing it in French on the petition. Next, again in French, it was recorded the reception of the petition in the bureau, and almost in the foot margin, it was recorded its content.<sup>60</sup>

Analysing two other documents of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, the continuity is even more obvious. They are *livros de porta* (door books) where was registered the *despacho* (decision) on the requests submitted to that *Secretaria de Estado*. They were indexed by the first letter of the petitioner’s Christian name and in each letter by a date (year, month, day) which seems to correspond to when the petitioners or their agents looked for the decision. The first book comprises the month of July till 25 November 1807, the eve of the departure of the Court. The second book is dated from the beginning of January till mid August 1808, covering the Portuguese Regency rule and the French Government. They are totally alike and do not present any different characteristics. The latter includes only two decisions that show the French occupation and rule.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> ‘Renvoyé au Département de l’Intérieur au Bureau de Pétitions prés le Quartier Général à Lisbonne le 27 février 1808’. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 616.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Renvoyé au Département de la Marine du Bureau des pétitions établi prés le Quartier Général à Lisbonne le 2 Avril 1808’. Carrion Nizas. On the right: ‘Reçu le 15 Juillet 1808’. Above the text of the petition: ‘Marine: plainte contre un Payeur qui leur retient leurs gages.’ BCM-AH, cx. 841, Ofícios diversos.

<sup>61</sup> One forwarded the petitioner to Junot (‘1808, Janeiro, 2 – Jacinto José Machado: *Requeira ao Exmº General em Chefe*’), the other sent the petitioner to the Portuguese Home councillor of the French minister (‘1808, Março, 27 – António Francisco d’Araújo: *Devesse apresentar ao Ilmº e Exmº Sr. Conselheiro do Interior*’). IAN/TT, MR, liv. 1797.

Whenever useful for its purposes, Junot's administration re-established old laws fallen into disuse, including some with respect to the characteristics of the records to be produced. For instance, in order to control the granting of *ofícios* (civil posts), namely their ownership and the identity of who were serving them effectively, a seventeenth century decree was re-issued. It stipulated the information that the *consultas*, following the requests that asked for *ofícios*, should include.<sup>62</sup>

As we mentioned before, the French government created a new department, the *Bureau des Pétitions* or *Secretaria das Petições* (Petition Bureau). In fact, on 16 February 1808, it was advertised that whoever wished to present any request to Junot should address himself to it, everyday, excepting on Sundays and on other holidays. From eight till noon the officer in charge accepted them.<sup>63</sup> Within a month after its establishment the bureau was overloaded with papers. Junot was obsessed with the number of requests, whose objects regarded specifically the different *secretarias de Estado*. He could not waste time on details when he needed to be dealing with the general affairs.<sup>64</sup> Thus he would not receive anyone who had not previously been allowed. In order to arrange a meeting with Junot a request needed to be delivered to his aide-de-camp, explaining its purpose. To be admitted to Junot's presence, a letter had to be presented, agreeing to the meeting and assigning the day and hour.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, this bureau, a French innovation, seems to have generated a pathway of records a parallel to those between the *secretarias de Estado* and the other departments.<sup>66</sup>

The French introduced more rules in the working of the administration but without really innovating. For instance, the *Secretário de Estado da Guerra e da*

---

<sup>62</sup> Information such as the reason for the owner of the *ofício* to ask for someone to carry it out (a *serventuário*) instead of him or the period of time the *ofício* had been vacant. See royal decree, Lisbon, 3 November 1696, re-set up by *aviso* from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior* to the *tribunais*, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 11, 19 March 1808, [p. 4].

<sup>63</sup> The bureau worked in the Rua da Ementa, 34, near Junot's headquarter. See 'Avis' or 'Aviso' *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 7, 16 February 1808, [p. 2]. Bilingual. We did not find records that were produced by this bureau.

<sup>64</sup> We will see afterwards how the Portuguese were used to submit their documents, namely requests, to the senior authorities, when they could and frequently they should send them to junior authorities.

<sup>65</sup> *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 11, 14 March 1808, [p. 2].

<sup>66</sup> More departments were created, like a Special Court in Lisbon on 8 April 1808, and in Porto on 9 May 1808, or the *Junta Administrativa dos Palácios e dos Bens da Família Real* (Administrative Board of the Palaces and Holdings of the Royal Family) on 24 June 1808. Others were suppressed, like the *Conselho de Justiça do Almirantado* (Admiralty Justice Council) on 9 May 1808. See Aranha, *Nota acerca das Invasões Francesas...*, pp. 84-85, 90, 99. The special courts were established to punish transgressions in public security and were composed mainly by French military officers, besides the Portuguese military officer and judge. The most severe penalties were applied according to the Portuguese law or to the French Penal Code.

*Marinha*, Luithe, established a schedule for the acceptance of requests or claims, for his public audiences and for receiving generals and high rank officers.<sup>67</sup> Most probably there was also an increase in the number of petitions and of the flow of the administrative work due to the disturbance caused by the measures the French had undertaken concerning the control and the disbanding of the Portuguese armed forces.<sup>68</sup> Weeks later the same *secretário de Estado* advertised that all the people who benefited from pensions of the office should go there with the corresponding *títulos* in order to register them.<sup>69</sup>

Finally, there is the case of records kept or created by the *Intendência Geral da Polícia*, the security and State defence department.<sup>70</sup> The register book of the *contas* from the head officer, the *Intendente Geral da Polícia*, to the *secretarias de Estado* that cover the first period of the French occupation, do not reveal any substantial difference from the point of view of its diplomatic characteristics.<sup>71</sup> We can verify that the addressee was firstly, the *governadores do Reino* (governors of the Kingdom), and from 9 December 1807 Junot, receiving sometimes-identical *ofícios*, and also Herman as *secretário da Fazenda*. After 2 February 1808 and in the sequence of their deposing the *governadores do Reino* ceased to appear in the register book. Then, between 31 March and 21 September 1808, there are no registers, corresponding to the holding of the post by Pierre Lagarde.

In fact, when Lagarde was in charge, different records were produced and at least most of them, dated 26 March 1808-12 July 1808, were kept out of the *fonds* of the *Intendência da Polícia*. António Ferrão found those documents in the private papers of D. António and D. Manuel de Almada e Lencastre, descendants of D. Miguel Pereira

---

<sup>67</sup> Notice published in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 8, 23 February 1808, [p. 4].

<sup>68</sup> This schedule was announced following the 23 February 1808 edict of Junot's decree, dated Headquarter Palace, 15 February 1808, and issued by the *secretário de Estado da Guerra e da Marinha*, granting furloughs to the militias and disarming them. Besides, the notice itself ended with an order to the commissioned officers of the colonial regiments of Brazil and India to submit their *patentes* to the *Secretaria de Estado da Guerra*, in eight days time. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 14, 5 April 1808, [pp. 3-4].

<sup>69</sup> *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 14, 5 April 1808, [p. 4].

<sup>70</sup> Established during the government of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, after Marquis of Pombal, by the *alvará* dated 15 July 1760, published by Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, pp. xxix-xxxix. It had an exclusive jurisdiction (*jurisdição privativa*) in the affairs under its competency as referred in the letter appointing Pina Manique to Intendant in 1780, Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, p. xl. These affairs were presented to the monarch through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* as determined in the mentioned *alvará* and evident through the correspondent records such as the register books of the correspondence from the *Secretaria de Estado* to the *Intendência Geral da Polícia*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 327 and 328.

<sup>71</sup> 'Livro IX das Contas para o Governo' or 'para as Secretarias', IAN/TT, IGP, cited and partially published by Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, pp. x, xii, 3-298.



Forjaz member of the Portuguese Regency before and after the Restoration. They include register books and reports and bulletins sent from Lagarde to Junot. The bulletins are essentially extracts of documents sent to the intendant of Police by the intermediate and local authorities, French and mainly Portuguese, some of which are together. The reports and bulletins were written in French on white paper with the following printed titles (headings), respectively: '*Intendance-Général de la Police du Royaume de Portugal. Rapport à son Excellence Monseigneur le Duc d'Abrantes, General en Chef de l'Armée de Portugal, etc.*,' and '*Intendance-Général de la Police du Royaume de Portugal. Bulletin*'. Besides, the documents were signed '*Le Conseiller de Gouvernement, Intendant-général de la Police du Royaume. P. Lagarde*'.<sup>72</sup> The original documents from the Portuguese authorities were written in Portuguese with appendices in French summarising them.<sup>73</sup> Also in this group of records there is a set of documents created by the frenchified *Intendência Geral da Polícia* entitled '*Produit du...*' followed by a date. They consist of the translation into French of the letters that were intercepted and sent to the intendant, and that surely were presented to Junot.<sup>74</sup>

Most of these official records, although created by the *Intendência da Polícia*, belonged effectively to the archive of Junot while ruling Portugal and therefore to the public archive of the French Government of the country. They help us to understand how the Frenchmen, in the second phase of their occupation, used the Portuguese administration, how the flow of information behaved and how archives were affected. Portuguese documents went on being produced in the same way and with the same features that they had before. In addition, at the higher levels of the administrative structure occupied by Frenchmen, other types of documents were created, according to the French tradition. As well as the language, the formularies, size and designations of the documents were different.<sup>75</sup> These records, in their turn, were integrated into archives distinct from the archives of the Portuguese central administration. Once more, it does not appear that the types of the Portuguese records and the ways of archive keeping in Portugal changed substantially.

---

<sup>72</sup> Cited and published by Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, pp. xii, 301-440. Afterwards we will see the trajectory of these records. They are now at the *Biblioteca Nacional* (BN) the National Library of Portugal, *Arquivo Lencastre Bastos* (ALB), pac. 105, 163.

<sup>73</sup> See, for instance, the *autos* (lawsuits) enclosed to the *ofício* from the *juiz de fora* of Santarém to the *Intendente Geral da Polícia*, 20 May 1808, BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163.

<sup>74</sup> See again BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163.

<sup>75</sup> See, for instance, rapport from the Secrétaire d'Etat de la Guerre et de la Marine to the General en Chef, [before 14 July 1808] BCM-AH, cx. 189, Correspondência Estrangeira.

Meanwhile, public order, military control and raise of taxes became the obvious concerns of the occupier. The raising a hundred million francs extraordinary contribution that Napoleon had decreed on 23 December 1807 at Milan was systematically pursued though that huge sum was never reached.<sup>76</sup> Both officially and through corruption Portuguese wealth was being drawn to France.<sup>77</sup>

The Emperor was concerned with the control of prominent people who could be influential in Portugal and gave orders accordingly. The remains of the Portuguese Army formed the *Légion Portugaise* led by the Portuguese Marquis of Alorna, and was sent to France.<sup>78</sup> On the other hand, a Portuguese deputation was sent to Bayonne to pay their respects to Napoleon, serving also as pro-French propaganda, and was retained there. Also, Junot used several Portuguese in his personal ambitions to be King of the occupied country, in well-manoeuvred acts, supposedly to discuss the political future of Portugal.<sup>79</sup> All these movements intensified in April and May 1808. The *Junta dos Três Estados*, a public organ that had been inactive, assembled, presumably to work like Cortes. Different political proposals and schemes were proposed there, without practical consequences, other than the fact that aspects useful to Junot's Government were publicised.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 72-73. Napoleon's resolution was published in Portugal on 1 February 1808 by a decree from Junot that reduced the amount and detailed the procedures to be followed. See Aranha, *Nota acerca das Invasões Francesas...*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>77</sup> Letter of the French War minister, Comte d'Isnebourg to Napoleon, Paris, 14 November 1808, and note enclosed, not signed, AF IV, plaquette 1/III, pièces 121-122. The letter was addressed 'pour sa Majesté seule' and the minister considered that the enclosed long note was perhaps interesting to be read by Napoleon, attending to the circumstances, i.e., the preparation of a second invasion of Portugal. The note, a kind of report of Junot's action in Portugal was deeply unfavourable to him and to other French high-ranking officers and several civilians. It denounced the robbery of Portuguese valuables and how the French State was deprived of resources deviated to private hands. In Portugal, as in other territories under French control, the corruption 'seriously clogged up the administrative machinery of the Continental system', Woolf, *Napoleon's integration of Europe*, p. 123.

<sup>78</sup> Alorna had been appointed general inspector and commander of the Portuguese troops of Trás-os-Montes, Beira and Estremadura, on 15 February 1808. Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica' in João Medina (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon: ediclube, 1993, vol. 8, pp. 18-19. This small army, of around 3,000 men when arriving on June at Bayonne, fought afterwards in the *Grand Armée*. See also Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>79</sup> In practice, Junot was replacing the Prince Regent and representing the French Emperor in Portugal. This was the reasoning of Lagarde when he suggested to Junot to follow the old practice of conceding mercy to some prisoners during the Holy Week. Report from the intendente da Polícia to Junot, Lisbon, 16 April 1808, pub in Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, p. 308.

<sup>80</sup> About these proposals see Reis, *Invasões Francesas: as Revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, pp. 68-71 and 80-81, although some doubts respecting his discourse. See also the memorandum from the *juiz do Povo* José Abreu Campos to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 31 December 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,43. He took part in these actions and the memorandum was made to justify his behaviour.

The French rule followed the traditional administrative channels and record keeping in the case of the politically pro-French letters signed through suggestion, fear or compulsion, by the Portuguese deputation to Bayonne and by the *Junta dos Três Estados* together with the so called deputies.<sup>81</sup> The original of the former letter, dated 27 April 1808, was sent by Junot's order, through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, to the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço*, to be seen and registered there and then forwarded to the Royal Archive.<sup>82</sup> A similar procedure was followed with a copy of the latter, dated 11 June 1808.<sup>83</sup>

Extensive changes in the records implied significant modifications in the law and in administration. One can easily imagine that Napoleon's insistence on the translation into Portuguese of the French Civil Code from mid May 1808 would anticipate that. But in spite of having been translated and begun to be printed it was not applied.<sup>84</sup>

Time was needed to install any French model of administration, without disruption of institutions and administrative procedures. War and economic demands opposed the efforts to gain support through administrative practice. On the other hand, the condescending and arrogant attitude of the French made it even more difficult for them to understand the Portuguese administrative puzzle.<sup>85</sup>

The circumstances were unstable to Junot's government. Dissatisfaction had been spreading among the people. Beyond the financial extortion and the humiliation of French rule, there had been acts of military violence against Portuguese and dispersed nationalist reactions. It had also become clear that the understanding between Madrid and Paris about Portugal had vanished. Contradictory movements of Spanish troops took place in

---

<sup>81</sup> Herman, the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*, called several people to participate in a ceremony in the *Junta dos Três Estados*. See for instance, aviso to João Manoel de Meneses, Lisbon, 25 May 1808, BNRJ, CP.

<sup>82</sup> Register of the *aviso* from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to the *Desembargo do Paço*, 14 May 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 38, f. 274v. Prominent personalities, like the *desembargador* João Salter de Mendonça, former governor of the Kingdom, were convoked to great Junot at the *Desembargo do Paço* on 17 May 1808, on the occasion of that letter. He did not go. See request of Salter de Mendonça, enclosed to *ofício* from him to Conde de Aguiar, Lisbon, 21 August 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 709, pac. 1,43.

<sup>83</sup> Receipt of the copy of the letter acknowledged by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, register of the *aviso* from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to Count da Ega, 11 June 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 14r. Sending of the copy of the letter to the *Desembargo do Paço*, register of the *aviso* from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to the *Desembargo do Paço*, 11 June 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 11v.

<sup>84</sup> Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da Silva, *História do Direito Português: Fontes de Direito*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985, p. 287; Reis, *Invasões Francesas: as Revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, p. 80.

<sup>85</sup> For a comparison with different countries, see Woolf, *Napoleon's integration of Europe*, pp. 117, 119.

March. Junot did not rely any more on the Spanish and Frenchmen took control of or replaced them.<sup>86</sup> When the uprisings burst in Spain, on May 1808, following the forced abdication of the Bourbons and Napoleon's nomination of José Bonaparte to King, the Spanish forces in Portugal were called to withdraw.

On 6 June 1808 the Spanish Marshall-de-Camp Ballesta, before withdrawing to Galicia, arrested the French General Quesnel in Porto and convoked the most important people to assist in the proclamation of the restoration of the *Casa de Bragança*. Although it did not last long, uprisings spread all over the north during June and on the 19<sup>th</sup>, again in Porto, a Junta was established, presided over by the Bishop, to govern Portugal till the Prince Regent expressed his will. In the south, in mid June, nationalist movements also erupted. Olhão was the first to revolt in Algarve, and Faro and Vila Real next, followed by the other towns and villages.<sup>87</sup> Another important Junta emerged in this province directed by the Count of Castro Marim, *Monteiro-Mor* and former member of the Regency (afterwards Marquis of Olhão). French troops moved to the north and the guerrillas harassed them. They marched also to the Alentejo where people went on uprising against the occupying forces.<sup>88</sup>

Communications were established here and there between the Portuguese and the Spanish insurgents and also with the British vessels that were observing along the coast. The Junta do Porto made more formal contacts with its equivalent in Galicia, and with England where emissaries were sent. In Brazil the Prince Regent received the news of the restoration delivered by fishermen of Olhão.<sup>89</sup> Soon he was keen to accept the British

---

<sup>86</sup> Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 78-80.

<sup>87</sup> Lagos, for instance, hoisted the Portuguese flag on 22 June. See representation from the Câmara Municipal, People, military and ecclesiastical corporations of Lagos to the Prince Regent, Lagos Square, 27 June 1807, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,1.

<sup>88</sup> Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica', pp. 119-20; Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 88 and following. Foy gives a good account of the repeated characteristics of the uprisings, see pp. 99-100. As soon as the House of Braganza was restored in a place, the emergent authorities sent to the Prince Regent representations and *ofícios* rejoicing with it. Several of them are to be found in ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Alberto Iria, 'Um documento esquecido sobre a chegada do Brasil do primeiro correio marítimo de Portugal em 1808' *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, 30 (1985) pp. 24-48. The representation from the Câmara Municipal of Santiago de Cacém, in Alentejo, to the Prince Regent, dated 9 July 1808, was delivered to Admiral Cotton by its prior, who, besides, asked for more help. See ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,3, f. 1v. In turn the above-mentioned representation from Lagos, was sent through Gibraltar.

suggestion to send a small squadron to join the blockade of Lisbon in order to facilitate communication.<sup>90</sup>

Responding to the Portuguese appeal, Great Britain sent an army commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley. On 1 August 1808 it began to land at Lavos, at the mouth of Mondego, and was reinforced some days later.<sup>91</sup> The British under Wellesley's command and with a reduced number of Portuguese soldiers<sup>92</sup> defeated Junot in the Battles of Roliça on 17 August and Vimeiro on 21.<sup>93</sup>

On 30 August 1808, the French and the British signed the so-called Convention of Sintra, which would become very controversial in Portugal as well as in Britain. The British army was granted possession of all places held by the French in Portugal. In return the French army was to withdraw in British ships with all its equipment, including arms.<sup>94</sup> The accomplishment of the Convention was occasionally disturbed by the outbursts of anti-French acts and the attempts to impede the embarking of Portuguese private and State belongings.<sup>95</sup> On 15 September the majority of the French Army embarked in Lisbon, and the rest in mid October.<sup>96</sup> Portugal was free<sup>97</sup> but facing an insecure and difficult period.

---

<sup>90</sup> Dispatch from Strangford to George Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 31 July 1808, PRO, FO 63/59, f. 168r-168v.

<sup>91</sup> Donald D. Horward, 'Wellington and the Defence of Portugal' *The International History Review*, XI, I (February 1989), pp. 40-41. The British government decided in the middle of July not only to reinforce the forces for Portugal but also to appoint Sir Hew Dalrymple lieutenant general for the command of that army, with Sir Harry Burrard as his deputy, superseding Wellesley although recommending him. Sir John Moore would replace Dalrymple in the beginning of October 1808. See Rory Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon: 1807-1815*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1996 pp. 46-49 and 67-68.

<sup>92</sup> The Portuguese Generals Bacelar and Bernardim Freire had met with General Wellesley on 7 August and though it was settled that the armies went to Lisbon they disagreed on the way to follow. Through the interior, as the Portuguese proposed aiming to protect the people against the French retaliations or along the coast, as Wellesley decided. See Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica', p. 120; Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 144.

<sup>93</sup> Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 140 and following.

<sup>94</sup> José Manuel Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos diplomaticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, facsimile reprint, Brasília: Senado Federal, 1997, vol. 1, p. 67.

<sup>95</sup> Even after the Convention, the French went on assembling all the valuables they could, still using the administration wherever possible. See, for instance, the aviso from Francisco António Herman to António Silvino de Miranda to deliver to the *Recebedor Geral das Contribuições* Félix Berthelot, the coined money and the silver ingots and to go on melting. *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*, 4 September 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 32r.

<sup>96</sup> In Robert Muir's words the Convention 'showed little consideration for the feelings of the Portuguese and granted political concessions which were quite outside the scope of a normal military convention', *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 52. On the convention in general see Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 51-59; Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 178-184. On Portugal's stand point see Macedo, *História Diplomática de Portugal...*, pp. 363-364. The negotiations of the armistice and the Convention, as well as its

## 3.2 The British presence and the Portuguese government, September 1808-September 1820

### 3.2.1 The provisional governments, Juntas, July-September 1808

In some instances the anti-French popular reactions nearly became revolutionary movements. There was public unrest and there was neither state rule, nor any form of recognised central leadership. The insurgents dismissed a great part of the existent authorities that were compliant with the French. Thus, following the uprisings, many Juntas arose locally, during July and August. They were invested with civil and military power chiefly to organise defence and regulate possible subversion.<sup>98</sup>

In general the three orders, Nobility, Clergy and People elected the Juntas, according to the traditional system of the Cortes. Invoking the authority of the absent Prince Regent, they elected noblemen, clergymen, frequently many officers who had been removed from their posts, namely judges, and some military men.<sup>99</sup> The *Junta do Governo Supremo do Porto* in the north and the *Supremo Conselho do Reino do Algarve* in the south achieved authority over the other provisional governments in the corresponding provinces, though the latter kept jurisdiction over local matters. This did not happen in the centre of the country. In *Alentejo*, the Junta of its main town, Évora, presided over by the Lieutenant-General Francisco Paula de Leite, previous military governor of the province, and by the archbishop, was not recognised as superior provincial centre of power, by all juntas.<sup>100</sup> There, the revolts almost turned into a civil

---

carrying out were well detailed in a contemporaneous French account and note from the same anonymous author, which arrived to the *Secrétairerie d'État Impériale*, in Paris, and probably to the Emperor. See 'Notice sur l'évacuation du Portugal par l'armée Française, aux ordres du Duc d'Abrantès', AN, AF IV 1616, plaquette, 1/II, pièce 126, and 'Note du 5 Octobre 1808 a bord de l'Africaine' AN, AF IV 1616, plaquette 1/II, pièce 127.

<sup>97</sup> Donald D. Horward, 'Wellington and the Defence of Portugal', pp. 40-41.

<sup>98</sup> When describing the Porto uprising, Foy wrote 'As the multitude gave themselves up to excesses of all kinds, men of consequence, who at first kept in the back-ground, now felt the necessity of introducing themselves into this anarchical mass', *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 96.

<sup>99</sup> On 18 June 1808, in the Bishop's Palace a 'congresso' (congress of the orders) voted for the *Junta do Governo Supremo do Porto* presided over by D. António de S. José Castro, Bishop of Porto. Reis, *Invasões Francesas: as Revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, pp. 106-107. On 23 June 1808, the three orders elected the *Supremo Conselho do Reino do Algarve*, presided over by Conde de Castro Marim. PRO, FO, 63/65, f. 163r.

<sup>100</sup> Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 125.

war.<sup>101</sup> The juntas filled an emptiness of power and administration, ruling effectively in their areas of influence.<sup>102</sup> The fact that they were elected in Congress, evoking simultaneously the Prince Regent's authority and the People's will which legitimised them reflected the contradictions they lived under and that lasted for several months.

Both the *Junta do Porto* and the *Conselho do Algarve* aspired to perform a national role and developed international contacts, a prerogative of sovereignty. Although acting in the name of the Portuguese monarch, the time consuming and irregular communication with Brazil,<sup>103</sup> in addition to the difficulty of transporting messages within the country due to the disruptions of war, favoured their autonomy.<sup>104</sup>

The *Conselho Supremo do Algarve* maintained contacts with the British squadron and with Wellesley in addition to addressing a letter to the British King, on 16 July 1808.<sup>105</sup> On the other hand it exchanged information with the homologous *Junta Suprema do Governo de Espanha e Índias* in the nearby Seville.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> Vasco Pulido Valente, 'O Povo em armas: a revolta nacional de 1808-1809' in *Tentar Perceber*, [Lisbon]: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, impr. 1983, pp. 13-121, mainly pp. 42, 48-52.

<sup>102</sup> There are several records created by the Juntas that document their activity. Some were sent to the government in Brazil and to the Prince Regent, namely the proclamations of the Restoration and other correlated information. Most of these records were kept at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, and are today either in Lisbon, IAN/TT, Ministério do Reino (MR), or in Rio de Janeiro, ANRJ, Negócios de Portugal (NP). Others were kept locally in the municipal archives or libraries, part of them informing about the internal working and decisions of the Juntas. Ferrão refers to several of the latter, in Braga, Guimarães, Porto, etc, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, pp. cclxxix-ccxcvii.

<sup>103</sup> The *câmaras municipais* and *juntas*, in the context of the uprisings, wrote directly to the sovereign, using the available transport. Such was the case of the Câmara of Lagos, in Algarve, that, through the government of Gibraltar, sent to the Prince Regent a *representação* explaining briefly the circumstances of their uprising. 27 June 1808, three vias, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,1. Later on, the Câmara of Santiago do Cacém, 80 km to the south of Lisbon, sent a similar document to Rio de Janeiro, delivering it to Admiral Cotton. 9 July 1808, ANRJ, Negócios de Portugal, cx. 632, pac. 1,3. See analogous documents, from other Câmaras, in the same cx. 632.

<sup>104</sup> Only at the end of November the British minister plenipotentiary in Brazil referred to the communications between the Prince Regent and the Bishop of Porto and between the Bishop of Porto one and the Portuguese minister at London, Ch. de Souza, mentioning specifically the Russian fleet in the Tagus. Dispatch no 31, from Lord Strangford to G. Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 29 November 1808, PRO, FO 63/60, f. 227r-230v.

<sup>105</sup> José Acúrsio das Neves, *Historia geral da invasão dos franceses em Portugal e da restauração deste reino*, Lisbon: Off. de Simao Thaddeo Ferreira, 1811, vol. 5, pp. 49-53.

<sup>106</sup> José Acúrsio das Neves, *Historia geral da invasão dos franceses em Portugal e da restauração deste reino*, Lisbon: na Off. de Simao Thaddeo Ferreira, 1811, vol. 3, pp. 27-32; Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*, Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1993, pp. 181-182. On 8 July, in Seville, the canon of the Cathedral of Faro, Manuel do Couto Taveira, representative of the Supremo Conselho do Algarve, and D. José Morales Gallego, member of the Suprema Junta do Governo de Espanha e Índias signed an agreement regarding the expulsion of the French from the Peninsula. MNE, pub. by Biker, *Suplemento...*, vol. 9, pp. 82-84.

The *Junta do Porto*, in its turn, sent to London the second Viscount of Balsemão, Luís Máximo Alfredo Pinto de Sousa Coutinho, and the *Desembargador* João Carvalho Martins da Silva to get in touch with the Portuguese Minister in London and to ask for British assistance. The Junta even issued, on 22 July 1808, credentials empowering the Portuguese emissaries to that purpose.<sup>107</sup> Also in July 1808, Wellesley before disembarking in Lavos met briefly in Porto with the Bishop and other prominent individualities agreeing on Portuguese military support and food supplies.<sup>108</sup> Moreover the *Junta do Porto* dealt with its neighbour Junta of Galicia in order to sign a mutual assistance treaty<sup>109</sup> and also tried to influence the Russian squadron, which had been in the Tagus since 11-12 November 1807.<sup>110</sup>

Afterwards the Bishop President of the Junta went on corresponding with the British government, mainly through D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, the Portuguese representative in London.<sup>111</sup> Among other affairs, the Bishop requested a loan from Great Britain.<sup>112</sup>

The ascendancy of the Bishop of Porto became so strong, notwithstanding some initial opposition<sup>113</sup> that he tried to influence the arrangements for a new government in

---

<sup>107</sup>Neves, *Historia geral da invasão dos franceses em Portugal e da restauração deste reino*, vol. 5, pp. 40, 49; Ferrão, *A 1ª Invasão Francesa (A Invasão de Junot vista através dos documentos da Intendencia Geral da Policia, 1807-1808): estudo político e social*, pp. 297 and following. Ferrão publishes extracts of letters from the Viscount of Balsemão to a friend describing the negotiations, kept in the Biblioteca Pública do Porto, COD 1077.

<sup>108</sup>Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 142.

<sup>109</sup>Dated 5 July 1808 and ratified by Great Britain. See letter from the *Junta do Porto* to Arthur Wellesley, 4 August 1808, enclosed with dispatch from Admiral Cotton to William Wellesley Pole, Hibernia off the Tagus, 9 August 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 102r

<sup>110</sup>Declaration to the Admiral of the Russian Squadron in the Tagus representing the sincere wishes of the Junta to maintain the 'good faith and harmony' between 'the two courts', Porto, 23 August 1808. Translation into English made by Domingos de Souza Coutinho of the copy that he had received, enclosed no. 4 with note from Ch. de Souza Coutinho, London, 3 September 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 122r. The Russian fleet, commanded by Admiral Siniavin had anchored in the Lisbon harbour after receiving the news that England and Russia were breaking off their diplomatic relations. He always adopted a non-interfering position. See Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, pp. 66 and 148. When the French tried to involve Siniavin in the negotiations with the British he preferred to deal directly with the latter. The Russian squadron ended to by being escorted by the British to England (?Spithead) where the ships were to be kept as a way of pressuring Russia to separate from its French ally. See 'Notice sur l'évacuation du Portugal par l'armée Française, aux ordres du Duc d'Abrantès', AN, AF IV 1616, plaquette, 1/II, pièce 126, f. 3r and 5r.

<sup>111</sup>See, for instance, for the month of September and beginning of October, Chevalier de Souza, domestic and various, PRO, FO, 63/66.

<sup>112</sup>Noble Hunt to G. Canning, Jeffries Square, 10 September 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 149r-150r.

<sup>113</sup>Reis refers to a letter from the *Junta do Governo* to the Prince Regent, dated 23 June 1808, and published later, suggesting that the Cortes should be called. The authors of the letter are not identified although Reis presumes it was inspired and written mostly by the Captain João Manuel



Portugal anticipating the French defeat.<sup>114</sup> At the beginning of August 1808 the *Junta do Porto* proposed to reorganize the Regency Council and wrote accordingly to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton and to Arthur Wellesley, who was then in Figueira da Foz. One of these letters from the Junta was sealed with the 'seal of Government'.<sup>115</sup> The Bishop and the other members expressed the intention of giving up 'all right to government' in order to avoid divisions hence Lisbon, the capital of the Kingdom, when freed from the French might not like to be subordinate to the other cities. Thus the Regency should be restored in Lisbon, though under several conditions.

As soon as Lisbon was free, the *Desembargador* Luís Ayala, member of the Junta do Porto, should go there and together with the *Desembargador* Salter de Mendonça, procurator of the Crown and secretary of the Regency or, in his absence, with the *Chanceler-mór*, *Desembargador do Paço* Manuel Esteves Negrão, call a Council. The Council or Congress would comprise both of them and also D. Francisco de Noronha, the Count *Monteiro-Mór*, D. Francisco da Cunha Menezes if in Lisbon and D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, all of who, with the exception of Ayala, had been named to govern Portugal on November 1807. The Congress should name five members excluding the governors who had moved to the French Government. On the other hand, the *Junta do Porto* mentioned the names of D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz and of the Archbishops of Braga and Évora. Besides, only when the selected Regency had been acknowledged by an act of the Junta could it begin to rule. At last, the contracts between the Junta do Porto and Galicia as well as Great Britain should be honoured.<sup>116</sup>

---

Mariz Sarmento, a leader of the second uprising in Porto. Mariz Sarmento and other military insurgents in Porto were afterwards removed and even imprisoned due to the Bishop's influence. See Reis, *Invasões Francesas: as Revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, pp. 116-119.

<sup>114</sup> Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 189-190; Valente, 'O Povo em armas: a revolta nacional de 1808-1809', p. 54.

<sup>115</sup> See translation into English of the letters from the Junta, 4 August 1808, enclosed with the copy of the letter from Admiral Cotton to William Wellesley Pole, Hibernia off the Tagus, 9 August 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 98r-104r. Cotton requested to Pole to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of the documents. Pole, brother of Arthur Wellesley and British diplomat was at the time in Seville. He sent this letter from Cotton enclosed with his letter dated 2 September 1808.

<sup>116</sup> See translation into English of the letters from the Junta, 4 August 1808, enclosed with the copy of the letter from Admiral Cotton to William Wellesley Pole, Hibernia off the Tagus, 9 August 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 98r-104r. Cotton requested to Pole to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of the documents. Pole, brother of Arthur Wellesley and British diplomat was at the time in Seville. He sent this letter from Cotton enclosed with his letter dated 2 September 1808.

On the other hand, the British Government, due to its military involvement in the Peninsula and to the alliance with the Prince Regent, had its own ideas about Portugal's rule after the expulsion of the French from Lisbon. The British were aware that several members of the Regency were suspected of close connection with the 'French interest' and were apprehensive that they might try to resume office. Secret instructions from Lord Castlereagh, secretary of state for War, to the general officer commanding the British Forces in Portugal, dated 18 August 1808, expressed the feeling to 'interfere as little as possible in the internal affairs of Portugal' but made several recommendations. The main one was to establish the Regency in Lisbon with similar powers to that appointed by the Prince Regent in November 1807. Leading individuals who had acted faithfully towards their sovereign would give advice about the members to be selected, according to some guidelines. The Regency should be composed of persons of rank, character and talents in the same number and with the same professions in relation to their employment, as the previous Regency was composed of. In case the alternative suggested did not work, the commander should assume the chief civil and military authority till a similar arrangement was carried out or the Portuguese sovereign had expressed his will. Meanwhile, the temporary authorities would be allowed to remain for a time. Finally, the general officer was instructed that, as much as possible, the exercise of power should follow the forms of the Portuguese monarchy, and the people empowered by the Prince Regent should be retained, especially in the subordinate departments.<sup>117</sup> The British observed attentively how events developed in Portugal without precipitating the political and administrative arrangements.<sup>118</sup> However, those instructions shaped them.

Simultaneously, D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, the Portuguese representative in London, a key position, vigorously developed his proposals for a new government. Informed of the intention of the British commander in Portugal, General Dalrymple, to reinstate the Regency, albeit with constraints he was not aware of, D. Domingos communicated to the British Government that he would not deal with it unless he had a positive order from the Prince Regent. He advocated either the continuity of the governments of Porto and of Algarve or the establishment of a provisional one till the

---

<sup>117</sup> Copy of a letter from Lord Castlereagh to the General Officer commanding the British Forces in Portugal transmitted to George Canning, Foreign Secretary, enclosed with a letter from E. Cork, Downing Street, 18 August 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 49-54v.

<sup>118</sup> Canning's comment on Castlereagh's instructions was the following: 'I do not think any steps necessary to be taken upon this business, till we hear from Portugal. Then remind an option', PRO, FO 63/66, f. 48v

royal will was known. In the latter case, and if the English Government agreed with his proposal, he would write to the Bishop of Porto, to the Count of Castro Marim, who presided over the Junta do Algarve, and to the military governors Bernardim Freire de Andrade, Forjaz and Bacelar, commanders of the Portuguese troops, in order to form a provisional government choosing deputies from Porto, Algarve and Lisbon.<sup>119</sup> He argued with the British that the exceptions to the misconduct of the Regency during the French occupation could be considered only either by the sovereign or by the People's provisional choice or by a court of Justice.<sup>120</sup> But Britain observed with apprehension the possible reactions to a government in which the Northern and Southern Provinces almost excluded the capital. Or else the possible misrepresentation of deputies selected in a popular election conducted under the superintendence of a British Army, in unstable circumstances.<sup>121</sup> Although firmly convinced of his opinions and having worked for them with the Junta do Porto, and close to his brother D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, *the secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Brazil, D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho had to accept the re-empowerment of the Regency.<sup>122</sup>

When the Kingdom of Portugal was restored, Ayala, delegate of the *Junta do Porto* looked for Salter de Mendonça, ex-member of the Regency, in order to check with him the reestablishment of the Portuguese government. However, Salter did not agree with any changes in the instructions of the Prince Regent, proposed by the Junta. Therefore Salter suggested that Ayala spoke to General Dalrymple who was dealing with

---

<sup>119</sup> Copy of the secret letter from D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho to his brother, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro, London, 25 September 1808, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 16, 46. D. Domingos emphasised that it only could be shown to the Prince Regent. See also the project of a provisional Government enclosed with the note from Domingos de Sousa Coutinho to George Canning, London, 27 September 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 201r-201v. In French.

<sup>120</sup> Domingos de Sousa Coutinho to Canning, London 27 September 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 207r-211v.

<sup>121</sup> Dispatch from Canning to Villiers, no. 1, Foreign Office, 22 November 1808, PRO, FO 63/74, f. 1r-16r.

<sup>122</sup> D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, after the disapproval of his political projects by the British Government, wrote to Canning stating that he did not send them to Portugal. Note from Sousa Coutinho to Canning, 1 October 1808, PRO, FO 63/66, f. 219r. However he did not give up his ideas so easily. In his instructions to J. Villiers, appointed British minister to Lisbon, in November 1808, Canning mentioned the difficulty which de Souza 'has felt in reconciling himself to the principle of the Regency now established in Portugal', and his objection to sending any British Minister with an ostensible character to Lisbon. Dispatch from Canning to Villiers, no. 1, Foreign Office, 22 November 1808, PRO, FO 63/74, f. 1r-16r, especially f. 2r. Sousa Coutinho went on writing insistently to Canning about the changes to be made in the re-established Regency by the immediate direction of the Prince Regent. Dispatch no. 34, Canning to Lord Strangford, Foreign Office, 10 December 1808, PRO, FO 63/61, f. 9r-12r.

this.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, the proposal of the Junta do Porto was not successful. On 18 September 1808, General Hew Dalrymple published a proclamation that re-established the Regency appointed by the Prince Regent with some exceptions.<sup>124</sup> These included the absent Governor Marquis of Abrantes, and the Secretary Count of Sampaio, Principal Castro and Pedro de Melo Breyner suspects of adhering to the French interests since they had participated in the French government. Besides, a secret clause imposed upon the members of the Regency the election of the Bishop of Porto and the notification to Dalrymple of the names they chose to replace the ‘impeded’ before publishing them.<sup>125</sup>

Unwillingly, the *Junta Suprema do Porto* was dissolved.<sup>126</sup> But the Bishop delayed several times the assumption of his seat in the Regency. The other Juntas, in their turn, were also slow in ceasing their activities. In mid November 1808 the majority had disappeared but the Regency was still intervening in order to dissolve the *Junta de Beja* and the *Junta de Elvas*, in Alentejo.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> Request from Salter de Mendonça, enclosed with ofício from him to the Conde de Aguiar, Lisbon, 21 August 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 709, pac. 1,43.

<sup>124</sup> Published by José Acúrsio das Neves, *História geral da invasão dos franceses em Portugal e da restauração deste reino*, vol. 2, pp. 490-493.

<sup>125</sup> Register of the conta no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 18 October 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 2r. See also Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império...*, pp. 189-190.

<sup>126</sup> On 12 October 1808, the Bishop of Porto wrote to the Council of Regency stating that he had already communicated to the Brigadier Sir Robert Wilson the extinction of the political government of the Junta due to the restitution of the Regency and, therefore, had no authority to interfere in negotiations between nations. But he also reported that he would follow the last arrangements to evacuate the French, in the way that the English and the French Nation had agreed, and he guaranteed the cooperation of the military and civil authorities of Porto. Letter from the Bishop of Porto to the Council of Regency, Episcopal *Paço* of Porto, 12 October 1808, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 17.

<sup>127</sup> Register of conta no. 2 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 16 November 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 6r-18v.

### 3.2.2 The reestablishment of the Regency and the initial working, September 1808-1810

Following General Dalrymple's proclamation, the Governors of the Kingdom, Francisco da Cunha Meneses and D. Francisco Xavier de Noronha, assisted by the Secretary João António Salter de Mendonça<sup>128</sup> summoned the Count Monteiro-Mór and D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz in replacement of the absent Governor Marquis of Abrantes and the 'impeded' Secretary Count of Sampaio. The Regency re-assumed their functions, which had interrupted on 1 February 1808, and assembled on 19 September 1808 in Lisbon, at the Inquisition's Palace, then called Palace of the Government. The first act was to elect the Bishop of Porto and the Marquis das Minas<sup>129</sup> to replace the 'impeded' Governors, Principal Castro and Pedro de Melo Breyner. These proceedings followed the way foreseen in the Prince Regent's decree and instructions dated from November 1807.<sup>130</sup>

The Regency began immediately to exert its functions, though with the absence of the Bishop of Porto<sup>131</sup> and the frequent non-attendance of the Count Monteiro-Mór.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> On 19 September 1808, Salter de Mendonça informed the General Hope that the governors had received the proclamation. Register of the aviso from Salter de Mendonça to Hope, Lisbon, 19 September 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 34r.

<sup>129</sup> On 20 September 1808 an aviso to the Marquês das Minas communicated his election. Register of the aviso, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 34r.

<sup>130</sup> Register of the aviso from João A. Salter de Mendonça to the Count of Peniche (of the *Junta e Estado da Casa de Bragança*), Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, 20 September 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 39r-39v. Breyner suggested that the Count Monteiro-Mór had been almost forced by the General Hope, Forjaz and the others to elect the Bishop of Porto. Ofício from Pedro de Melo Breyner, Lisbon, 7 October 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 2,2.

<sup>131</sup> The Bishop of Porto presented himself to the government only on 11 de April 1809, when the French were marching on Porto. Register of conta no. 10, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent., 12 April 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 26r. The Bishop had already been requested by the British to occupy his seat, since he, in the words of George Canning, secretary for the Foreign Office, had taken a 'distinguished part' during the Restoration, and was regarded repeatedly as indispensable by the Portuguese envoy at the Court of London. Canning also sent him a letter with that purpose, to be transmitted by John Charles Villiers, the British diplomatic representative, on his arrival to Portugal. Separate dispatch, Canning to Villiers, Foreign Office, 28 November 1808, PRO, FO 63/74, f. 52r-52v, with enclosed copy of the letter from Canning to the Bishop of Porto, Foreign Office, 27 November 1808, PRO, FO 63/74, 54r-57v. The ecclesiastic answered affirmatively to Canning, after Lord John Fitzroy had discreetly convinced him to go to Lisbon. Even so he took the opportunity to declare that 'Perhaps it would have been better to have followed the system of Government adopted at Oporto (...) but this is going to be continued with many advantages by the very wise and prudent directions of His Excellency Mr. Villiers...' in Lisbon. Translation into English of the letter from the Bishop of Porto to Canning, enclosed with dispatch no. 2, Villiers to George Canning, Lisbon, 9 January 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 63v-64r. The focus on the Bishop of Porto relied still on the Church's prestige increased throughout the uprisings when friars, priests and monks took up arms against the French, in spite of some dubious individual behaviours or acts of important dignitaries such as the Bishop of Porto himself. See Foy, *Junot's Invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, p. 98, and letter from the Bishop of Porto to

Beyond having sent circulars to the *tribunais* and other authorities congratulating for the Restoration and giving them the news of their appointment,<sup>133</sup> the members of the Regency tried to organise the main areas of the central administration. It was impossible to wait for the orders of the monarch in Brazil. Besides, the Regency kept the final decision for the Prince Regent using the formula ‘*enquanto Sua Alteza Real não mandar o contrário*’ (while HRH does not order the opposite).<sup>134</sup>

Thus, they appointed Cipriano Ribeiro Freire to president of the *Real Erário ad interim*, replacing Mello Breyner.<sup>135</sup> On the other hand, the *repartições* were divided between the two secretaries of the Regency. Salter de Mendonça was in charge of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* and D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz supervised the others, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* and the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha*.<sup>136</sup> However, shortly afterwards, Forjaz alleged that the Foreign Affairs were too much for him to deal with, as the reorganisation of the Portuguese Army occupied him completely. Cipriano Ribeiro Freire took this portfolio and, therefore, was included in the government.<sup>137</sup>

The country was in a bad financial situation. According to the Regency, expenses had increased since the departure of the Court and the revenue had dropped to one half.<sup>138</sup> In what concerned the defence, the army was disbanded. Furthermore, the Portuguese politic structure was frail and confused and the administration reflected it.

---

Bonaparte, 22 May 1808, referred by Reis, *Invasões Francesas: as Revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, p. 119. When the Bishop of Porto finally arrived to assume his place in the Regency, Villiers had a conversation with him and transmitted the cautious British position in order to try ‘to keep up the credit of the government rather than having recourse to changes not absolutely necessary’. The minister was not confident in the Bishop and remarked that not all the power should be vested on his hands. Dispatch no. 25, Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 11 April 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 35r-40r, especially f. 37v.

<sup>132</sup> Register of conta no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 18 October 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 1r-5v.

<sup>133</sup> The commander of the British forces received the Regency, days after its re-establishment. Letter from Major General W. C. Beresford to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, Casa de Anselmo, Largo do Calhariz, 21 September 1808, AHM, 1ª Div., 14ª Secção, cx. 16, no. 1.

<sup>134</sup> Register of conta no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 18 October 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 1r-5v.

<sup>135</sup> Copy of the decree from the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of the Government, 24 September 1808, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242, no. 6.

<sup>136</sup> As we will see the government in Brazil absorbed the Overseas Affairs.

<sup>137</sup> Freire was also appointed to replace Forjaz in other portfolios whenever he could not carry out his responsibilities. Copy of the decree from the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of the Government, 26 September 1808, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242, no. 6.

<sup>138</sup> Charles Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 13 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 56r.

Military and financial help for Portugal namely to reorganise the Army was a prior concern of the Regency as the French menace had not vanished. Thus, Freire requested from the British, through the Portuguese minister plenipotentiary to London, arms, money, and protection against Algerian piracy and also mediation in order to obtain truce or peace with Algiers.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand the *Junta Suprema Governativa do Reino de Castela* and the Governors of the Kingdom exchanged diplomatic representatives.<sup>140</sup>

Some British forces remained in Lisbon although without the higher commands. Arthur Wellesley had returned to Britain and on 2 October 1808 so did General Darlymple. John Moore, his substitute, soon went for a campaign in Spain. It was only in the middle of November that the British Government appointed Lieutenant-General Sir John Cradock to command the forces in Portugal and John Charles Villiers as minister plenipotentiary there.<sup>141</sup> To be correctly and regularly informed about the government and the People's true feelings<sup>142</sup> and attending to the critical situation of the Peninsula, Britain considered the presence of a diplomatic representative in Lisbon essential. On the other hand, Villiers was instructed to co-operate well with the governmental branch that supervised the Army<sup>143</sup> and, in exchange for more pecuniary assistance, to participate in decisions related to the arrangement of the Portuguese Forces. This implied admission to the Regency's sessions.<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup> Copy of the dispatch from Cipriano Ribeiro Freire to D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 1 October 1808, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242, no. 20.

<sup>140</sup> Copy of the list of the documents enclosed with the conta no. 2, from the Governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 16 November 1808.

<sup>141</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 82-83. According to Muir the choice of Villiers reflected the shortage of skilled diplomats in Britain throughout this war period.

<sup>142</sup> Canning appreciated that the intelligence received was contradictory, from unauthorised sources and needed to be ascertained. In this intelligence Canning included the reports of 'de Souza', the Portuguese minister in London, mentioning its long absence from Portugal and the fact that any instructions from the Prince Regent were not applicable then. Canning did not feel sufficiently informed about the exercise of the governors. Dispatch no. 1, from Canning to Villiers, Foreign Office, 22 November 1808, PRO, FO 63/74, f. 4r-4v.

<sup>143</sup> Dispatch no. 1, from Canning to Villiers, Foreign Office, 22 November 1808, PRO, FO 63/74, f. 1r-16r, especially f. 14v-15r. Canning insisted on the care to avoid any attitude that seemed 'to constraint the decision of the existing Government, or to interfere unnecessarily in the internal affairs in the Kingdom', f. 16r. See also Donald Howard, 'Wellington and the defence of Portugal' *The International History Review*, xi, i (February 1989), p. 42, who refers to this dispatch, among several sources.

<sup>144</sup> On 10 December 1808, Canning wrote to Strangford, the British Minister in Rio de Janeiro, underlining the particular need that the Prince Regent should instruct the government of Portugal to admit Mr. Villiers to a seat in the department or council in which the superintendence of the military arrangements were confided. Dispatch no. 34, Canning to Lord Strangford, Foreign Office, 10 December 1808, PRO, FO 63/61, f 9r-12r.

Initially this did not happen. During a first meeting between the British minister, Cipriano Ribeiro Freire and another member of the Regency, they were cautious on committing themselves. They promised to recognise Villiers by a written document and settled a meeting with the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra* but forwarded to the Prince Regent the authorisation of the Portuguese troops serving outside the country. Afterwards, Freire sent a note to Villiers expressing, on behalf of the Regency, the desire for his participation in the military discussions concerning the augmentation and arrangement of the Portuguese Army which could be deployed 'for the common cause',<sup>145</sup> not only in Portugal but also in Spain.

In parallel, in December 1808 and January 1809, both the Regency<sup>146</sup> and the Prince Regent, requested from Britain, through the Portuguese minister in London, the appointment of a general to command and reform the Army.<sup>147</sup> Privately the Portuguese suggested the name of Arthur Wellesley. However, it was Major-General William Carr Beresford who was appointed on 15 February 1809.<sup>148</sup> Beresford had commanded the expedition to Madeira and, after the Convention of Cintra, performed the duties of liaison officer with the Portuguese authorities<sup>149</sup>. By the beginning of March 1809 he was in Lisbon<sup>150</sup> and Villiers introduced him to the Regency.<sup>151</sup>

---

<sup>145</sup> Dispatch no. 3, Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 26 December 1808, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 25r-27r and enclosed note from Cipriano Ribeiro Freire to Villiers, Lisbon, 26 December 1808, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 42r-42v.

<sup>146</sup> According to Villiers, Forjaz, the secretary for 'War and Marine', was 'the chief mover of the proposition'. Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 5 February 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 97r.

<sup>147</sup> The *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, Freire, said to Villiers that he was authorised to request for the appointment of a general to command the Portuguese troops. Dispatch no. 2, Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 26 December 1808, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 22r-24r. This request was being settled already on January 1809. Draft of dispatch no. 4, Canning to Villiers, Foreign Office, January 1809, PRO, FO 63/74, f. 82r. On 9 January 1809 the Prince Regent informed the governors of the Kingdom that he had directed this choice to the referred minister with the concurrence of the British and that it implied also the organisation of a general system of defence of the Kingdom comprehending an economical plan. Besides, the Prince ordered the governors to assist the general in all his ideas and projects. Translation into English of the letter from the Prince Regent to the governors of the Kingdom of Portugal, 9 January 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 84r-84v, enclosed with dispatch no. 30 from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 5 May 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 83r. When the British minister in Brazil became aware of the Prince Regent's request he suggested to the latter that the commander of the Portuguese Forces should also occupy a seat in the Supreme Council of Regency, what seemed to be approved. Dispatch no. 1, from Viscount Strangford to Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 30 January 1809, PRO, FO 63/68 f. 22r-23r.

<sup>148</sup> Canning wrote to Villiers that Major General Beresford would command the Portuguese Army, with the rank of Lieutenant General, required by the Portuguese, but he would be placed under the Commander in Chief of the British Forces. Dispatch no. 9, Canning to Villiers, Foreign Office, 17 January 1809, PRO, FO 63/74, f. 97r-100r.

<sup>149</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>150</sup> Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 3 March 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 167v.



At the end of March 1809, Arthur Wellesley was chosen by the British Government to lead the British forces in the Iberian Peninsula, based in Lisbon. The objectives, although not immediately adopted by the British cabinet, were not only to defend Portugal and provide the resources to rebuild her Army, but also, after strengthening it, to use the Anglo-Portuguese forces whenever necessary in the Peninsula.<sup>152</sup> Wellesley arrived in Lisbon on 22 April 1809.<sup>153</sup> At the same time, Villiers was instructed to work out the 'proper channel' for the communications between the General and the Regency. Once more, the British secretary of state for Foreign Office envisaged that Villiers and, if possible, Wellesley's opinions were listened to when discussing military affairs.<sup>154</sup>

Meanwhile, the French armies, led by General Soult had entered the North of Portugal. After an irregular and confused defence, weakened by tumults against supposed Jacobins, the French forces occupied Porto on 29 March 1809. Soult ruled the city for more than a month and his armies subdued with difficulty the Northern Provinces of Minho and Trás-os Montes. They ended by withdrawing to Spain in May 1809, due to the combined operations of the British and the Portuguese forces directed by Wellesley and Beresford, respectively.<sup>155</sup>

Times were hard but the Governors of the Kingdom were far from being able to face them. There were several restrictions to their jurisdiction imposed by the Prince Regent in the royal letters dated 2 and 11 January 1809 and received in Lisbon on 5 May 1809. The main political opinions expressed in Rio de Janeiro, from October to December 1808, about the system of government to be set up when Lisbon was freed from the French, had not envisaged the re-establishment of the Regency.<sup>156</sup> The members already

---

<sup>151</sup> Beresford had received instructions to claim Villiers's agency with the government upon some matters, but not about the British minister forming a part of all the military Councils. Thus Villiers postponed the British presence in the Regency's meetings concerning military matters. Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 9 March 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 202r-205v.

<sup>152</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>153</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 93. Villiers informed Forjaz, on 24 April 1809. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 14r. When he arrived, the government in Portugal issued a royal letter appointing him Marshall General and head officer of the Combined Armies. Oficio no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885.

<sup>154</sup> But both should evaluate the government's reactions to this interference. Dispatch no. 12, Canning to Villiers, Foreign Office, 17 April 1809, PRO, FO 63/74, f. 115r-118v.

<sup>155</sup> Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica' pp. 24-25; Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 93.

<sup>156</sup> The Prince Regent called for the advice of the members of the *Conselho de Estado*. Some opted for a structure where the members of the *Junta do Porto* and also of the *Junta Suprema do Algarve*

in charge were finally confirmed by a royal decree, also in January 1809. This did not mean a warm acceptance by Rio de Janeiro. The Prince Regent was, in the words of the British minister in Brazil, ‘exceedingly displeased’ with their conduct.<sup>157</sup>

The Prince Regent named and confirmed the five governors of the Kingdom and the three secretaries for the *Secretarias de Estado* in Lisbon, conferring to the latter the right to vote on the matters regarding their departments.<sup>158</sup> However, the royal instructions to regulate their jurisdiction and activity were detailed and, in many aspects, limiting, subordinating Portugal to the political and administrative structure that was being erected in Brazil.<sup>159</sup>

Firstly, they determined voting as the internal procedure for the decisions regarding all the government affairs, and gave the casting vote to the governor presiding. The secretaries voted on the affairs of their respective departments.<sup>160</sup> Next, the Prince Regent made clear changes in the official denominations of the posts held by the members of the government. The secretaries were not secretaries of state since this title applied only to those who received the royal orders directly and carried them out. Simultaneously the *secretarias de Estado* became *secretarias do Governo*. On the other hand, the head officer of the *Real Erário*, a member of the government, was placed under

---

performed an important role. This seems to have been the opinion of D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, in harmony with his brother, the minister in London. The majority suggested the royal appointment of a governor instructed by the Prince Regent, though assisted by personalities to be selected. See Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 195-199. D. João de Almeida e Castro even proposed for governor ad interim the Princess D. Maria, widow of the older brother of the Prince Regent D. João. Draft of advice from D. João Almeida Melo e Castro to the Prince Regent, 23 December 1808, IHGB, DL 105.17.

<sup>157</sup> Strangford observed also that he seemed to be ‘particularly gratified by the delicacy of HM’s conduct’ in having sent to him the original of the credential of Villiers and only a copy to the ‘Provisional Government at Lisbon’. He still added that it seemed almost incredible that the Regent had not yet received ‘a single official letter’ from the persons to whom his authority was delegated, alienating him from Portugal. Dispatch no. 15 from Lord Strangford to Canning, Rio de Janeiro 22 April 1809, FO 63/68, f. 245r-249r. Although the mention of the absence of correspondence was not accurate, Strangford’s appreciation coincided with the royal unwillingness to favour a certain ruling autonomy.

<sup>158</sup> Authenticated translation into English of the royal decree, Rio de Janeiro, 2 January 1809, enclosed with dispatch no. 30 from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 5 May 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 87r-87v.

<sup>159</sup> Royal letter of instructions to the governors of the Kingdom of Portugal and of the Algarves, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 2 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242. Also registered in IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 1-32.

<sup>160</sup> In this decree as well as in other Portuguese records, the designations Government of the Regency and Governors of the Kingdom are used indiscriminately, though the latter became more frequent. On the other hand, the secretaries, although belonging to the government, are often referred separately from the governors. Afterwards we will see how this worked in practice.

the president of *Real Erário* in Brazil, with the title of general director instead of president.<sup>161</sup>

As we will be seen later in more detail, the royal instructions also established administrative procedures with immediate effect on the way of records were produced and kept. The governors were to send the *consultas* of the *tribunais* of the Kingdom, about the matters they dealt with,<sup>162</sup> together with their own advice, to the Prince Regent,<sup>163</sup> through the respective ministers and secretaries of state in Brazil.<sup>164</sup> The exceptions to this long distance control were the affairs calling for an immediate resolution by the governors of the Kingdom. They also could appoint the military officials that were needed, and order their payment, *ad interim*, till the documents sent to the Prince Regent were approved by him and returned again to them, and till he signed the patent regarding the appointment.

Other paragraphs of the same instructions concerned important jurisdictional changes of some central departments. The *Conselho Ultramarino* was restricted to the issue of certificates. On the other hand, the *Relação* of Lisbon ceased to receive the lawsuits from the *Relações* of Brazil, but went on receiving those from the magistrates of the captaincies of Pará and Maranhão and of the Islands of Azores and Madeira, simply because it was faster and easier than in relation to the *Relações* of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.

Several recommendations were made in order to obtain financial returns and to cut down expenditures. The governors were authorised to propose the reduction of the number of clerks and to change the number and quality of magistrates and *tribunais*. Besides, it was suggested to reduce the number of treasuries and to simplify the payments. In addition, every six months the governors were to send to the Prince Regent a detailed *conta* about the state of the royal finances of the Kingdom. This included

---

<sup>161</sup> Cipriano Ribeiro Freire held the *Erário* in Lisbon and became under complete subordination to and dependent on the Count de Aguiar, President of the Real Erário, near the Royal Person in Rio de Janeiro. See also translation into English of the instructions from Rio de Janeiro about the Army and the Erário, enclosed with dispatch from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 23 May 1809, FO 63/76, f. 126r-128v.

<sup>162</sup> They included promotions for Arts places, proposals for troops officers and improvements in the administration of the Kingdom.

<sup>163</sup> The Prince Regent justified it clearly stating in the letter that 'where he existed and resided was where necessarily should be considered the seat and the central point of the Empire'.

<sup>164</sup> The Navy Affairs should be addressed to the Prince Regent's nephew, Infant D. Pedro, nominated Admiral and General in Chief of the Royal Navy in Rio. Copies of the decrees of the appointments made to these posts in Brazil were sent, by copy, to the governors of the Kingdom, with this royal decree.

budgets divided into return and expenditure, with the present and projected taxes, and the anticipated, free and projected revenue, following the procedure of the Real Erário. They also had to send a *conta* of the state of the royal and public debt, inside and outside of the Kingdom, including the payments made to amortize them.

The Prince Regent enunciated a series of principles to be followed in the Foreign Affairs' domain. He advocated a harmonious relation with Great Britain always through the Portuguese envoy at London and gave his approval to the governors' requests for pecuniary and military assistance.<sup>165</sup> Secondly, he ordered them to accord with the Central Government of Spain through the Portuguese envoy at Madrid, taking into account that Portugal's independence presupposed Spain's independence and that the Spanish Juntas had recognised the possible rights of D. Carlota Joaquina, his wife, to be Regent<sup>166</sup>. Finally, the governors should keep peace with Morocco and look for an acceptable peace with Algiers.<sup>167</sup>

An identical underlining of the prerogatives of sovereignty residing in Rio de Janeiro inspired the royal letter to the governors of the Kingdom, dated 11 January 1809, and had direct consequences on the creation of records. The Regency had been signing *alvarás* and decrees, in the name of the Prince Regent. But the enactment and signature of these types of documents belonged to the sovereign. Thus, the Prince Regent determined that all the orders from the government had to be issued by *provisões*, *avisos* and *portarias*, according to the nature and importance of the affairs.<sup>168</sup>

The governors reacted strongly to the restriction of their powers, when they received the instructions at the beginning of May 1809.<sup>169</sup> They emphasised the need for powers to negotiate, working fast and vigorously, and being respected and obeyed, namely when the country was effectively being invaded, which the Prince Regent was not

---

<sup>165</sup> A copy of the respective paragraph was sent from the governors to Villiers. Translation into English enclosed with dispatch no. 30 from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 5 May 1809, 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 88r-88v.

<sup>166</sup> D. Carlota Joaquina was the eldest daughter of Carlos IV of Spain and as the Spanish Royal Family of the Bourbons was then imprisoned by Napoleon, she aspired to be the regent, namely of a Spanish Kingdom in South America. See Macedo, *História Diplomática de Portugal*, pp. 368, 370-371.

<sup>167</sup> The instructions covered even more aspects, such as measures for the defence of the Kingdom and for helping Spain, finance, reorganisation of the navy, judgment of people who had co-operated with the French in different degrees of responsibility, religion.

<sup>168</sup> Register of the royal letter to the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 11 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, p. 32.

<sup>169</sup> Register of *conta* no. 11, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 24 de May 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 26v-33r.

yet considering.<sup>170</sup> The authority they were invested with was even less than that of the India Governors. Any governor or captain-general of the *Estado da Índia* signed *alvarás* and decrees that were vital for the activity of the government as well as for the individuals. It was a formula of colonial administration only suitable for peacetime. The government was not the direct channel of communication between the Prince Regent and the *tribunais* of the Kingdom, and even less with the countries immediately related to Portugal's defence, therefore it was merely a department that did not enjoy the whole royal trust.

As regards the restriction on the issuing of several types of documents by the government, forwarding them to the new departments created in the Court, the governors considered that it would be understood as Portugal becoming a province of Brazil. Besides, it diminished the emoluments of the officials, and the appliance of rights became more expensive and longer. In its turn, the change of the title *Secretarias de Estado* was negatively regarded not only due to the bad effect on the officials but mainly because it suggested a permanent residence of the Prince in Brazil. The governors also remembered that the appointed head officers of the *Secretarias de Estado* had never used the title *Secretário de Estado*. They had not even voted in the Regency, till then.<sup>171</sup>

Therefore, the five present members of the government<sup>172</sup> decided to suspend the observance and publication of the criticised items they thought prejudicial to the defence of the Kingdom, until the Prince Regent sent a new resolution. Meanwhile they ordered the execution of the other items and of some of the orders they had also received from the

---

<sup>170</sup> They remembered the unlimited delegation of powers by the King D. Sebastião to four governors assisted by a secretary of state, during his expedition to Africa, in 1578 (in the course of which he died). For them the 1807 instructions, under which they were acting, had the same spirit and, on the other hand, the circumstances were more critical and the sovereign's absence longer.

<sup>171</sup> Always according to the same *conta* from the governors of the Kingdom, in their first session, dated 27 November 1807, they discussed the matter. But the secretary Salter de Mendonça using the decree and the first instructions to the Government, which did not allow express that faculty, ended with it.

<sup>172</sup> *Bispo Patriarca Eleito*, (Fr. António de S. José e Castro, Bishop of Porto, and meanwhile Patriarch Elect of Lisbon), Francisco da Cunha e Meneses, D. Francisco Xavier de Noronha, D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, João António Salter de Mendonça. The Count Monteiro-Mór did not attend the session. Freire, the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, had requested to be relieved of his post. On the other hand, the Marquis das Minas was probably in Tomar. See also register of *conta* no. 11, from the Governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 24 de May 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 32v-33r. He presented himself in the end of May 1809, after receiving in Chaves, in the North of Portugal, the royal decree that confirmed the governor's appointments. Register of *conta* no. 12, from the Governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 33r-38r.

*secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* in Brazil.<sup>173</sup> Thereupon they suspended the royal orders about the issuing of royal letters by the newly created *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço* in Rio de Janeiro. On the one hand, they sent to Brazil, to be signed by the Prince Regent, letters and *alvarás* related to affairs that did not seem urgent. On the other, the Governors appointed several people to posts in Portugal, using the justification that these appointments could not depend on delays due to voyages. They also decided to suspend the activity of the *Mordomia-Mór*.<sup>174</sup>

The tone was the same when the government wrote to Brazil through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, reporting about matters carried out under the corresponding secretary.<sup>175</sup> They underlined the inconvenience of issuing in America the patents of the military appointments and promotions, communicating that they would not follow this order until receiving a new order. It was impractical to delay the payment and the carrying out of the officers for some days, moreover for months! The circumstances were such that the government had even to allow Beresford to promote at once officers who distinguished themselves. At the same time, the governors stated their embarrassment with the fact that the Baron of Arruda, Lieutenant of Infant D. Pedro Carlos, held the supreme command of the Navy and of the departments of the Arsenal in Portugal, by direct orders from the Infant to him.<sup>176</sup> Thus he

---

<sup>173</sup> Such as the publication of the *alvarás* suspending the *Comissão dos Negócios de Roma* (Committee for Rome Affairs) and abolishing the *Junta do Proto-Medicato*, a Committee that supervised health matters, namely the granting of licences to practice Medicine or to sell drugs.

<sup>174</sup> Post next to the sovereign and to the service of *Casa Real*, which had, among other functions, to deal with the issuing of the grant of the privileges of noblemen (in the ranks of *fidalgos*, *escudeiros* or *cavaleiros*), and the respective *moradias* (pensions), the control of the royal jewels and tapestry. Nonetheless, the governors recalled that the *justificações* (evidences) necessary to the working of that department in Rio de Janeiro had to be collected in the Kingdom and that the corresponding *alvarás* could be drawn up in Portugal and forwarded to Rio for the royal signature. Register of conta no. 12, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 33r-38r.

<sup>175</sup> Ofício no. 1 from the governors of the Kingdom to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885.

<sup>176</sup> As we will see afterwards, the Navy was, in practice, taken away from the competencies of the respective secretary of state in Brazil and held by D. Pedro Carlos, nephew of the Prince Regent. On the other hand, the British became worried with the way the 'Marine Department' in Lisbon was administered. Thus, after having received a dispatch from Villiers, dated 24 August 1809, Strangford requested the Prince Regent to place it under the inspection and authority of the British Admiral Berkeley. Strangford to Bathurst, Rio de Janeiro, 16 January 1810, PRO, FO 63/83, f. 16r-16v. See also dispatch no. 51 from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 21 April 1810, PRO, FO 63/90, f. 28r. On 24 May 1810 the Prince Regent conceded the supreme command of the naval forces that remained on the Tagus. See Simão José da Luz Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal. Compreendendo a história*

exerted the jurisdiction formerly committed to the *Conselho do Almirantado* and to the *Real Junta da Fazenda da Marinha* (Royal Board of the Finance of the Navy). They allowed it but noticed that there was no order from the Prince Regent who, on the contrary, had decided that all the *tribunais* should go on working.

From the viewpoint of Villiers the government was not popular and there was a risk of revolution,<sup>177</sup> which the Prince Regent's directions did not lessen. His opinion agreed with the governors' criticism. The royal aim to exert more control over many matters in Portugal was not consistent with the distance from Rio de Janeiro and negatively affected efficiency of the government.<sup>178</sup> The reality of a dilatory communication disturbing a proper and prompt decision-making soon concerned the British<sup>179</sup> and was recurrent in Portugal mainly during the French Invasions.

The minister plenipotentiary of Britain in Lisbon went further and became a strong supporter of the convocation of Cortes in Portugal. He argued that even if the governors of the Kingdom were efficient, their number was 'as much too large for executive power, as they are certainly too few for legislation' and some legislative acts were immediately necessary to the revenue. The alternative was a 'small efficient Regency, secured, improved and extended by the Cortes' called in the name of the sovereign, for 'its old,

---

*diplomática, militar e política deste reino desde 1777 até 1834. Segunda epocha: Guerra da Península*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1874, vol. 3, p. 33, n. 2.

<sup>177</sup> Villiers emphasised its dangers considering the people uninstructed, which was true, and sanguine, what must be observed attending to the context of the French occupation followed by war. Dispatch no. 31, from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 9 May 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 92r. Months before Villiers had written about the Portuguese People the following: 'extreme loyal and attached to their sovereign - exasperated against the French - naturally brave and capable, with prudent conduct of being made good soldiers'. He added that this opposed the lack of energy of the 'principal persons', following the 'general opinion'. Dispatch no. 1, Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 21 December 1808, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 5r-8v. Some days after, he criticised the Portuguese government: 'the worst oligarchy would be superior to them in point of energy, wisdom or dispatch'. Villiers still believed that, in spite of their loyalty to their Prince, 'all the good and intelligent Portuguese would be delighted' if their government 'was, upon any terms, either temporarily - or permanently confided to His Majesty.' Dispatch no. 1, Villiers to George Canning, 3 January 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 53v, d. 55r. Part of his appreciation of Portugal and some of the Portuguese coincided with others, namely with opinions from his successor, Charles Stuart, and appear to be objective. Nevertheless, his political assertions seem sometimes displaced, even in the British standpoint.

<sup>178</sup> Dispatch no. 31, from J. C. Villiers to George Canning, Lisbon, 9 May 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 90r-93r.

<sup>179</sup> Already in December 1808 Canning had written to Villiers: 'the Distance of Brazil must make it very hazardous to send any peremptory Instructions formed upon the ground of Representations from Europe, without leaving a latitude at least for such Discretionary Departure from them [the Governors] in the Execution, as may possibly be called for by any intervening alteration in the state of affairs'. Dispatch no. 34, Canning to Lord Strangford, Foreign Office, 10 December 1808, PRO, FO 63/61, f 10v-11r.

established legitimate objects, the furnishing of extraordinary aids, the levying extraordinary taxes and making fundamental ordinances'.<sup>180</sup> Villiers persisted on sustaining the Cortes<sup>181</sup> even close to the Bishop of Porto, afterwards Patriarch of Lisbon,<sup>182</sup> but it never became the position of Britain and they did not re-assemble<sup>183</sup> in

---

<sup>180</sup> Dispatch no. 32 from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 14 May 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 102r-108r, mainly f. 103v. In this dispatch Villiers expressed also his disagreement with his diplomatic counterparts in Rio de Janeiro, Lord Strangford, in what concerned the character (and thus the definitive appointment) of the Bishop of Porto, Monteiro Mór and Marquis das Minas 'founded on other suggestions both personal and public'. He stated, besides, that the British General was too preoccupied with his own duties and the British minister could not supply the deficiencies. These were not the sole matters about which the British representatives in Rio and in Lisbon developed different approaches, as we will see. The British government felt the difficulty of articulating their conduct promptly. Therefore Canning had instructed Strangford in order that he and Villiers established direct communication, mainly forwarding to each other copies of the correspondence that both sent to Canning. See draft of dispatch no. 16 from George Canning to Viscount Strangford, Foreign Office, 5 April 1809, PRO, FO 63/69 f. 1r-7r. John Villiers was already writing directly to Strangford. See, for instance, copies of letters from Villiers to Strangford enclosed with dispatch no. 17, Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 14 March 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 214r-218r.

<sup>181</sup> See, for instance, separate dispatch from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 8 August 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 189r-192r; dispatch no. 71, Villiers to Lord Bathurst, Lisbon, 11 November 1809, FO 63/77, f. 184r-194r. Villiers linked the need of the Cortes or other form of representative legislature with the absence of legislative power within the State in Portugal, FO 63/77, f. 185v.

<sup>182</sup> In a conference requested by the Patriarch, Villiers gave him a paper to submit to the Regency, if he did not disapprove. The paper dealt with several matters among which the possibility of 'calling in the Prince Regent's name certain representatives of the nation to assemble' or wait for what happened in Spain... Villiers thought (rightly) that the Patriarch had fear and aversion to it, and deduced (wrongly) that though he answered that he had no official instructions and was cautious, he accepted the anticipation of the Cortes as 'necessary, advantageous and expedient'. Dispatch no. 74, Villiers to Earl Bathurst, Lisbon, 15 November 1809, PRO, FO 63/77, f. 223r-226r. Effectively, a month later the Patriarch communicated to Villiers that he did not consider the measure either pressing or convenient. He thought Spain would not force the question and the Prince Regent had intimated an opinion 'that such a consultation of the nation would be a diminution of His Royal Highness Power'. Dispatch no. 81 from Villiers to Earl Bathurst, Lisbon, 16 December 1809, PRO, FO 63/77, f. 20r-21v, especially f. 20v. Villiers was not convinced. Discouraged by the troubled working of the Portuguese government in the view point of Britain and of the Common Cause he suggested again a British Administration of the affairs 'whether by a British Governor acting with full powers, or a British Minister advising HRH or any representative whom he may send together with an assembly of the ancient and legal authorities of the country'. Dispatch no. 85 from Villiers to Bathurst, Lisbon, 21 December 1809, PRO, FO 63/77, f. 35r-40r, especially, f. 36v-37r. Close to his return to England, he still wrote about the Cortes to the governors of the Kingdom, through the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, following conversations. Copy of a note from Villiers to Forjaz enclosed with dispatch no. 12, from Villiers to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 10 February 1810, PRO, FO 63/78, f. 139r-139v, and f. 141r-146v.

<sup>183</sup> Later on, Charles Stuart, the British extraordinary envoy replacing Villiers, some days after arriving in Lisbon, had corrected the idea that the governors of the Kingdom and the ministers 'looked forward to the Assembly of the Portuguese Cortes'. Dispatch no. 9, from Charles Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon 24 February 1810, PRO: FO 63/89, f. 28r-29r.



face of the fear from the Portuguese authorities<sup>184</sup> and to preserve tranquillity, vital in periods of war.

The Portuguese central administration was working in this turmoil always with two main concerns, the defence of the Kingdom and the financial situation, aggravated by the enormous military effort.<sup>185</sup> As both implied British assistance, Villiers made some observations about the way the Portuguese were governed and administered. Praising especially Forjaz, the secretary for 'War and Marine', he observed that he had 'literally all the business' which was allocated to four different departments in England, but without the authority that was usually entrusted to ministers for the dispatch of the sovereign's business. Forjaz continuously consulted the Regency in all affairs<sup>186</sup>. This required frequent movements between the Palace of Regency (in Rossio) and the War Office, three miles away (in Ajuda).<sup>187</sup> Shortly after his arrival in Portugal, Villiers considered the administration erroneous, mainly in the finances. He advocated the issue of 'fixed laws to support credit' and, on the other hand, noticed the bad collection and application of the revenue to the army or to everything on 'which public confidence, or exertion of any sort can depend'.<sup>188</sup> Later on, when meeting with Sir Arthur Wellesley and Marshall Beresford about the financing of the Army, they agreed that 'in point of exertion, of participation of the burthen, and of the readiness to bear and to impose the pressure of very extraordinary taxes', there was nothing to complain of in relation to the government. However there persisted many errors in the financial system and many defects in the collection and administration of the revenue.<sup>189</sup>

---

<sup>184</sup> Strangford referred to the great alarm it caused in Rio de Janeiro in December 1809, after having received a communication from Villiers. Dispatch no. 43, from Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, Rio de Janeiro, 20 May 1810, PRO, FO 63/84, f. 108r-122v.

<sup>185</sup> In March 1809 the Regency referred, to the following, as the most pressing difficulties: no payment of certain salaries, interest of the public debt withheld and subsistence of the army. Therefore the Regency asked, once more, for Great Britain's aid. Dispatch no. 17, Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 14 March 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 214r-218r.

<sup>186</sup> He 'does not take upon himself the most trifling measure without consultation and direction', Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 5 February 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, 97r. Curiously Forjaz was, more than a year later, accused, by a member the Regency, of carrying out too independently the offices he then held (these and the Foreign Affairs).

<sup>187</sup> Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 5 February 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, 91r-97r.

<sup>188</sup> Dispatch no. 1, Villiers to George Canning, 3 January 1809, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 51r-55v, namely f. 54v.

<sup>189</sup> They concluded that the correction of the errors and defects 'would not afford the relief and the supplies immediately necessary'. Dispatch no. 40 from Villiers to Canning, Abrantes, 15 June 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 155r-158r. Half a year later, Villiers explained why it was not possible to raise money for the war by the reduction of the civil establishment. The members of the Regency did not receive any emolument. Many salaries and payments were withheld. The magistrates were paid so shamefully that it was 'only wonderful' how justice could 'be respected or even borne by

The British introduced some administrative procedures with the purpose of better control of the revenue and especially of the pecuniary assistance that they gave to the Portuguese Army. In January 1810, the money was issued under the joint control of Bell, the British commissary general, and of Joaquim da Costa the paymaster of the Army, and expended under the superintendence of Marshall Beresford.<sup>190</sup> On the other hand, the British representative in Lisbon had to authorize the commissary general to give the bills payable in England<sup>191</sup> to the head officer of the Portuguese Treasury.

Villiers did not interfere directly in the ruling of Portugal. But he worked as a link between the Portuguese government and several British military authorities. His main interlocutor was Forjaz, as *secretário dos Negócios da Guerra*.<sup>192</sup> Besides, he offered his services to the governors of the Kingdom,<sup>193</sup> gave them advice, sometimes confidential<sup>194</sup>

---

the people'. The taxes amounted on the property from the crown to four tenths and on others to a smaller proportion. Royal expenses were suppressed or removed to Brazil, debts were not paid, and old servants of the Crown were reduced and in some cases the days of work diminished. Dispatch no. 8, from Villiers to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 24 January 1810, PRO, FO 63/78, f. 110r-124r, especially f. 115r.

<sup>190</sup> Although the financial and war records are not the focus of this work, it seems worthy to refer to the way these procedures worked out between Portuguese and British authorities. The receipts for the money issued by the British commissary and the paymaster of the Portuguese Army were given by Ribeiro to Villiers. Ribeiro was the Portuguese official of the *Erário* authorised to sign them, initially by Freire, the President of the *Real Erário* and *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros*. The paymaster kept the money, when issued in paper, in a separate chest, and produced regularly to Bell exhaustive vouchers of its expenditure. The latter were compared afterwards with Beresford's reports. The paymaster was also charged with sending the money to the regiments. This was made not by regimental paymasters, as in Britain, but by the *Junta dos Viveres* (Committee for Provisions), a Commissary General. Villiers thought this avoided risks and expenses unbearable in Portugal. The Junta received, from the paymaster of the Army, the amount of the proportion of the provisions issued to the troops in British pay. At the time, the British had not yet interfered in the particular payments to the persons from whom these provisions were obtained. But this was under discussion. The plan suggested by the *secretário dos Negócios da Guerra* Forjaz was, according to Villiers and significantly, 'that which would most divert the Portuguese Government both of power, patronage, or interference upon the subject'. Dispatch no. 8, from Villiers to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 24 January 1810, PRO, FO 63/78, f. 110r-124r, especially f. 113v.

<sup>191</sup> Dispatch no. 9, Villiers to Marquis Wellesey, Lisbon, 27 January 1810, PRO, FO 63/78, f. 127r.

<sup>192</sup> See, for instance, 'Extracto das notas e cartas...de Mr. Villiers...' (Extract of the notes and letters... from Mr. Villiers) to Forjaz, 1808-1810, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133. Villiers sent him letters from General Drummond, in Gibraltar, f. 3v, from General Cradock, f. 5r, from Wellesley, f. 23v. Villiers requested Forjaz for information to transmit to Wellesley, f. 6v, or used him as a channel to communicate with the governors of the Kingdom, f. 7r. The matters were mainly military and with a financial correlation: the number of Portuguese soldiers and officers, supplies, transports, accommodations, evolution of the war.

<sup>193</sup> See, for instance, dispatch from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 23 May 1809, FO 63/76, f. 126r-128v, and enclosed copy of a representation from Villiers to the Governors of the Kingdom, f. 134r.

<sup>194</sup> See, for instance, Villiers to Forjaz, 7 February 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 30r.

and, more than once, attended their sessions.<sup>195</sup> But at the end of 1809, the Regency was forbidden by the Prince Regent to negotiate with him, except in cases of extreme urgency, and ordered to direct matters to D. Domingos de Souza, the Portuguese Minister in London.<sup>196</sup> This situation was about to change in 1810. The British increasing financial assistance,<sup>197</sup> following the decision to seat its army in Lisbon and not in Cadiz, as a Peninsular base against the French,<sup>198</sup> led to a closer control of the government in Portugal.

In October 1809, the governors of the Kingdom received new and important orders concerning their composition and the high command of the Anglo-Portuguese military forces. They resulted mostly from negotiations between Strangford, the British minister in Rio de Janeiro, and on the one hand, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* and, on the other the Prince

---

<sup>195</sup> Sometimes invited by them, to discuss public finances. Dispatch from Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 10 June 1809, PRO, FO 63/76, f. 143r-144v. On other occasions, to influence and hurry the governors on important decisions, such as the replacement of other governors, as in the case of Freire, on 25 October 1809. Register of the conta no. 43, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 21 April 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 88v-91r. Or to support obvious British interests as on 18 December 1809, when Villiers presented a proposal to introduce forbidden merchandise and to reduce custom duties, in order to receive an immediate answer (which he did not receive). Register of conta no. 32, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 5 January 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 64r-66r.

<sup>196</sup> Villiers attributed it either to the temporary jealousy of Mr. de Sousa against the Regency or to a general policy of the Court at Rio de Janeiro, considering it irrelevant to him. Dispatch no. 87, Villiers to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 27 December 1809, PRO, FO 63/78, f. 59v-60v. The former was certainly one of the factors. Besides, Villiers' favourable and insistent position on the assembling of the Cortes in Portugal did not please the Crown.

<sup>197</sup> This assistance had obviously economical and political compensations. See, for instance, as regards to the 1810 Anglo-Portuguese Treaties of Commerce and Alliance, Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 209-233; about the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance as the minor risk and the difficulty that the Portuguese had to understand the dangers or the excessive pressures from the Atlantic, in 1810, i.e. from Great Britain, see Macedo, *História Diplomática de Portugal*, p. 364 and mainly pp. 369-372.

<sup>198</sup> Muir observed that this resulted not from a well thought out plan but from an attempt to safeguard an obtained advantage. Initially, for Great Britain, the strategic benefits of Lisbon were not evident and Portugal was vulnerable military and financially. But following Muir, this weakness, already perceived by Wellesley 'enabled the British to force through the painful but essential reforms that were to make the Portuguese troops an integral part of Wellington's army'. *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 87. At the time, not all the British high authorities foresaw the mutual benefits for Portugal and Britain. For instance, Lieutenant Colonel Bailey was almost perplexed with the British position regarding to Portugal. Thus, he wrote to Canning: 'The example of such a colony [Portugal, in relation to Brazil] scarce governed at all, but maintained and defended solely by the power and at the expences of a country to which it does not belong, will be one of the phenomena in Politics, which some times historians are puzzled to explain, but which in the present instance will be equally inexplicable'. Lt. Col. Bayly to Canning, secret, 30 May 1809, enclosed with dispatch no. 32, from Villiers to Canning, PRO, FO, 63/76, f. 109r.

Regent.<sup>199</sup> The number of governors was reduced to three, which were entitled to vote in all the matters of the public service. They were the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, the Marquis das Minas and the Marquis Monteiro-Mór. D. Francisco Xavier de Noronha and D. Francisco da Cunha Meneses were discharged from the government but held the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*<sup>200</sup> and the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço*, respectively. The Prince Regent appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley Marshall General of Portugal's Armies, while commanding the English and Portuguese Combined Forces over Marshall Beresford. The Portuguese sovereign ordered also that Wellesley had to be asked for advice in all the main decisions about the defence of the Kingdom and of the Peninsula, related to military arrangement and financial matters. Therefore, he would be called to attend the corresponding government's sessions or, during his absence in the Army, he should be informed by writing.<sup>201</sup>

These royal decisions resulted from the combination of the British policy of strengthening the anti French forces in the Continent through the Peninsula<sup>202</sup>, with the Portuguese need of defending the Kingdom. In what concerned the reduction of the

---

<sup>199</sup> See, for instance, copy of dispatch from Strangford to Villiers, Rio de Janeiro, 10 July 1809, enclosed with dispatch no. 58, Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 27 September 1809, PRO, FO 63/77, f. 66r-85v. The perception that Strangford had about the government and politics in Portugal and specifically about individuals did not coincide with Villiers' analysis, as these dispatches show. The difference of understanding increased afterwards, in relation to Charles Stuart, the successor of Villiers, and Arthur Wellesley. Strangford was close to D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho a true defender of the Anglo Portuguese Cause. But there were strong tensions between the personal connections of D. Rodrigo, namely his brothers in London and in Lisbon, and the supporters of the Common Cause really acting in Portugal, such as D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz. The administration of Portugal (and its defence) was affected by this in a recurrent way, during the following years, as we it will be seen. For a detailed insight of how these factions influenced the daily exertion of power in Portugal, see the following complementary PhD dissertations: Mildred L. Fryman, 'Charles Stuart and the "Common Cause": The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, 1810-1814', 2 vol., Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University: 1974; Francisco de la Fuente, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: his early career and role in the mobilization and defence of Portugal during the Peninsular War, 1807-1814', Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University: 1980. Valentim Alexandre mentioned briefly that D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, his brother in London, D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, and Strangford co-ordinated often their action, in order to influence both governments and also to support reciprocally their personal positions. See *Os sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>200</sup> As noted above, it supervised over the ecclesiastical affairs.

<sup>201</sup> Royal letter from the Prince Regent to the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of the Rio de Janeiro, 6 July 1809, IAN/TT, mç. 242, registered in IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 33-36. It was published in Lisbon in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 148, 21 November 1809.

<sup>202</sup> The British commitment to defend Portugal was not so obvious in Britain in early 1809. The secretary of state for the Foreign Office, George Canning, worked hard to achieve it, also with the support of Sir Arthur Wellesley. See Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 84-87. Again, the Sousa Coutinhos were deeply involved. See Brian R. April, 'The Sousa Coutinho family and the influence of Portugal on British policy, 1808-1812', (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University 1994).

government, it apparently derived from the efforts of a Portuguese faction to remove personalities allegedly more pro French, together with London's expectation that it improved the administration of Portugal. The Portuguese minister in London had never ceased to manoeuvre with that purpose namely with the British Foreign secretary.<sup>203</sup>

After receiving these instructions, the Regency invited Sir Arthur Wellesley, then Duke of Wellington, to attend a session exclusively about the provisioning of the Portuguese Army. This was, however, sporadic. Meanwhile Freire, the head officer of the Real Erário and *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, declared, again, his intention of retiring. In October 1809 he was succeeded initially *ad interim*, by the Count of Redondo, D. Fernando Maria de Sousa Coutinho on the Erário, and by Forjaz on Foreign Affairs.<sup>204</sup>

---

<sup>203</sup> Draft of dispatch no. 16 from George Canning to Viscount Strangford, Foreign Office, 5 April 1809, PRO, FO 63/69 f. 1r-7r. Canning mentioned the names of the three governors that were eventually appointed by the Prince Regent as having been not compliant with the French 'according to what is collected as the general opinion of the Portuguese Nation, which opinion is also that of the Chevalier de Souza', f 5r-5v. Besides, he considered that it was 'Advisable to admit in the seats vacated the British Minister in Portugal and the General commanding the combined armies'. The former aim was reached afterwards. Although appreciating De Souza's opinion, Canning directed Strangford to suggest that a straight line of communication should be kept between the Portuguese Government and the Prince Regent in Brazil, avoiding the delay and jealousy provoked by the fact that it passed through the Portuguese minister in London. As we will analyse from the standpoint of the creation and keeping of the records, D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho had a favoured channel of communication with his brother D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Brazil and simultaneously with his brother in Lisbon, the Principal Sousa, later Governor of the Kingdom. Significantly, when arriving in Portugal, Villiers had a private conversation with the latter, though stating to Canning that he was 'not engaged in public affairs'. Dispatch no. 1, J. C. Villiers to George Canning, Lisbon, 21 December 1808, PRO, FO 63/75, f. 5r-8v.

<sup>204</sup> Although Freire alleged health problems, he apparently was mortified by the restriction on his financial functions and disliked the Patriarch of Lisbon, then presiding over the Regency. Dispatch no. 66, Villiers to Canning, Lisbon, 25 October 1809, PRO, FO 63/77, f. 147r-153r. The governors of the Kingdom explained to the Prince Regent their acceptance of Freire's request of dismissal due to his insistence and to the fact that, although he exerted his duties, he never went out of home. The grounds that they stated for their choice was, in the case of the Count of Redondo, the fact that though young, he was restrained, clever, zealous, exact and circumspect, and a good administrator of his father's household. Forjaz was selected because he corresponded to the 'concept' the Prince Regent had about him and because, with the Army's organisation, he had no more impediments. Register of the conta no. 27, 27 October 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 57r-57v. Forjaz was in charge of the Foreign Affairs in the end of October 1809, most probably on 31. Villiers to Forjaz, 31 de October 1809, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 25r. The Count of Redondo held the office simultaneously, on 31 October 1809. Register of conta no. 28, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 8 November 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 57v. The acceptance of Freire's dismissal and the replacements by the Regency were disapproved of by the Prince Regent for more than a year, but they acted effectively meanwhile. As late as January 1810, the Prince Regent deplored it, aggravated by the fact that the appointments were issued by decrees and that Redondo was entitled President of the Erário instead of Director-General. All this happened in opposition to the royal letters of 11 and 2 January 1809, thus the Prince Regent decided against the Governor's decisions. Register of the aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 13 January 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 98-101. The Prince Regent even directed to

In mid December 1809, the governors of the Kingdom received another royal letter<sup>205</sup> enlarging their previously established jurisdiction and considering the concerns they had raised in May.<sup>206</sup> The long preamble of the letter considered the main reasons that the governors had alleged for their criticism, namely the vassals' feeling that there was a royal will to establish a colonial government in the Kingdom, while they were used to consider it as the seat of the Monarchy. It also referred to the urgency of execution of many of the governmental deliberations disturbed by the delays in the arrival of the royal decisions. It acknowledged the procedures followed by the governors but it did not avoid misunderstandings and conflicts between the governments in Brazil and in Portugal and an intricate and inevitably slow system of decision making, with the parallel ways to escape from it.

Firstly, the Prince Regent authorised the Lisbon's government to take measures in the royal name for everything that seemed necessary to be immediately carried out. But they must be justified to him and be issued by *avisos* and *portarias* and not *alvarás* and *decrees*, in the sequence of what it was already established on 11 January 1809. In the second place, the less urgent matters had to be proposed and politically upheld before being carried out. Thirdly, the appointment of magistrates should be proposed six months before the end of the respective tri-year post. When absolutely necessary, due to the minister's failure or to the convenience of the royal service, the governors were allowed to appoint them and had to inform the Prince Regent in order that the corresponding letter was issued. It happened often.<sup>207</sup> In the fourth place, the promotions in the *tribunais* should be previously submitted to the Prince Regent. Next followed a determination that affected a great part of the daily work of the whole central administration. When the

---

the Patriarch a secret authorization to the governors of the Kingdom to replace Freire ad interim, in both posts, if his illness aggravated, by the Councillor of Finance, Francisco da Horta e Machado. Register of the aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 17 January 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 2v-3r. Contradictory decisions on the ruling of Portugal, such as these, continued till 1814. They resulted from the intrigues of political factions and family's clientele. On the other hand, the quickness and importance of the events in Portugal in those years collided with the slow system of communication and decision making between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>205</sup> Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 30 de August 1809, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242, registered in IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 53-60.

<sup>206</sup> *The Prince Regent asked for opinion on the answer to these concerns. The opinion of D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra, seems to have inspired the first paragraph of the royal letter. Representation from D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to the Prince Regent, Rio de Janeiro, 16 August 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 639, pac. 1,58.*

<sup>207</sup> The expression 'By convenience of service' ('*Por conveniência de serviço*') is still used in the Civil Service to justify an extraordinary appointment more frequently than it was supposed to.

governors of the Kingdom received royal resolutions, presupposing the issuing of documents that depended on the royal signature, such as *alvarás* and royal letters, they should carry out them immediately, by *avisos* or *portarias*. This applied to the appointment to posts or to the presentation of ecclesiastical benefices. In the latter case the bishops should be informed and, in their turn, grant the respective *confirmações* (confirmations) and *colações* (collations). A reasonable period would be determined during which the letters and *alvarás* signed by the sovereign had to be presented. The respective departments and offices of the Kingdom issued these documents, as it was usual, and sent them to Brazil for the royal signature. The sequent *despachos* (decisions) and registers were completed in the *estações* (departments) of the Kingdom. This determination, though complicating the pathways followed by the documents even during their creation, pleased the clerks of the offices of the Kingdom, as they went on receiving the corresponding emoluments. The Prince Regent also ordered that if the royal letters and *alvarás* were not presented in due time the assignment would be suspended or annulled. Besides, the officials of the *Secretarias* in the Kingdom could go on being called officials of the *Secretarias de Estado*, thus keeping their privileges. Finally, the Prince Regent authorized the governors of the Kingdom to keep on establishing convenient commissions and jurisdictions to prosecute who threatened the state security, the independence of the nation or the royal sovereignty. They could order the execution of all the sentences, without royal confirmation, including death penalties, on the contrary to what had been determined in January 1809. On the other hand, the governors should propose to the Prince Regent all grants of awards to those who distinguished themselves in the royal service. In special cases, they could concede the award immediately, but had to inform him.

At the time, the British government ‘concentrated on the defence of Portugal’.<sup>208</sup> At the beginning of 1810, several units of the French Army were located in the Peninsula. Masséna led the forces to invade Portugal at the north of the Tagus. Soult commanded the bodies supposed also to conquer the country, but to the south of the same river. Meanwhile the Portuguese Army proceeded to its reorganization<sup>209</sup> under the resolute direction of Beresford. The Regency had so fully confided it to the Marshall that, according to Villiers, ‘the promotion of any officer in any rank however connected with the regency, or approved of, is asked and is acknowledged as a matter of favour from the

---

<sup>208</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 116.

<sup>209</sup> Vicente, ‘A tempestade napoleónica’ pp. 25.

commander in chief.<sup>210</sup> But the discipline that he introduced and especially the fact that he ignored social status in the evaluation of the performance of the officers, changing radically the criteria of promotions, originated deep resentments. The Marquis das Minas, governor of the Kingdom, was one of the displeased. Apparently he only attended the government to protect some officers against the rigour of Beresford.<sup>211</sup> The malaise had given rise to the Marquis das Minas's request to be dispensed with by the government, what was initially refused by the Regency and by the Prince Regent.<sup>212</sup> The question of the performance of the duty, which was not exclusive to military, reappeared with some frequency, as it was vital during wartime.<sup>213</sup>

The new British minister in Lisbon, Charles Stuart, observed that in spite of the government being zealous, it was not energetic and there was animosity among its members and a certain fear of the superior authorities in Brazil, whose dread of directions caused embarrassment. The arrangements recommended relating to the movements of the army, the carriage of stores and provisions were unattended to by the Regency, disobeyed or very slowly obeyed. In his opinion, which the facts seem to corroborate, there was a willingness to transmit the acts of severity to Great Britain, not coupled, at the time, with authority to alter the existing bad system.<sup>214</sup> On the other hand, the responsibility attached to the authors of any plan proposed for the improvement of revenue not previously

---

<sup>210</sup> Dispatch no. 8, from Villiers to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 24 January 1810, PRO, FO 63/78, f. 110r-124r.

<sup>211</sup> Translation of the letter from Villiers to D. Miguel Forjaz, Lisbon, 7 February 1810, enclosed with dispatch no. 11, from Villiers to Marquis Wellesley, 27 February 1810, PRO, FO 63/78, f. 136r-138v.

<sup>212</sup> Register of conta no. 34, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 26 January 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 67r-72r. When the Marquis das Minas was informed of the sovereign's refusal, he went to a session of the Regency, where, after having voted in some of the affairs, he declared his decision not to remain because the English were disaffected to him, though he also alleged illness. This allegation extended to the Patriarch and to Salter de Mendonça, probably due to the disagreeable state of mind prevailing among governors. Register of conta no. 38, 26 February 1810, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 78v-79v. According to Charles Stuart, who replaced Villiers, the Marquis das Minas shared the feeling of discontent relating to the discipline introduced by Marshall Beresford with Souza, the Portuguese representative in London, and his brothers, wishing to place the army under the command of the Portuguese *Fidalgos*. Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 4 April 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 243r-246v.

<sup>213</sup> One of the subjects of the discussions between Charles Stuart and the government was precisely the need 'to place in the hands of Marshall Beresford' authority to compel the performance of the duty on the part of the subordinate departments, and to support the Marshall 'by the invariable Punishment of every person who shall not implicitly obey him' f. 202v. Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 31 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 202r-205v, especially f. 202v.

<sup>214</sup> Dispatch no. 9, Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 24 February 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 24r-29v.



submitted to the ‘Noblemen in power at Bresil’, compelled the governors to bring forward unauthorised petitions for assistance from England.<sup>215</sup> Stuart and Wellington went further in their observations on the working of the government and of the administration. Stuart considered that there was an abdication of power and fear of punishing persons who neglected their duties. People accustomed themselves either to disregard the governors of the Kingdom’s decrees or to see them enforced with partial oppression and according to personal predilection and thus complained ‘with apparent reason of every measure where the service of the State trenches on the comforts of the individual’.<sup>216</sup> On the other hand, one of the most prominent defects of the government was ‘to avoid to contemplate of distant unfavourable events’.<sup>217</sup> Wellington pointed out a fault common to the governmental officers and pervading the whole community. This was, in his words: ‘a neglect and indifference, whether those placed under him do their duty, or what the law requires of them, owing to an opinion too general prevalent, that the duties of superiors are confined to the issue of orders, and that it is inconsistent with the practice and character of a mild government to oblige those placed under authority to obey orders, and all classes of the community to perform the duties imposed upon them by the law’.<sup>218</sup>

The imminence of another French invasion and the urgency of a determined defence did not comply with governmental and administrative uncertainties. Wellington, to defend Portugal relied on three major factors. One factor was the Anglo-Portuguese Forces, which implied a rebuilt regular Army of Portugal, helped by the less trained Militia and the untrained *Ordenanças*. The system of triple sets of fortifications, including the building of the afterwards well-known Lines of Torres Vedras was the second. The policy of scorched earth was the final component that became arduous to execute<sup>219</sup> and generated strong conflicts between the governors of the Kingdom and with the British. More than ever Britain had to be sure of the maximum effort of the

---

<sup>215</sup> Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 17 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 98r-101v.

<sup>216</sup> Dispatch no. 27, Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 18 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 141-147r, especially f. 145r-145v.

<sup>217</sup> Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 31 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 202r-205v.

<sup>218</sup> Copy of a letter from Wellington to Stuart, Viseu, 14 March 1810, enclosed with dispatch no. 27, Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 18 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 155r-156v, especially f. 156v.

<sup>219</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 126-128. See also Simão José da Luz Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal. Compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834. Segunda epocha: Guerra da Peninsula*, vol. 3, pp. 52-54.

government and of the whole administration to exert promptly the decisions undertaken.  
So it happened with a major innovation in the Regency and an effective allied action  
combined by Portuguese and British head officers.

### 3.2.3 Reorganisation of the Regency and its working, 1810-1814

In June 1810, the troops of the French General Masséna surrounded the Spanish town of Ciudad Rodrigo, not far from the Portuguese North eastern Province of Beira, and conquered it on 10 July 1810, with the purpose of installing there the general depot of the Army of Portugal.<sup>220</sup> At the end of July, the French made several incursions in the north of Portugal<sup>221</sup> and on 27 August, the French occupied, in an unexpected way the fortress of Almeida, near the frontier.<sup>222</sup> This allowed them to begin their march to the interior of the country in mid September, sooner than Wellington had expected. He decided to withdraw and, after manoeuvring the Anglo-Portuguese Army to the mountain of Buçaco, won there a battle against the French forces in 27 September 1810. Following this, Wellington withdrew fast to the Lines of Torres Vedras around Lisbon, crossing Coimbra, which the French entered at the end of September.<sup>223</sup>

In parallel, the inhabitants of the places menaced by the enemy's army were ordered to abandon their houses and lands and to destroy all the belongings they could not take with them and that might provide the subsistence for the enemy, such as grain or animals.<sup>224</sup> Therefore, a growing number of dispossessed people from the Provinces of Beira and Estremadura fled to Lisbon accompanied by the Anglo-Portuguese Army followed, in its turn, by Masséna's Army, which stopped before the fortifications of Torres Vedras.<sup>225</sup> In the autumn of 1810, a period of several months began, during which Wellington waited for the French to withdraw due chiefly to the absence of supplies, fatigue and illness. This apparent inactivity, the tribulations of the people that ran away to

---

<sup>220</sup> Simão José da Luz Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil e do Estabelecimento do Governo Parlamentar em Portugal. Compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834. Segunda Época: Guerra da Peninsula*, vol. 3, pp. 23-24.

<sup>221</sup> Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil...*, vol. 3, pp. 58-62,

<sup>222</sup> The capitulation of Almeida followed an accident that destroyed artillery, munitions and powder that shocked people and aroused suspicions of treason. This episode was one of the base for the so-called *Setembrizada*, i.e. the imprisonment and deportation to the Azores, ordered by the Governors in September 1810, of people suspected of sympathy with the French, and thus allegedly dangerous in war time. Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil...*, vol. 3, pp. 72, 84-98.

<sup>223</sup> Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica' p. 25.

<sup>224</sup> These orders were initially issued both by the government and by the high commander of the Anglo-Portuguese Forces but the governors delegated in the British generals the systematic and severe determination to concentrate these people in Lisbon. Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil...*, vol. 3, pp. 119-122. This was due part to the Government's incapacity of being obeyed, part to the disagreement of some governors in relation to it. See also Francisco de la Fuente, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: his early career and role in the mobilization and defence of Portugal during the Peninsular War, 1807-1814', vol. 1, p. 135.

<sup>225</sup> Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica' pp. 25-26.

the capital and the fear that the British might leave caused misunderstandings and conflicts in the government and between some of its members and the British. Though it seems that Britain's policy as well as Wellington's determination was not to abandon Lisbon,<sup>226</sup> this possibility had to be considered.<sup>227</sup> The Council of Regency issued a proclamation assigning Portuguese and English ships to receive public and private belongings, respectively.<sup>228</sup> On the other hand the removal of the Regency was discussed.<sup>229</sup>

Meanwhile, the composition of the government was altered again.<sup>230</sup> The most important innovation was the appointment, in response to Britain's representations, of Charles Stuart, British envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, as a member of the government, empowered to vote on financial and military affairs, in specific sessions. The Prince Regent also appointed the Principal Sousa, Count of Redondo Fernando Maria de Sousa Coutinho and *Doutor* Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, Rector of the *Real Colégio dos Nobres*<sup>231</sup> to the government. On the other hand, he accepted the dismissal of Marquis das Minas.

The Principal Sousa, whose complete name was José António de Meneses e Sousa, brother of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Brazil and of the Portuguese minister in London had been suggested by Strangford to the

---

<sup>226</sup> Already in January and February 1810, following the fall of the neighbour Andalusia in French hands, the British discussed the eventuality of the evacuation of Portugal, opting for it only if 'absolutely necessary'. Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>227</sup> Wellington communicated to the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* that though he thought the withdrawal unlikely, he decided to order the shipment of the supplies and luggage of the British Army and of the supplies, arms and artillery of the Portuguese Army, as well as the most important functionaries of the government. Lord Wellington to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, 9 October 1810, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 7, no. 14.

<sup>228</sup> Dispatch from Stuart to Hamilton, 13 October 1810, PRO, FO, 63/93, f. 224r-225r. The public belongings included public records, as it will be seen.

<sup>229</sup> As the Principal Sousa and the Patriarch refused even to consider the idea of retiring to Azores or Brazil, the British Minister for the Foreign Office instructed Stuart to persuade the Regency to discuss the transfer to the Northern Provinces. Wellesley advised Stuart to avoid any appearance of abandonment of the cause of Portugal even after the hypothetical fall of Lisbon. Draft of dispatch no. 44, from Wellesley to Stuart, 21 October 1810, PRO, FO 63/82, f. 120r-120v.

<sup>230</sup> Register of royal decree, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 24 May 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 129-131. The governors of the Kingdom received it in the beginning of August 1810. Register of conta no. 56, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 16 August 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 113r-115v.

<sup>231</sup> Royal College of Nobles, a school established in Lisbon in 1761 by the Marquis of Pombal to the young noblemen, with the level more or less equivalent to a secondary school, but with the purpose preparing them to hold the relevant posts of the government. See Rómulo de Carvalho, 'Nobres, Colégio dos' in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, [Lisbon]: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1979, vol. 4, pp. 384-385.

Prince Regent in an arrangement with the former. He was a tool to diminish what Strangford expressed as the ‘enormous power and influence of some of the subaltern agents of the Government at Lisbon, particularly of the secretaries of the various Departments’ i. e. Forjaz and Salter de Mendonça.<sup>232</sup> This was true and, in relation to Forjaz, obvious, but was due to their practical engagement in making the necessary arrangements for the defence of Portugal, in straight cooperation with the British commanders, namely Wellington, and with Charles Stuart. The Marshal General as well as the latter had been supporting Forjaz and disagreed with the destruction of the ‘secretarial influence’. Already before the appointment of the Principal Sousa, Stuart had expressed his disagreement with the Foreign Office minister.<sup>233</sup> On the other hand, Wellington and Stuart suspected (wrongly) that Nogueira would align with the Principal Sousa’s positions. Besides, Wellington did not understand how someone of a low status and without political experience was chosen for the government<sup>234</sup> and Stuart transmitted a similar opinion.<sup>235</sup> Nogueira had lectured on the Law Faculty at the University of Coimbra and was a well-known jurist. He had been the solicitor of the English Factory at Oporto and thus was fluent in English.<sup>236</sup> The third Portuguese new member was the Count of Redondo, who already held the Royal Treasury and participated in the government, following the Cipriano Ribeiro Freire’s requests of dismissal.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>232</sup> See, for instance, dispatch no. 43, from Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, Rio de Janeiro, 20 May 1810, PRO, FO 63/84, f. 108r-122v.

<sup>233</sup> Stuart stated that this would have the effect of overturning the government and increasing ‘the evils of a correspondence between different members of the same family, which has already been complained of in Bresil –at London- and in this place’ f. 57r. Dispatch no. 57, from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 29 April 1810, PRO, FO 63/90, f. 56r-57v.

<sup>234</sup> Wellington made acid remarks to Charles Stuart about it. Dispatch from Wellington to Stuart, Celorico, 4 August 1810, partially published by Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil...*, vol. 3, pp. 139-140, n. 1.

<sup>235</sup> Stuart wrote, for instance, that Nogueira was ‘a person whose birth and situation do not, in the opinion of the Portuguese, qualify him for this situation’. Dispatch no. 123, from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 4 August 1810, PRO, FO 63/91, f. 301r-304r, especially f. 302r.

<sup>236</sup> Fryman, ‘Charles Stuart and the “Common Cause”: the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, 1810-1814’ vol. 1, pp. 193-194.

<sup>237</sup> The intricate proceedings of the royal approval of the replacement of Freire by the Count of Redondo at the Royal Treasury – and Forjaz at Foreign Affairs - came to an end on August 1810. Simultaneously Freire was appointed president of the *Junta do Comércio* by the royal decree 17 August 1810. Register of aviso from Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 18 August 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 166-168. Apparently there remained some doubts regarding the royal will in relation to the replacement of Freire by Forjaz but they were dissipated in February 1811 in Rio de Janeiro and in May 1811 in Lisbon. Register of aviso from Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 3 February 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 220-222; register of conta no. 97, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 16 May 1811. IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 186r-188v. This did not mean that the attempts to remove Forjaz ceased.

The three Portuguese appointees began to serve on 9 August<sup>238</sup>. Although Stuart and Wellington disapproved of this governmental change and did not even discern the advantage of a British participation in such a divided government<sup>239</sup> they agreed that the former had to enter it. Stuart, following Wellington's suggestion,<sup>240</sup> waited for the British King's consent, which he had requested through the British Government, and thus only began to attend the government on 24 September 1810<sup>241</sup>. At this time six members or governors and two secretaries composed the government.<sup>242</sup>

Still before the effective inclusion of the British representative in the government the question of his jurisdiction arose. The governors of the Kingdom, in their proclamation dated 13 August 1810, when mentioning the nomination of Charles Stuart confined him to running Finance and military affairs, following the royal decree. But Stuart reminded them that the letter received from Lord Strangford said 'distinctly' that he was 'to vote on all affairs not connected with the established religion of the country thus including the government of the Interior'. He considered that this was 'perhaps' the department in which his assistance could 'most materially further the operations of the army'.<sup>243</sup> In fact, in wartime, within the country, the coordination in the ruling of War

---

<sup>238</sup> Register of conta no. 56, governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 16 August 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 113r-115v.

<sup>239</sup> Stuart observed that he would only be useful in the Regency to check 'the wild propositions which infallibly emanate from Principal Sousa and Dr. Nogueira' while the British government was exposed to the burden of all odious measures. Dispatch no. 123, from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 4 August 1810, PRO, FO 63/91, f. 301r-304r, especially f. 302r.

<sup>240</sup> Copy of letter from Wellington to Stuart, Celorico, 3 August 1810, enclosed with dispatch from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, PRO, FO 63/92, f. 58r-59v.

<sup>241</sup> Register of conta no. 65, governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 8 October 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 127r-128. The governors referred to his appointment in their proclamation from 13 August 1810, calling the nation for the country's salvation, the trust in the government and the friendship with Great Britain. Pub. in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 196 (16 de Agosto de 1810), [pp. 2-3].

<sup>242</sup> In the mentioned royal decree the Prince Regent qualified the new appointees as members of the government not using the word governors, which in practice seemed irrelevant. The secretaries were the same: João António Salter de Mendonça, for Kingdom and Finance Affairs, and D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz for Foreign and War Affairs. The governors of the Kingdom were the following: the Patriarch Elect, (before Bishop of Porto) the Marquis Monteiro-Mór, the Count of Redondo, Dr. Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, the Principal Sousa and Charles Stuart.

<sup>243</sup> Stuart wrote a letter to the governors of the Kingdom criticising several aspects of the proclamation. He stated, also, that his nomination should be published in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, the official newspaper. See dispatch no. 135, from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 18 August 1810, PRO, FO 63/92, f. 166r-169v, especially f. 168v-169r. On the other hand, the terms used by Strangford in relation to the scope of the jurisdiction proposed to the Prince Regent for the British minister as an executive member of the Council of Government did not coincide with the proclamation from the governors of the Kingdom. He should have a 'voice upon all matters but ecclesiastical and civil administration of the Interior'. Dispatch no. 43 from Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, Rio de Janeiro, 20 May 1810, PRO, FO 63/84, f. 108r-122v.

Affairs and Interior Affairs of the Kingdom was essential. Several of the military acts depended on the carrying out of measures to be taken by the civil authorities. The limits were tenuous and thus the interference of Stuart grew. This was one of the reasons or pretexts for conflicts in the government.

During the campaign against the French in the Province of Beira, the renewed government met first on 9 August 1810, still without the presence of Stuart. The Principal Sousa presented a detailed plan of reform of the government, which envisaged breaking down the autonomy of the *Secretarias do Governo*.<sup>244</sup> Though this ended by being refused, following a tempestuous debate, its exposition and that of the counter arguments introduces us to the system of working of the Government, including several procedures about creation and usage of documents.

Firstly, the Principal Sousa proposed that the Regency should work daily. Then, followed a long list of documentary practices, implying extensive administrative control by the governors of the Kingdom. The requests had to be handed over firstly to the governors. There should be produced a diary with two margins to register these requests and, in the margins, the forwarding and the final decision to be submitted to the government. Hence the governors could know the orders even if they had been absent. The secret documents should be sent also to the Regency and registered in another secret book. Both books would be in charge of an *oficial maior* (senior official), such as João Filipe da Fonseca, who would choose other trustworthy officers to assist him. None of the *avisos* and orders from the *Secretarias do Governo* could be issued without the initials of the senior official in the corresponding *minutas* (minutes).<sup>245</sup> The secretaries were not allowed to proceed administratively without the governments' permission, for instance, to

---

<sup>244</sup> Vote of the Principal Sousa, s.a., enclosed with *representação* from the Patriarch Elect to the Prince Regent, [September 1810], ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,29. Nogueira also related the proposal of the Principal Sousa and the Regency's sessions where this was submitted. See Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, 'Memoria das cousas mais notaveis, que se trataram nas Conferencias do Governo destes Reinos, desde o dia 9 de Agosto de 1810, em que entrei a servir o lugar de hum dos Governadores ate 5 de Fevereiro de 1820', vol. 1, BN, COD 6848, pp. 22, 49-50. This *memoria* is a memorandum of the conferences of the government, written by Nogueira, during the period that he held the post of governor of the Kingdom, August 1810 till February 1820. He began to write the memorandum only on November 1810, so he had to recall some of the most noted facts of the three previous months. Although he meant the memorandum to be a 'most secret repository of his thoughts accessible only to a very intimate friend', he predicted the chance of them to become more public. BN, COD 6848, p. 1. See still Stuart's observations, dispatch no. 135, Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 18 August 1810, PRO, FO 63/92, f. 166r-169v.

<sup>245</sup> Nogueira, recalling the Principal Sousa's proposal, refers also to his suggestion of appointing an official of the *Secretaria dos Negócios do Reino* or of a porter, to receive the requests, to list and number them.

order the requests to be informed on or to be attested by documents. The Principal Sousa appears to have gone further. The secretaries should open the letters only at government meetings. On the other hand they should not work at home. Finally, a trustworthy official should attend the government meetings in order to write the minutes to be sent to the Prince Regent.

There was a heated discussion of the proposal, which was subjected to the strong criticism of secretary Forjaz and a less sharp appreciation by secretary Salter de Mendonça, who felt rightly that they were the targets. Their arguments, namely Forjaz's, recreate in part how the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretarias* worked and how they dealt with the petitions. Salter remembered the effort made with daily sessions lasting 6, 8 and more hours.<sup>246</sup>

Forjaz dismantled the proposal step by step.<sup>247</sup> The daily sessions of the Regency were inconvenient for the secretaries, as they had to prepare the work, answer the correspondence, give audiences, and participate in other activities. On the other hand, the fault of the Portuguese administration was the fact that all requests went first to the supreme authority. This then took charge of the work that would belong to 10,000 functionaries throughout the Kingdom. The remedy to attenuate this 'old abuse' was to force the parties to follow the legal way and not to use short cuts to obtain in general by deceit what they would not achieve otherwise. That was why the majority of the *despachos* were, as seen in the *livros de porta* (door books): '*Requeira por onde compete*' (Request by the competent way), '*Não ha que deferir*' (There is no reason to concede), '*Escusado*' (Rejected), etc. The government should receive only the most serious affairs, prepared with the necessary information. In third place, Forjaz explained that all the *Secretarias* had *livros de porta* where the decisions on the requests were recorded. Thus

---

<sup>246</sup> Vote of Salter de Mendonça about the reform plan of Principal Sousa, Lisbon, 2 September 1810, enclosed with *representação* (representation) from the Patriarch Elect to the Prince Regent, [September 1810], ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,29. Nogueira also claimed that the Government met for long hours, sometimes without doing anything, he added. This was, in his opinion, on account of the statements and confused action of the Principal Sousa. BN, COD 6848, p. 9.

<sup>247</sup> Vote of D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz about the reform plan of Principal Sousa, Lisbon, 27 August 1810 September 1810, enclosed with *representação* from the Patriarch Elect to the Prince Regent, [September 1810], ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,29. The plan of Principal Sousa dealt also with other matters related to Police, military recruitment, agriculture, and magistracy. Even these, though deserving in general Forjaz' agreement, were devalued by the mention that they were already being applied or that its execution had to be well thought to be successful. See also paper presented by Forjaz to Regency, August 11, 1810 BN, AAL, pacote 108, no. 170, cited by Fuente, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: his early career and role in the mobilization and defence of Portugal during the Peninsular War, 1807-1814', p. 128, n. 85.



the diary to be produced in the office of the governors of the Kingdom, as suggested by the Principal Sousa, was unnecessary.

Forjaz added still that in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra e Marinha*, and with the purpose of avoiding abuses (and corruption) a more straightforward procedure in relation to the petitions had lately been announced in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*.<sup>248</sup> The petitions had to be signed by the petitioners or their proxies, declaring, above the signatures, the date of handing over or of sending. They should be deposited in the respective boxes placed in the Regency Palace or in the residency of the secretary in charge, (Forjaz, at the time) or delivered to him by the petitioners or their proxies during the weekly audiences. No other intermediary would be accepted.<sup>249</sup> The petitions from outside Lisbon might be sent unstamped, addressed to ‘*A Sua Alteza Real. Pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios da Guerra, ou Marinha. Lisboa*’ (To His Royal Highness. By the War Affairs or Navy Office). Any request not respecting these rules would be refused immediately without even taking notice of its content. In addition to the door books in the *Secretarias de Estado*, lists of the decisions on the petitions from the previous week would be placed on Mondays in the entrance room of the Regency. Besides, the claimants might call the attention to an undue delay, by a memorandum that should obey the same rules of the petition excepting, obviously, the content, which Forjaz normalised in a simple formulary.<sup>250</sup> It was stressed, however, that the accumulation of repeated memoranda would just disrupt the carrying out of the affairs.

Forjaz then explained the pathway followed by the petitions received as *secretário dos Negócios da Guerra e da Marinha*. They went directly from the boxes to Forjaz. In his office an official numbered and registered the petitions in printed *relações* (accounts). The sequence of the decisions on the petitions followed the numbering. When they required examination, Forjaz delivered the petition to one of the *repartições interiores* (internal departments) that ran in his own house. If the petition required any information, it was directed to its destination. In case the petition was unreasonable or would not be sent to the government, it would be decided negatively or the way to follow

---

<sup>248</sup> *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 113, 11 May 1810 [pp. 2-3]

<sup>249</sup> As it will be seen in chapter 5 it was usual to resort to officers of the governmental departments to facilitate the carrying out of the matters requested.

<sup>250</sup> ‘*N...requeiro...em...foi a informar á Repartição de..., e até agora não appareço despachado*’. (N...requested...on...it went to be informed on to the department..., and till now it did not appear decided).

pointed out. Forjaz did this work himself, always at night, when the crucial matters (the defence of the country) allowed it.

Concerning the secret register book Forjaz remembered that the *Secretarias* held by him (mainly the Foreign Affairs and War Affairs) kept the correspondence, which was more interesting for the public service and more delicate, and thus he felt personally and politically insulted. Finally, he emphasised that the secretaries of the government were not secretaries of state in respect to the honours and payments but had the same functions, as the government represented the person of the sovereign and the secretaries should represent those of the secretaries of state.

As mentioned above, the members of the government rejected the reforming plan of the Principal Sousa, voting orally and some of them in writing. Besides, they agreed that should the President so decided, they would meet as many times as the service required. After some months of daily sessions, they ended by returning to the previous system of three conferences a week.<sup>251</sup> They adopted in general this system the following three to four years. Beyond the prior pressures of the war and the specific duties of the governors of the Kingdom, and of the secretaries, some of them accumulated other posts.<sup>252</sup> The government discussed and resolved the affairs that were presented by the secretaries on alternate days. The latter prepared them at their respective *secretarias* or frequently at home. This happened with Forjaz but also with the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, Salter de Mendonça, especially when he was ill. He carried out the work at home and daily sent a briefcase with the documents to the Palace of the Regency.<sup>253</sup> It was usual for the other members of the government to work at home preparing specific issues, drafting documents or examining them till a final version was assented. Sometimes they worked with each other.<sup>254</sup>

---

<sup>251</sup> BN, COD 6848, pp. 22, 49-50.

<sup>252</sup> The Monteiro-Mor was also president of the *Senado da Câmara* of Lisbon, before his first appointment to the Regency. The governors of the Kingdom appointed Salter de Mendonça to *regedor* and *chanceler* of the *Casa da Suplicação* (Chancellor of a High Court) in February 1811. Register of conta no. 80, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 20 February 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 157v.

<sup>253</sup> Representação from the Patriarch Elect to the Prince Regent, [September 1810], ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,29.

<sup>254</sup> For instance, the Patriarch took with him the project of Nogueira for a 10 million cruzados loan, presented in the governors session dated 10 November 1810, in order to analyse it. BN, COD 6849, p. 7. So did the Principal Sousa in relation to the rough draft of the portaria of the extraordinary contribution presented by the Conde de Redondo in the 25 June 1811' session. BN, COD 6849, p. 102. On the other hand, Nogueira and Salter de Mendonça met at the formers' room on 9 July 1811, holiday, to work on that contribution. BN, COD 6850, p. 3. The Patriarch Elect in his turn, met with the Count of Redondo and Forjaz, on the plan of defence, and the latter

The governors of the Kingdom frequently used the system of deciding by the plurality of votes, following what was decreed. At the beginning they usually voted verbally. The sending of separate votes from the Patriarch Elect and D. Francisco Xavier de Noronha to Rio de Janeiro in June 1809 were exceptions.<sup>255</sup> It seems that it was not until the last months of 1810 that the governors of the Kingdom put many of their votes in written form, as a rule to be submitted to the Prince Regent by the competent departments in Brazil. The apparently stationary situation of the war in Portugal, the despair of the population retreating from the French and the execution of the scorched earth policy divided the government. When the governors had a heated discussion as to who had a say on military policy, Wellington alone or the Governors too, one of them, Nogueira, sent his vote to the Prince Regent.<sup>256</sup> According to the president of the Regency, this written vote, though legal, had no precedent in the practice of the governors of the Kingdom. Still in the sequence of the government's debates related to the same matter, the Patriarch gave his negative vote, in written form, on Stuart's proposal of new extraordinary contributions for defence. The vote followed the Patriarch's unfavourable opinions about Wellington's plan of defence, given in a previous session, and the presentation, by Stuart, of a letter from Wellington to the Prince Regent on the matter. Besides, it was Stuart who requested the written form. Thus, the Patriarch had to justify himself using some curious, though unconvincing, arguments. The Patriarch stated, in the first place, that he had the freedom of voting. Then he recalled that the Prince Regent had established the system of deciding by the plurality of votes, which was used by the Council of State and even by the English Parliament! On the other hand, the Patriarch

---

explained it in a paper. Representação from the Patriarch Elect to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 27 January 1811, enclosed with ofício from the Patriarch Elect to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 20 February 1811, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,27. In his *Memoria...*, Nogueira refers still other cases of governmental work outside of the Palace of the Regency and of the *Secretarias de Estado*. He himself worked frequently with the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, Salter de Mendonça and his substitute during his illness, Alexandre Ferreira Castelo, and also with the head officer of the Erário, Count of Redondo, BN, COD 6850, pp. 69, 71, and p. 81, respectively.

<sup>255</sup> These votes were against the governors' decision of confirming a death sentence without having recourse to the Prince Regent. Enclosures 3 and 4 to the conta no. 16, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 26 June 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 1,69.

<sup>256</sup> Nogueira voted contrary to the Principal Sousa and to the Patriarch Elect, who defended their right to give an opinion on the defence of Portugal. Ofício from the Patriarch Elect to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 30 November 1810, and enclosed copy of the vote of Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, Lisbon, 1 September 1810, as well as other enclosed documents. ANRJ, NP, cx. 639, pac. 1,10-11. Ofício from the Patriarch Elect to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 7 December 1810, and enclosed copy of the vote of Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, Lisbon, 1 September 1810. ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,52. Nogueira related the situation that generated his vote in his *Memoria...* about the sessions of the Government. See BN, COD 6848, p. 37.

considered that he had spoken casually in the previous session, which, as the other sessions of the Government, had a secret character.<sup>257</sup> The recourse to vote, by the Governors of the Kingdom, sometimes transferred to written form, continued.<sup>258</sup> The matters under discussion following the expulsion of the French from Portugal in mid 1811 and after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814-1815 were however less imperative. Besides, a certain lassitude pervaded the Lisbon's government when its members became aware that the Prince Regent intended to delay his return to Portugal.

The British minister in Lisbon, Charles Stuart, participated regularly in the government's conferences related to financial and military affairs, and especially scheduled. Often the Portuguese members of the government had already discussed some matters before he arrived though it did not mean that they had reached a unanimous position to deal with Stuart.<sup>259</sup> Besides, and as Wellington predicted,<sup>260</sup> he had the acknowledgment from Forjaz of the most important business likely to come under consideration. Already before Stuart attended by routine the Regency's meetings,<sup>261</sup> Forjaz kept him informed<sup>262</sup> especially on the matters both agreed on and were in conflict with the government, such as the conduct of war by Wellington.<sup>263</sup>

---

<sup>257</sup> The Patriarch suggested that Stuart communicated intentionally his casual words to Wellington. This however was the normal proceeding. See, about all this, officio from the Patriarch Elect to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 20 February 1811 and enclosed documents, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,27.

<sup>258</sup> See, for instance, the mention of a the separate vote of the Principal Sousa about a portaria concerning the seal tax approved in the government's conference on 15 March 1811. BN, COD 6849, p. 59. Or the written vote of the Count of Redondo about the British Generals' project of a *Caixa Geral* (General Chest) for all the military expenses. Register of conta no. 126, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 8 October 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 26r-26v. Or the vote of the Principal Sousa on the tobacco contract adjusted with the government. Register of conta no. 124, from the Governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon 26 April 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 63v-66r. Or the votes of Salter de Mendonça and the Principal Sousa on a *consulta* of the *Conselho da Fazenda* about the reestablishment of the fishing. Register of conta no. 280, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 24 March 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316 f. 13r-20r. Or the government's care in transmitting to the Principal Sousa and the Marquis Monteiro-Mór a decision on the sending of diplomats after the defeat of Napoleon, which they disagreed with, in order that they could give their vote. Government's session 30 April 1814. BN, COD 6851, pp. 173-174.

<sup>259</sup> See, for instance, BN, COD 6849, pp. 9-10, 18, 33.

<sup>260</sup> Letter from Wellington to Stuart, Celorico, 3 August 1810, copy enclosed with dispatch from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, PRO, FO 63/92, f. 58r-59v.

<sup>261</sup> Before August 1810, the Regency occasionally invited Stuart to attend conferences, for instance, to request a loan from Britain. Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 13 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 56r.

<sup>262</sup> Forjaz even borrowed him documents to read. Extract of note from Stuart to Forjaz, 8 April 1810, giving back the papers and thanking him, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 40r.

<sup>263</sup> From the moment the fall of Almeida was known, Stuart had to combat the interference in the command of war from the Principal de Sousa and the Patriarch. Forjaz and Nogueira opposed

Stuart carefully co-ordinated his acts with Wellington, as soon as he arrived in Lisbon in February 1810,<sup>264</sup> and worked increasingly as the channel between the latter and the government.<sup>265</sup> In some circumstances they even covered decisions of the Lisbon's government contrary to orders of the Prince Regent D. João. That was what happened with the government's acceptance of the resignation of Freire from the posts of President of the Real Erário and *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros* and his replacement by the Count of Redondo and Forjaz, respectively. The Prince Regent refused to accept this and Stuart, with the concurrence of Wellington deprecated strongly the royal decision. Stuart assured the Patriarch and Forjaz, who separately were adverse to this decision that Great Britain would support any measure they might adopt. The government asked for a formal request from Stuart to suspend the royal order, which provided accordingly.<sup>266</sup> In parallel, Wellington wrote to the Prince Regent. Supported by both, the government suspended the order and the Count of Redondo and Forjaz continued holding the posts.<sup>267</sup>

The fact that the British minister in Portugal became a member of the government reinforced his linking function with Wellington. The Marshall attended the government'

---

both. Furthermore, Forjaz learned Stuart that he 'had express directions from the Patriarch and the Principal de Sousa to frame a dispatch for M. de Souza in London, directing a formal application to His Majesty's Government, that orders might be sent to the British Commanders to maintain the war in the frontier...', contrary to Wellington's strategy. Forjaz was instructed to convey the dispatches to England without Stuart's knowledge. But he detained the vessel two days. Dispatch no. 148, Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 8 September 1810, PRO, FO 63/92, f. 278r-284r, and especially f. 279r-279v. See also BN, COD 6848, pp. 34-35.

<sup>264</sup> Stuart presented his letter of credence to the governors of the Kingdom on 12 February 1810, but only began to 'transact business with the Portuguese ministers' after meeting with Wellington in Tomar. Dispatch no. 2, Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 16 February 1810, PRO, FO 63/89.

<sup>265</sup> In February, since his arrival, Stuart corresponded frequently with Wellington and met also frequently with Forjaz, influencing many of his orders especially as *secretário dos Negócios da Guerra*. He attended a conference of the Regency on Finance and met with its president, the Patriarch. He still corresponded with Beresford, mainly on the difficulties of the government in arranging pay, with the British commissaries and with the Portuguese paymaster. Journal of Charles Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 11 February 1810-28 February 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 33Ar-36v. Wellington used to write to Stuart making explicit proposals in order that he should obtain from the governors of the Kingdom their carrying out. He proposed, for instance, that the governors issued a proclamation or a circular letter to draw the attention of the magistrates, the officers of the government and the people, to perform their duties required by the laws and constitution of the country or other regulations, for raising men, money, etc. and to implement them exactly and at an early period. Copy of a letter from Wellington to Stuart, Viseu, 27 March 1810, enclosed with dispatch from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 31 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 225r-228r.

<sup>266</sup> Dispatch no. 55, from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 21 April 1810, PRO, FO 63/90, f. 47r-49v.

<sup>267</sup> Dispatch no. 57, from Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 29 April 1810, and enclosed copy of note from the Regency to Stuart, PRO, FO 63/90, f. 56r-58v.

sessions only on exceptional occasions, such as to explain on the map his military plan.<sup>268</sup> He communicated with the government but through Stuart. He sent letters to Stuart directed to the governors of the Kingdom<sup>269</sup> or directed them to Forjaz, as *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*,<sup>270</sup> and to Stuart,<sup>271</sup> in order that they read them at the government's meetings. Frequently Stuart was an intermediary between Wellington and Forjaz<sup>272</sup> and episodically between the former and other members of the government such as Nogueira.<sup>273</sup> On the other hand, Salter de Mendonça, *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, received direct correspondence from Wellington recommending civilians, including ecclesiastics, for promotion, reward or protection.<sup>274</sup> Stuart still served, in some

---

<sup>268</sup> This happened before the fall of Almeida. BN, COD 6848, pp. 34-35.

<sup>269</sup> For instance, subsequent to the constant interference of the Principal Sousa in the operations of the Army, a (hard) letter of Wellington to 'His Majesty's Ministers at Lisbon' was read in a government's session. See draft of dispatch no. 19, from Wellesley to Strangford, 29 October 1810, PRO, FO 63/82, f. 36r-41v.

<sup>270</sup> On 16 May 1812, Forjaz laid on the table a letter from Lord Wellington to be read during the session of the government. Invoking his authority to vote on financial matters, Wellington remembered that he had already pointed out the need of reforming the taxes system, especially the levying of the defence extraordinary contribution, the good administration of the customs and the exact collection of the duties. BN, COD 6850, p. 119. In some of these letters, complaining about the inefficiency of the local officers, Wellington asked Forjaz for the Prince Regent to be informed. Letters of the department of the War Affairs in Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico Militar, referred by Fryman, 'Charles Stuart and the "Common Cause": the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, 1810-1814' vol. 2, p. 316, n. 4.

<sup>271</sup> It was the case of the letter dated Cartaxo, 5 December 1810, by which Wellington explained the terms of his acceptance of the command of the Portuguese Army. Wellington expressly instructed Stuart that he could transform the letter into an official communication to the Regency, and so it happened. Copy of letter from Wellington to Stuart, Cartaxo, 5 December 1810, enclosed with dispatch no. 221, Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 8 December 1810, PRO, FO 63/95 f. 110r-113v.

<sup>272</sup> Stuart sent to Forjaz documents from Wellington such as the memorandum about the State's finance and ways to sustain it. Extract of note from Stuart to Forjaz, 5 November 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 168r.

<sup>273</sup> Nogueira asked Stuart to send to Wellington a copy of his representation to the Prince Regent, about voting on financial matters and to communicate with him his decision regarding to the subject. Copy of the letter from Nogueira to Stuart, Colégio dos Nobres, November 1811, and enclosed copy of the representation from Nogueira, Lisbon, 31 October 1811. PRO, FO, 179/7.

<sup>274</sup> Such as the recommendation on the promotion of the *juiz de fora* of Coimbra to the post of *desembargador* of the *Relação* of Porto. Ofício from Wellington to Salter de Mendonça, Head Quarter of Celorico, 12 May 1810, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 22. There are other pieces, with the same reference number, relating to several magistrates, ecclesiastics, war orphans, imprisoned soldiers recommended by Wellington, frequently at the request of the concerned people. See also, for a later period, the reference to the letter of recommendation of a priest, from Wellington to Alexandre José Ferreira Castelo, replacing temporarily Salter de Mendonça. Register of conta no. 240, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 21 August 1813, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 213r-215r.

sensitive occasions, as a link between Wellington and the government in Brazil, through his post at the Regency.<sup>275</sup>

The routine contacts between the government and the British authorities in Portugal extended naturally to the commander of the Portuguese Army, Beresford. He participated in a few sessions of the government.<sup>276</sup> However Beresford kept a regular connection with Forjaz, not only on the military affairs they were responsible for<sup>277</sup> but also on the evaluation of civilians, namely who held judicial and administrative posts throughout the country, as their performance mattered to the public order and success of the war. Forjaz, in his turn, generally redirected this information to Salter de Mendonça.<sup>278</sup>

At the beginning of March 1811, the French army commanded by Masséna began to withdraw from the town of Santarém, where it had been stationed since mid November

---

<sup>275</sup> That was the case of the letter from Wellington to the Prince Regent in which he repeated the sentiments transmitted in different communications to the government, criticizing the conduct of the Regency in relation to the war and insisting on the removal of the Principal Souza. Stuart delivered a copy of the letter to the Regency, to be sent to Brazil and during the following discussion, Stuart remarked that it was his duty to acquaint Wellington both as a member of the government, and as commander of the forces. Dispatch no. 221, Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 8 December 1810, PRO, FO 63/9,5 f. 102r-118r.

<sup>276</sup> For instance, in summer 1810, Beresford exposed the disadvantages arising from the ill-considered distributions of rank sent from Rio de Janeiro and suggested a suspension in the execution of the orders. Dispatch no. 137 Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 18 August 1810, PRO, FO 63/92, f. 185r-187r. During the harassing period of the static campaign, around Lisbon and the Lines of Torres Vedras, Beresford attended the session that took place on 24 December 1810, to speak about the need of immediate increase of the funds for the troops and about the menace of invasion of Alentejo. BN, COD 6849, p. 22.

<sup>277</sup> See, for instance, the recommendation on the reappointment of the Major of the Regiment of Infantry no. 13, Francisco de Melo. Ofício from Beresford, to Forjaz. Elvas Head Quarter, 12 June 1811, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 21. Or also the reference to the letter from Beresford to Forjaz, recommending two chaplains of the Army, Register of conta no. 240, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 21 August 1813, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 213r-215r. The bulk of the correspondence between Forjaz and on the one hand Beresford and on the other Wellington, was produced under the aegis of the *Secretaria dos Negócios da Guerra*, and is nowadays kept at the Arquivo Histórico Militar. There is also a part, including register books, in the private papers of Forjaz, i.e., Arquivo Almada e Lencastre Bastos, at the Biblioteca Nacional.

<sup>278</sup> The following documents, for instance, throw light upon this connection. Ofício from Forjaz to Salter de Mendonça, sending an ofício from Beresford recommending indirectly the *provedor* (comptroller) of the *comarca* of Moncorvo, João António de Moraes. Forjaz also requested Salter to communicate to him the decision in order to inform Beresford. Belém, 2 May 1812, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 429. Ofício from Forjaz to Salter de Mendonça forwarding, among other documents, an ofício from Marshal Beresford, answering negatively to the confidential question about the possible appointment of the *juiz de fora* of Tomar to the Fortress of Peniche. Belém, 28 November 1810. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 429. Ofício from Beresford to Forjaz, about the conduct of a judge in Celorico da Beira, Cintra Head Quarter, 1 September 1811, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 21. Ofício from Beresford to Forjaz, about the services of Father Manuel Jorge, from Touro, Castelo Branco, 5 July 1812, La Seca Head Quarter, and enclosures, 28 May 1812, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 21.

1810. The Anglo-Portuguese forces pursued the French and though the latter offered resistance here and there, they were defeated at Sabugal on 3 April 1811. Then, in order to recover Masséna's army crossed into Spain in the direction of Salamanca. Next, French forces moved to the frontier, between Almeida, still occupied by the French and under the Anglo-Portuguese, and Ciudad Rodrigo. After the disputed Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro that Wellington almost did not win, and the escape of the French from Almeida, which they blew up, on 10 to 11 May 1811, Portugal was rid of the invaders.<sup>279</sup> The war scenario moved to Spain but the Portuguese forces continued fully involved there and Lisbon remained the British bridgehead in the Peninsula.

In spite of the relief that the French retreat from Lisbon caused, the resentment in the government was still alive and so was the unwillingness from some of the governors against their British colleague and Forjaz. Both continued to co-operate,<sup>280</sup> in connection with Wellington and Beresford.<sup>281</sup> The insidious campaign led by the Principal Sousa and his brothers resulted in the retirement of Stuart from the government's session on 10 May 1811, until he received an order from the British King.<sup>282</sup> But between the end of October and the beginning of November 1811, Stuart again occupied his seat on the Regency.<sup>283</sup> In parallel, the dismissal of Forjaz hung in the air but was not effective.<sup>284</sup> On the other

---

<sup>279</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 149-150; Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica' pp. 26, 29; Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil...*, vol. 3, pp. 351-353.

<sup>280</sup> They exchanged information about the reform of the civil departments of the army, for instance. Extract of note from Stuart to Forjaz, 9 April 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 125v.

<sup>281</sup> Beresford requested the abolition of the *Junta dos Viveres* (Provisions Board) and the *Físico-Mór* (Major Physician) and the creation of a *Comissariato para Viveres* (Provisions Commissariat). Writing on this, the Principal Sousa complained that when Forjaz intending something, wrote to Beresford, Wellington approved and the government consented, to avoid problems. Though he was highly suspicious regarding to Forjaz, this harmful statement shows the continuity of some of the paths of communication between Portuguese and British high authorities. Letter from the Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 19 April 1811, Copiador, (copybook) vol. 1, f. 35r, CEHCA, FUP, R-9, 1, 1.

<sup>282</sup> This happen after the reading of a letter from Strangford stating that the Portuguese Prince Regent was displeased with Stuart. Register of conta no. 95, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 14 May 1811, IAN/TT,MR, liv. 314, f. 184r.

<sup>283</sup> On 24 October 1811, Stuart transmitted his acknowledgement to the Prince Regent on account of his appointment to governor of the Kingdom. Extract of note from Stuart to Forjaz. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 167r. Two weeks later, the governors of the Kingdom informed the Prince Regent that Stuart had returned to the sessions of the Government. Register of conta no. 127, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 7 November 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 26v-27v.

<sup>284</sup> On 19 July 1811 Stuart asked Forjaz about rumours of his dismissal. Extract of note from Stuart to Forjaz, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 146v. In February 1812, the Prince Regent asked the governors of the Kingdom to transmit to Forjaz how they had persuaded him of the good opinion they had about Forjaz. This happened in the immediately following Forjaz' justification of the



hand, the Prince Regent decreed the dismissal of the Principal Sousa that had been requested by Wellington, but it was never carried out.<sup>285</sup> Finally Nogueira asked to be excluded from voting on Finance affairs, following the reception by the government of an equivocal *ofício* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, then Count of Linhares. This too never took place.<sup>286</sup> The effective composition of the government changed too, temporarily, due to different and prosaic motives. The *Desembargador do Paço* Alexandre José Ferreira Castelo periodically replaced the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, Salter de Mendonça, who was ill.<sup>287</sup>

At the same time, the Lisbon government continued to work about the financial problems and tried to rationalize the corresponding administration. Wellington did not give up pressuring the government to reform the imposition and collection of taxes including in the Customs. Accordingly, in the *Alfândega Grande*<sup>288</sup> in Lisbon, the procedures were simplified and supervised by a new *feitor* (factor or steward).<sup>289</sup> On the other hand, employees of offices and departments, which ceased to exist in Portugal, were moved to others where their work was needed. This was the case, for instance, of the

---

issue of *ofícios* disapproved by the Prince. Register of *aviso* from Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 23 February 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 339-340.

<sup>285</sup> Register of the royal decree granting the dismissal from governor of the Kingdom to the Principal Sousa, on account of the convenience of the British Ally and of his bad condition, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 29 October 1811, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 3v-4r.

<sup>286</sup> The Count of Linhares had suggested that some of the governors of the Kingdom did not have the pertinent knowledge to be heard on these affairs. The government refused the exclusion of Nogueira and wrote with the same purpose to the Prince Regent. See *ofício* from the Patriarch Elect to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 2 November 1811, and enclosed representation from Nogueira, Lisbon, 31 October 1811, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,37; copy of the letter from Nogueira to Stuart, Colégio dos Nobres, November 1811, and enclosed copy of the representation from Nogueira, Lisbon, 31 October 1811. PRO, FO, 179/7. Nogueira also recounted the episode, in the *Memoria...*, adding that at the government's session of 1 April 1812, was read an *ofício* from the Count de Aguiar stating that the Prince Regent approved the decision of the government as governor, Nogueira had the right of voting on all the affairs, and was especially acquainted with Finance. BN, COD 6850, pp. 44-45, 47, 103.

<sup>287</sup> Initially, the government appointed Castelo '*por ora*' (for the time being). Register of the conta no. 115, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 30 August 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 16v. Half of a year later Salter re-assumed the post in spite of his illness. Register of conta no. 156, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 16 March 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 56r-57r. Three months later Castelo replaced him again. Register of conta no. 169, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 20 June 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 73v-75r.

<sup>288</sup> Big Customs House.

<sup>289</sup> Conference of the governors of the Kingdom on 16 May 1812, during which was read and discussed a letter from Lord Wellington to Forjaz about the matter. BN, COD 6850, p. 119.

appointment *ad interim* of *desembargadores* and ministers of the depleted *Conselho Ultramarino* to the busy *Conselho da Fazenda* on January 1813.<sup>290</sup>

The government also examined proposals for a more drastic administrative reorganisation of central offices, mostly with the purpose of saving. The most discussed was the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* with connection to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. Following the death of the porter of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, the governors of the Kingdom proposed to the Prince Regent, in March 1811, the suppression of this and of other dispensable *ofícios* (posts). It even proposed the union of both *Secretarias de Estado*, reducing the number of officials to what was strictly necessary.<sup>291</sup> Later, the government detailed its arguments. In the first place, the members of the government invoked the order given by the royal letter dated 2 January 1809, to diminish the number of functionaries. A brief account of the composition of the *Secretarias de Estado* since their creation followed. The *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* comprising the Financial Affairs had, since its establishment in 1736 till 1801, when a separate *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* was created, one senior official and nine to eleven ordinary officials. After 1801, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* came to have, as well as the senior official, eighteen officials and two porters. The *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, in its turn, came to have one senior official, two officials called *graduados* (ranked), twenty five officials, one porter, one assistant and some other servants. With the fusion of the *Secretarias de Estado*, the best officials would be chosen and the good would be transferred to the *Secretaria da Guerra* and *Secretaria da Marinha*, if needed.<sup>292</sup>

In 1812, the government signed a *portaria* establishing *ad interim* the affairs that belonged to the *Secretaria de Estado da Fazenda*, including the documents that should be handled by this *secretaria de Estado*, according to its nature and provenance.<sup>293</sup> It

---

<sup>290</sup> Portaria of the governors of the Kingdom summarised in register of conta no. 207, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 7 January 1813, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 138r-140r.

<sup>291</sup> Register of conta no. 83, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 15 March 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 164r-164v.

<sup>292</sup> Register of conta no. 113, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 18 August 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 13r-14v.

<sup>293</sup> See 8 October 1812 printed portaria, IAN/TT, *Legislação Portuguesa: 1808 a 1817*, SP 2275. This document, though referred wrongly as a decree, was published in *Exposição Histórica do Ministério das Finanças: Notícia Histórica dos Serviços. Catálogo. Bibliografia*, Lisbon: [Ministério das Finanças], 1952, pp 56-57, from another collection of Portuguese legislation, and

envisaged putting an end to the confusion in the jurisdiction of each *secretaria de Estado*.<sup>294</sup> Besides, officials of the *Erário Régio* interfered in the matters belonging to the *Secretaria da Fazenda*. The governor of the Kingdom Nogueira attributed this to the incompetence of the head officer of the *Erário*, the Count of Redondo, aggravated whenever Castelo replaced Mendonça as *Secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*.<sup>295</sup>

The *portaria* seemed almost in contradiction with the aforementioned plan of uniting the two *secretarias de Estado*, still under consideration in Brazil. This was one of the reasons why Salter de Mendonça judged that it was not opportune to discuss the *portaria*.<sup>296</sup> Although signed by the governors during the meeting of 10 October 1812<sup>297</sup> this legislative document appears not to have been wholly put into practice, at least not for long. In fact, an *aviso* received by the governors of the Kingdom in April 1813, ordered them to keep the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* working the way it was before that *portaria*, till the final royal decision.<sup>298</sup> The latter, received in Lisbon in September 1813 decided upon the suspension of the *portaria*.<sup>299</sup> Thus it seems that this *portaria* had not the scope that its content and its repeated mention in the historiography suggest. On the other hand, the central control of financial matters by the Portuguese government till the 1820's Revolution remains to be studied.<sup>300</sup>

---

extracted by António Frazão, *O Conselho da Fazenda: Inventário e estudo institucional*,. Lisbon: AN/TT, 1995, pp. 41-42, citing J. Mendes da Cunha Saraiva, *A Administração Superior da Fazenda*, Lisbon: Ministério das Finanças, 1952, pp. 55-57.

<sup>294</sup> '... para (...) cessar a confusão sobre os Negócios que pertencem a cada huma das Secretarias de Estado... '.

<sup>295</sup> Nogueira was referring to August 1812. BN, COD 6848, p. 63.

<sup>296</sup> Register of conta no. 191, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 10 October 1812, and of the parecer from Salter de Mendonça, Lisbon, 12 September 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 115r-116r. The *portaria* was signed during the government's meeting of 10 October 1810, BN, COD 6851, p. 23.

<sup>297</sup> BN, COD 6851, p. 23.

<sup>298</sup> Reception of the *aviso* dated 18 January 1813 about the conta no. 191 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent [10 October 1812]. See register of conta no. 220, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 20 April 1813, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 165r-166v.

<sup>299</sup> Government's session dated 25 September 1813, BN, COD 6851, p. 108. Both royal decisions on this *portaria* were also linked with a request of the officers of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Lisbon.

<sup>300</sup> The present arrangement of a set of documents produced and kept by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* and afterwards by the *Ministério da Fazenda* and that are today at the IAN/TT might help research in this area. Specific questions such as the system of payment of the Portuguese diplomats during the war period, through the '*Administração da Fazenda Real em Londres*' could be illuminated also by documents of the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* at the IAN/TT. See, for instance, extracts of letters and ofícios from Sousa e Holstein to Forjaz, 1810 and 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 134, f. 47r, f. 50v, f. 72r.

In spite of the effective role that the government of Lisbon, or at least of members such as Forjaz played in the defence and ruling of Portugal, it became more and more dependent on the seat of government in Rio de Janeiro. The war emergencies, which allowed some autonomy to the governors, almost vanished. In 1812, the governors undertook a tobacco contract still without waiting for the royal orders, alleging demanding circumstances of time, war, need of money and public calamities.<sup>301</sup> But in May of the same year one of the governors, Nogueira, considered the government mere an executive.<sup>302</sup>

The carrying out of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon clearly reflected this. The fact that the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Portugal and Algiers was drafted in Lisbon and ratified by the governors in 1813<sup>303</sup> was just an episode.<sup>304</sup> The *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros* Forjaz, followed the matter, namely through the Portuguese Commander José Joaquim da Rosa, who signed the treaty, provided with credentials by the governors. But England had mediated the treaty and the British envoy to the Berber Regencies, Mr. à Court, had negotiated it.<sup>305</sup>

On the other hand, the Portuguese representative in London, D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho several times, during 1812-1813, laid before the Lisbon government matters, which the latter considered it did not have authority to decide upon, as it was not sovereign.<sup>306</sup> During 1814 Coutinho persevered in demanding from the same government

---

<sup>301</sup> The government followed the advice of the *Junta da Administração do Tabaco*. Register of conta no. 164, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 26 April 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 63v-66r.

<sup>302</sup> Meeting of the governors of the Kingdom on 2 May 1812, BN, COD 6850, p. 114.

<sup>303</sup> The treaty was signed in Algiers on 14 June 1813 and ratified by Portugal in Lisbon on 13 July 1813. See José Manuel Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos Diplomáticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, vol. 1; p. 75.

<sup>304</sup> During the two or three previous years the secretary in Lisbon Forjaz, took some routine decisions, which would usually require authorisation from the secretary of state. For instance, to allow the Portuguese diplomat Sousa e Holstein, afterwards Duke of Palmela, then in Spain, to go to Lisbon. Extract of ofício from Holstein to Forjaz, 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 134, f. 37r.

<sup>305</sup> BN, COD 6851, pp. 80 and 83.

<sup>306</sup> Nogueira's Memorandum, April 1813, BN, COD 6848, p. 67. The matters were, for instance, the doubts raised by the Treaty of Commerce between Portugal and Great Britain signed in 1810, such as the monopoly of soap or the privileges of the wines of Alto Douro (Oporto wine). On 16 April 1812 Forjaz, in the name of the governors, sent to Coutinho an extract of an ofício from Count of Linhares, dated 14 January 1812, confirming the governors' opinion that these questions should be dealt with '*Corte a Corte*' and not in Lisbon. Forjaz to Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, 16 April 1812, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 569, f. 65r. The same happened with the control by the police of passengers in the English ships. Forjaz to Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, 17 April 1812, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 569, f. 65v-66r.

decisions about which Forjaz had already written they belonged to the Prince Regent's jurisdiction.<sup>307</sup>

In 1814, the circumstances of the rallying of the allied forces and the defeat and abdication of Napoleon gave rise to diplomatic acts by the governors of the Kingdom that again raised the problem of the narrow limits of their power. This started at the beginning of January with the arrival in Lisbon of the news that Bonaparte would accept the preliminaries proposed by the Allies. The governors decided to ask the envoy in London, Sousa Coutinho, then Count of Funchal, for royal instructions and if he had none, to send a Portuguese agent to Paris to defend the interests of Portugal. Afterwards, and as they did not receive any related document from the Count of Funchal, they decided to send ministers to pay their respects to the Spanish King Fernando VII and the French King Louis XVIII for the restoration of their thrones. This was, however, very much discussed internally. The Principal Sousa and the Marquis Monteiro-Mór disagreed with the other members of the government and the former alleged that these were private acts of the sovereign. On the other hand, the Marquis of Castelo Melhor initially declined his appointment to go to Madrid. After being aware that the government had communicated his intention to the Prince Regent, the Marquis inquired about the status he would be invested with, as the people of his rank were always ambassadors. The government initially answered that it had no powers to confer any diplomatic status. But during the government session on 18 May 1814, Salter de Mendonça, invoking the case of the Treaty with Algiers, argued that this was an urgent matter about which the Prince Regent had conceded the authority to act as the circumstances demanded and the government ended by agreeing with him. Next, the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros* communicated to the Count of Funchal the government's decision to send the Marquis de Marialva to pay his respects to Louis XVIII as soon as he began to rule, which was a usual public act between Courts on similar occasions. There were kinship links between the House of Braganza and the Bourbons, thus matters of State and of the Crown's dignity explained the choice of a '*grande do Reino*' (high rank nobleman). It was not possible the Prince Regent to have sent orders respecting this and the full powers granted to the Count of Funchal to sign with France the Treaty of Suspension of Arms did not extend to that purpose. Therefore, Forjaz concluded, the governors appointed Marialva as

---

<sup>307</sup> Ofício from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to the Count of Funchal, Palace of the Government, 19 August 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 518.

representatives of the Prince Regent in the Kingdom and its ancient capital.<sup>308</sup> The Prince Regent, however, disapproved of all these measures and at the end of September 1814 reminded the governors that the right to send ambassadors and other ministers was inseparable from the sovereignty, thus the French and Spanish Kings should not wonder at the delay.<sup>309</sup> Gone were the days when some of the prerogatives of sovereignty were used in Portugal.

The Portuguese troops participated in the war against the French during 1811, 1812, 1813 and the first months of 1814. The scenario was mainly in Spain and, in the last period, the south of France, with its invasion commanded by Wellington.<sup>310</sup> On 12 March 1814, Beresford led an Anglo-Portuguese force in the occupation of Bordeaux, which declared for the Bourbon Louis XVIII. On 10 April 1814 Wellington assaulted Toulouse where the French forces led by Soult had withdrawn. An Anglo-Portuguese Division also took part in this military campaign. Two days later Soult retreated with the aim of joining Marshal Suchet in Catalonia. But Soult received the news of the unconditional abdication of Napoleon that occurred on 11 April and on 17 April he formally accepted it.<sup>311</sup>

These were the last missions of the Anglo-Portuguese Army. The war was coming to an end and the Peninsula would no longer take priority as a theatre of war. However the Peninsular Campaigns had caused a continuous nuisance to the French armies and had seriously weakened them.<sup>312</sup> The British, the Spanish and the Portuguese went back to their countries. Portugal attended the peace negotiations in Paris and the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and 1815. But she did not participate in the military acts that followed the escape of Napoleon from Elba in February 1815. The Battle of Waterloo won by the allied forces under the command of Wellington decided the abdication of

---

<sup>308</sup> Oficio from Forjaz to the Count of Funchal, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 23 May 1814, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 14, 55, n° 16.

<sup>309</sup> About all this episode see Nogueira's Memorandum, sessions of the government dated 6 January 1814, 30 April 1814, 4 May 1814, 14 May 1814, 26 May 1814, 28 May 1814, 10 December 1814, BN, COD 6851, pp. 132, 173-174, 176, 179, 181-182, 183-185, 202. On the session that took place on 9 July 1814, the government also signed the letter credential of the Viscount of Mesquitela to pay his respects to the King of Sardinia. BN, COD 6851, pp. 193-194.

<sup>310</sup> Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica' pp. 29-36.

<sup>311</sup> See Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 304-305 and 323, and also Vicente, 'A tempestade napoleónica' pp. 35-36.

<sup>312</sup> See Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 305 and 379-380. See also Macedo who stresses the role played by the nations in the defeat of Napoleon, *História Diplomática de Portugal*, pp. 365-366.

Napoleon in favour of his son and the capitulation on 14 July 1815 of what remained of the French Army, finishing the Napoleonic Wars definitively.<sup>313</sup>

Meanwhile, the daily rule of the Lisbon government entered a period of uncertainty. Its British member, the minister plenipotentiary Charles Stuart, left Lisbon after 2 April 1814, for a leave of absence and was recalled by Great Britain in May 1814.<sup>314</sup> The secretary of legation Lewis Casamajor replaced him as chargé d'affaires, till the arrival of the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary Thomas Sydenham in 7 July 1814. When on account of illness the latter returned to England, at the end of the same month, Casamajor again took the place of the British minister.<sup>315</sup> George Canning appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary arrived in Lisbon at the beginning of December 1814, replacing Casamajor.<sup>316</sup> He had been foreign minister between 1807-1809 and an energetic defender of the Peninsular Wars. His appointment was due to the assumption that the sovereign of Portugal would return to Lisbon under British escort, what did not occur at the time.<sup>317</sup> However none of these diplomats occupied the seat that Stuart had held in the Regency.

The hostility against the British in Portugal grew visibly with the territorial displacement of the war and with its end. The relations between Beresford and the

---

<sup>313</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, pp. 343, 355 and 363-364.

<sup>314</sup> Fryman, 'Charles Stuart and the "Common Cause": the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, 1810-1814' vol. 1, pp. 46-47 and vol. 2, p. 345.

<sup>315</sup> S. T. Bindoff, *et al.* (ed.), *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852*, London: Royal Historical Society, 1934, p. 91. See also the extracts of correspondence sent to Forjaz from Casamajor, Sydenham and again Casamajor, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 347r-359r.

<sup>316</sup> Extract of private letter from Canning to Forjaz, about the arrival of the former, 2 December 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 273r; extract of letter from Canning to Forjaz, paying his respects, 10 December 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 273r; Bindoff, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>317</sup> See, for instance, Geoffrey Treasure, *Who's Who in Late Hanoverian Britain (1789-1837)*, London: 1997, pp. 277-278 and Thomas Edward Kebbel, 'George Canning' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 1995, CD-ROM. Since the end of November 1813 Great Britain had insisted on the return of the Prince Regent D. João. See Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 289-290. Charles Stuart held that opinion at the time, but was expecting instructions from his government. Copy of dispatch no. 267, Charles Stuart to Lord Castlereagh, Lisbon, November 1813, FO 179/8. On 18 July 1814 the Portuguese Legation in London informed Forjaz by a most secret oficio that the British Government had decided to send to Rio de Janeiro a fleet commanded by Admiral Beresford, brother of Marshall Beresford, with that purpose. Extract of the oficio, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 132. On 2 December 1814, Canning mentioned to Forjaz the difficulty in the circumstances - absence of the Court - of respecting completely the ceremonies that usually took place in the Portuguese Court respecting the reception of a minister with the character such as his own. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 273v.

government, even with firm collaborators such as Forjaz, began to deteriorate.<sup>318</sup> One of the most contentious issues was the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed between Portugal and Great Britain on 19 February 1810,<sup>319</sup> which favoured mainly the latter. The Lisbon's government, more or less co-ordinated with Rio de Janeiro, through the Portuguese representative in London, Sousa Coutinho, delayed its implementation as much as possible. Though the governors of the Kingdom obeyed some articles in November 1813, a year later others, such as the monopoly of the Oporto Wine Company and the slave trade, were still being discussed.<sup>320</sup> On the other hand, during 1814, the correspondence received by Forjaz from the British diplomatic representatives in Lisbon also principally concerned finances, especially the matter of the British subsidy. Effectively, Casamajor announced to the government that this would cease from 1 October 1814 onwards.<sup>321</sup> In parallel the governors pressed the British troops to leave the buildings where they were accommodated.<sup>322</sup> The permanence of the Portuguese monarch in Brazil meant, however, a Brazilian policy, which did not exempt Portugal from a strong British tutelage.

---

<sup>318</sup> For instance, already in 1813, Beresford complained to Forjaz about delay in his correspondence. Forjaz' answer was explanatory but hard. Forjaz to Beresford, 31 March 1813, AHM, 1/14, caixa 46, partially translated and published by Francisco de la Fuente, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: his early career and role in the mobilization and defence of Portugal during the Peninsular War, 1807-1814', p. 437, n. 6.

<sup>319</sup> See José Manuel Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos Diplomáticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, vol. 1 pp. 70-71.

<sup>320</sup> See Fryman, 'Charles Stuart and the "Common Cause"...', vol. 2, pp. 526, 535, 545-546, 555-557; Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 262 and following. Alexandre reinforces the increase of tension between both governments during 1813-1814 and specifies the disturbance of the Lisbon's merchants.

<sup>321</sup> Extract of note from Casamajor to Forjaz, 1 September 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 364v.

<sup>322</sup> See extracts of notes and letters from the British representatives to Forjaz, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 350 and following. This apparently included the house occupied by the British 'Mission' close to Boa Morte, not far from Basílica da Estrela in Lisbon. Canning to Forjaz, 15 June 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 288r.



### 3.2.4 The government after 1814

The conduct of the governors of the Kingdom and of the secretaries of the government from the end of the war till the Liberal Revolution in 1820 was conditioned in the first place by the permanence of Marshall Beresford in Portugal and the feeling of abandonment by the Crown.

The latent hostility between the Lisbon government and the British Marshall of the Portuguese Army burst from time to time. The government tried to restrict the use of the extensive powers he had received during the extraordinary circumstances of the war, resorting to the Prince Regent, with little success. The emphasis put on Brazil and simultaneously the – illusory - willingness of keeping control of Portugal led the Prince Regent and his ministers in Brazil to limit the ruling practice of the governors in favour of Beresford and of themselves.

Still in December 1814 Forjaz submitted at the session of the government Marshal Beresford's promotion in the army. But the government alleged that as the war had ended it did not judge itself authorised to approve it. From then on these proposals should be addressed directly to the Prince Regent though with government's advice. As some doubts remained, Beresford met with the government on the following day and everything was settled.<sup>323</sup> Yet the Marshal soon considered that the Regency was destroying the army. He explained to Castlereagh, the British minister for Foreign Affairs, that the leader of such actions was the Principal Sousa but the Marquis of Borba, his nephew, and previously Count of Redondo, and also Forjaz had the same purpose. In his opinion there was an apparent contradiction between the letters that he had received from Araújo, then *secretário de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos* in Rio de Janeiro,<sup>324</sup> and the Regency's decisions. Portuguese officers were being sent to Brazil<sup>325</sup>. There were no men for the campaign and the British officers would not stay under the conditions proposed by the Marquis of Aguiar, *secretário de Estado dos*

---

<sup>323</sup> The government acceded temporarily to the proposals of promotion of line officers without high ranks. Sessions of the government on 14 and 15 December 1814, BN, COD 6851, pp. 203-204, 205.

<sup>324</sup> António Araújo de Azevedo replaced the Count of Galveias after his death in January 1814, in this portfolio and effectively in Foreign and War Affairs in spite of the appointment *ad interim* of the Marquis of Aguiar, D. Fernando José de Portugal. See Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, p. 287. On the eve of Junot's invasion of Portugal Araújo was the minister for War and Foreign Affairs and afterwards was accused by rivals of being pro-French, due to his ambivalent and dilatory diplomacy.

<sup>325</sup> This was demanded by Rio de Janeiro for the frontier wars.

*Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra, ad interim*. Beresford had learnt ‘from all quarters’ that the sovereign was ‘most anxious’ that he, as well as the British officers, stayed in Portugal and besides he had received private letters from Araújo stating ‘the most unequivocal assurances of his support’. Beresford thought that the Regency was disliked in Rio de Janeiro and that they were not dismissed only because the Prince feared that they assumed that he would not return. The Marshal recognised that the Regency had taken on a ‘new style’ - more receptive - but only after the arrival of the frigates from Brazil.<sup>326</sup>

The government was indeed resisting what they called the despotic rule of Beresford. Faced with the visit to Brazil of Lieutenant General Lemos P. de Lacerda, his military secretary, the governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries suspected that he would complain about them to the sovereign. Therefore they wrote to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to point out the inconveniences of his unlimited power. They considered that these exceeded the full powers granted by the Prince Regent, presumably for wartime and even then exerted in agreement with Wellington.<sup>327</sup>

At the end of February Beresford questioned the government, by writing and orally, about his competencies, which he believed were restricted. They declared that they were waiting for an answer from the Prince Regent but a few days after they replied to Beresford. The Marshal would supervise all the affairs of the Army in the way established by the Prince Regent. But the *Secretaria de Estado* would send directly to the generals and other authorities the orders concerning the Militias and the *Ordenanças*, because they were not bodies of the army, and concerning the *Guarda Real da Polícia* (Royal Guard of Police).<sup>328</sup> In this way, the government limited the scope of Beresford’s jurisdiction. The malaise went on.<sup>329</sup>

In parallel the governors of the Kingdom received a royal order formalising the reality of the absence of a British member since April 1814. By an *aviso* from the

---

<sup>326</sup> Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, Caldas, 29 January 1815, PRO, FO 63/188, f. 27r-32v, especially f. 28v. Castlereagh was then Foreign Minister.

<sup>327</sup> The *ofício* and a letter to the Marquis of Aguiar would be delivered by the Viscount of Barbacena’s own hands. Government’s session 3 January 1815, BN, COD 6851, p. 209.

<sup>328</sup> Government’s sessions 21 February, 25 February and 3 March 1815, BN, COD 6851, pp. 216-219.

<sup>329</sup> Episodes like the refusal of the commander of the Corvette Aurora to accept a letter from Beresford to the Prince Regent reveal this. See register of conta no. 368, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 21 October 1815, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, f. 204r-206r.

*Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, dated 9 January 1815, the Prince Regent stated that the prerogative granted to Stuart should not include his successors because the reasons had '*felizmente*' (happily) ceased.<sup>330</sup>

Meanwhile Bonaparte reappeared in France and Portuguese participation in the military actions against his army was raised.<sup>331</sup> Several times in May and still in June 1815 ambassador Canning requested, in the name of the British government, the sending of a Portuguese expedition commanded by Beresford. The forces were meant firstly to go to Belgium to fight under the orders of the Duke of Wellington, and later on to go to Bordeaux. Initially, Canning invoked the assent given by the Portuguese plenipotentiaries, during the Congress of Vienna, to the Treaty established on 25 March 1815.<sup>332</sup> In spite of the insistences of the ambassador, the Lisbon government delayed the answer in order to be better acquainted with the commitments of those plenipotentiaries. After receiving some news, the government refused to allow the expedition, waiting for the ratification of the treaties and for royal orders.<sup>333</sup> In the end, Portugal did not participate. It appears, on the other hand, that although Wellington had called for this participation, the British government was not very keen in view of the long time a Portuguese expedition would take to reach the war theatre<sup>334</sup>.

The exercise of power in Portugal went on unsettled. In July 1815 Beresford claimed that even when the members of the government deliberated 'wisely' they did not carry out their decisions. They behaved more 'reasonable and civil' but he did not trust

---

<sup>330</sup> Register of the aviso, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 381, f. 319. The governors received the aviso in April 1815 and underlined to the Prince Regent that not only the British ambassador never showed any pretension to it but also they would never allowed it without royal order. Register of conta no. 343, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 22 April 1815, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, f. 145v-149v.

<sup>331</sup> D. José Luís de Sousa, Portuguese representative in Madrid, asked for instructions to the Marquis de Aguiar, in case he was requested about the cooperation of Portugal in such expeditions. See extract of ofício from Sousa to Forjaz, 25 de February 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 134.

<sup>332</sup> Canning to Forjaz, extracts of notes 1 May 1815, 16 May 1815, 25 May 1815, 14 June 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 284r, f. 285v, f. 286v, f. 287v.

<sup>333</sup> Forjaz to Cipriano Ribeiro Freire, 24 May 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 569, f. 179r. Freire was at the time the Portuguese representative in London and had written to Forjaz about the matter on 18 April 1815.

<sup>334</sup> Muir, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon...*, p. 355. About the refusal this expedition see also Simão José da Luz Soriano, *História da guerra civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: terceira epocha: estabelecimento do governo parlamentar*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 63-68.

them since they knew that he intended to go to Brazil.<sup>335</sup> In fact he went. He arrived in Rio de Janeiro on 30 September 1815<sup>336</sup> and a year after was again in Lisbon.<sup>337</sup>

Beresford wanted the Prince Regent to decide on a set of measures that he had recommended and the Regency opposed. In spite of having observed anti British feelings in Rio de Janeiro, he obtained from the Portuguese sovereign the approval of promotions in the Army, against the Regency's opinion.<sup>338</sup> Beresford, as far as his stay in Brazil extended, gained the confidence of Prince Regent on what concerned his position in Lisbon. In November 1815 he reported to Lord Castlereagh how Araújo was outraged by the Regency's proposal of replacing the British officers by German officers, such as the Baron of Eben. The Marshal added that Araújo was anxious to remove them,<sup>339</sup> but the governors of the Kingdom were not. The Prince Regent had not many alternatives of people to appoint in Portugal.

The movements of Beresford in Brazil seem to have been followed by the Regency through Anselmo José Correia Henriques.<sup>340</sup> However, this did not prevent him from being successful.<sup>341</sup> His powers were reinforced by the new regulations of the Army of the first, second and third line, which the Prince Regent approved on 21 February 1816, without listening to the Lisbon government.<sup>342</sup> This government considered that the

---

<sup>335</sup> Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, Lisbon, 13 July 1815, PRO, FO 63/188, f. 35r-36v.

<sup>336</sup> From Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 15 October 1815, PRO, FO 63/188, f. 37r-40v.

<sup>337</sup> He arrived in Lisbon on 18 September 1816. Beresford to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, Lisbon, 23 September 1816, PRO, FO 63/198, f. 155r-158v.

<sup>338</sup> Beresford remarked that the Marquis of Aguiar was not an enemy of the British but preferred quiet things and that Araújo showed indignation at the conduct of the governors. Beresford, however, was aware of Araújo's opinions and politics. From Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 15 October 1815, PRO, FO 63/188, f. 37r-40v.

<sup>339</sup> Beresford was persuaded that Araújo was a man of 'good nature, honourable and well intentioned' and attributed the referred proposal to the 'sentiments' of Sousa, Forjaz and Borba whom he named as the three active members of the Regency. From Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 24 November 1815, PRO, FO 63/188, f. 47r and following.

<sup>340</sup> Separate dispatch, from Chamberlain to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 24 February 1816, PRO, FO, 63/192, f. 136r-138r. Chamberlain was consul general and chargé d'affaires at Rio de Janeiro since the departure of Strangford on 8 April 1815. See Bindoff, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852*, p. 28. In this dispatch he analysed briefly a 'list of reported diplomatic appointments' and about the appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Copenhagen 'Chevalier Anselmo José Correa Henriques' wrote he was supposed to have been sent by D. Miguel Forjaz to Rio 'to spy upon Beresford'.

<sup>341</sup> Just arrived from Rio de Janeiro, Beresford wrote to Lord Viscount Castlereagh: 'everything respecting the Army of Portugal, which I proposed to His Majesty, has been acceded to, and consequently this army will be placed in all its Branches on a new footing', Lisbon, 23 September 1816, PRO, FO 63/198, f. 155r-158v, especially f. 157v.

<sup>342</sup> Nogueira wrote with irony that the government in Brazil demanded a report from the Lisbon government even to decide on a request for opening a shoemaker workshop but for such an

powers granted to Beresford made him independent in many affairs. This was incompatible with the security of the state, which was, therefore, reduced to a military monarchy led by a foreigner.<sup>343</sup> In the session that took place on 28 September 1816, ten days after Beresford had brought the regulations from Brazil, the government decided to send a representation to the Prince Regent, following some previous *ofícios* from Forjaz about the subject.<sup>344</sup> The questions raised were the great powers, autonomous from the government, that Beresford was invested with in all the branches of the military department and comprising a large part of the jurisdiction of the civil judges, and the ruinous effects they would have on the *Real Erário* and on the agriculture. It was suggested also that the regulations should be carried out gradually.<sup>345</sup> The government and Beresford had, in effect, to discuss the real financial situation of the country and the way it affected the Army. In January 1817 the Marquis of Borba, head officer of the *Real Erário*, Forjaz *secretário dos Negócios da Guerra*, and the Marshal met at the Marquis' house to consider the budget of the incomes and expenses of the *Real Erário* with the budgets of the expenses of the Army's departments. They agreed on dividing the funds every three months and set up the monthly sum the *Real Erário*, which could be applied in the military expenses, according to the circumstances.<sup>346</sup>

Meantime, the governors of the Kingdom received the news of the royal decision to elevate Brazil to a Kingdom.<sup>347</sup> Afterwards, on July 1816, as they were informed of the

---

important matter decided alone (*'O Ministerio de Brasil que exige a informação do Governo para despachar hum requerimento em que se pede huma capataria; decidio sem informaçam nem consulta, e ate parece que sem olhar para os officios do Governo...'*). Nogueira's memorandum, BN, COD 6848, p. 106.

<sup>343</sup> The governor of the Kingdom Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira stated this when characterising Beresford, on January 1818. His exact words about the state in Portugal, after the regulations, were the following: *'[Estado] que ficava reduzido a uma Monarquia militar de que era chefe um estrangeiro'*. BN, COD 6848, p. 85.

<sup>344</sup> In parallel, Principal Sousa wrote directly to the Prince Regent criticising Beresford's authority on all the fortresses, including the naval ones, over the generals, militia, *ordenanças* and *inspetor-geral das ordenanças*, previously submitted to the *Conselho de Guerra* presided over by the monarch. Letter from Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 27 October 1816, Copybook, CEHCA, FUP, R-9, 1, 1, vol. 2, f. 156v-162r.

<sup>345</sup> BN, COD 6848, pp. 84-85 and COD 6851, p. 245.

<sup>346</sup> Reference to the conta no. 456, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, 27 January 1817, in the register of aviso from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 17 de April 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, pp. 215-216.

<sup>347</sup> The corresponding *alvará*, dated 16 December 1815, was presented at the government's session dated 23 April 1816, as soon as the ship that transported it arrived in Lisbon. BN, COD 6851, p. 244. On the other hand, on 30 April 1816 the government informed the Prince Regent of the reception of the *aviso* dated 3 February 1816, by which the same decision was communicated. Register of conta no. 408, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 30 April 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 117-122.

death of Queen D. Maria I, the governors expressed to the sovereign their strong desire of his return to the ‘*antiquissima sede da Monarquia*’.<sup>348</sup> On 17 March 1817, the governors of the Kingdom were more imperative. The King had informed them of the establishment of a day, 6 of April, to celebrate the act of accession and oath of tribute and homage to him, the new King. But the governors, though having sent circulars to the several authorities to celebrate that day, voiced the discontent of the vassals in relation to the delay of the Prince Regent in Brazil.<sup>349</sup> According to the British chargé d’ affairs Edward Ward the ceremonies of acclamation of the King in Portugal were not enthusiastic. He observed that ‘the people consider themselves dwindled into a Province to an American Kingdom’, and the Regency was jealous of the power given to Beresford and of his influence with the King. Ward added that in the papers put in placards or in circulation neither the Regency nor the King was spared. Finally, the Portuguese felt under a Spanish menace<sup>350</sup> related to the war frontiers in the south of Brazil, namely in the Rio de la Plata where Spain faced insurrections and Portugal had intervened.<sup>351</sup>

The fact that in 1816, Madeira and the Azores came under the jurisdiction of the *tribunais* (departments) of Portugal and not of Brazil did not significantly empower the Lisbon government.<sup>352</sup> This was weakening even in its composition. The Patriarch Elect, Fr. António de S. José e Castro, previously Bishop of Porto, had died in 1814.<sup>353</sup> He would not be replaced for several years. The Marquis of Olhão, Francisco Cunha Meneses, Monteiro-Mór and previously Count of Castro Marim, was absent for months, due to illness, in 1815. Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira was also absent alleging poor

---

<sup>348</sup> ‘Most ancient seat of the Monarchy’. Register of conta no. 419, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 13 July 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 157-158.

<sup>349</sup> Register of conta no. 466, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 17 March 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 375-378.

<sup>350</sup> Ward to Viscount Castlereagh, Lisbon, 11 April 1817, PRO, FO 63/205, f. 91r-92v, especially f. 91r. Edward Ward, secretary of the British Legation in Lisbon resided there as chargé d’ affairs since March 1816. Draft of letter from Castlereagh to M. Forjaz, Foreign Office, 1 March 1816, PRO, FO 63/198, f. 167r-167v. See also Bindoff, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852*, p. 92.

<sup>351</sup> Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, ‘A instauração do Liberalismo (1807-1832)’ in *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1994, pp. 130-131. For a deeper account of the intricate ‘*Questão Platina*’ during these years, see Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 338-355.

<sup>352</sup> This happened already in the litigious cases that ascended to the *Casa da Suplicação* in Lisbon. BN, COD 6851, p. 263.

<sup>353</sup> On 12 April 1814, in the *Palácio da Mitra*, 72 years old. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 90, (18 April 1814) [pp. 3-4].

health.<sup>354</sup> In June 1815 he informed the government of the impossibility of going on serving as governor of the Kingdom, and sent a representation to the Prince Regent with a similar content.<sup>355</sup> The monarch while approving permission for Nogueira to travel in order to recover postponed the granting of his other requests related to his dismissal.<sup>356</sup> During 1815 Nogueira did not attend the government's sessions from 22 April till the end of the year. During the following four years he was absent one to two months annually.<sup>357</sup> On 12 February 1816, a royal decree appointed the Principal Freire, then Patriarch Elect, to be a member of the government of the Kingdoms of Portugal and Algarves, and the governors acted accordingly but he did not take up the post.<sup>358</sup>

In April and May 1817, a conspiracy was afoot, with the aims of removing the British from the military control of the country and of establishing a new government supposed to guarantee the independence of Portugal. This was being prepared by a secret and revolutionary society close to Freemasonry<sup>359</sup> established in Lisbon but with links to other Portuguese places. The majority of its members were military that had returned to Portugal after serving in the Napoleonic Armies and some of them were freemasons. They were denounced, imprisoned and judged in a summary trial, between May and October 1817, under the authority of the governors of the Kingdom. General Gomes Freire de Andrade,<sup>360</sup> Grand Master of the Masonry since 1816, who had served on the *Légion Portugaise*, was sentenced to death as well as eleven more conspirators. The way he was executed on 18 October 1817 was considered offensive to a military man and he

---

<sup>354</sup> Register of conta no. 342, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 22 April 1815, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, pp. 145r.

<sup>355</sup> Register of conta no. 348, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 22 June 1815, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, pp. 158r-159v.

<sup>356</sup> Register of conta no. 349, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 13 February 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 51r-56r.

<sup>357</sup> See dates of sessions Nogueira attended to from 1816 till 1819, in his memorandum, BN, COD 6848-6853.

<sup>358</sup> Register of conta no. 418, from Governors of the Kingdom to Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 6 July 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 153-157. His complete name was Gomes Freire de Andrade. P. Penner da Cunha, *Sob Fogo: Portugal e Espanha entre 1800 e 1820*, Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1988, p. 111.

<sup>359</sup> *Supremo Conselho Regenerador de Portugal, Brasil e Algarves*.

<sup>360</sup> He was hanged, his limbs mutilated and his ashes spread in the sea. The other executions were similar, though carried out in a different place. Account based on Isabel Nobre Vargues, 'O processo da formação do primeiro movimento liberal: a Revolução de 1820' in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores: 1993, vol. 5, pp. 45-63, and especially pp. 52-54, with bibliographical references. To be acquainted with the historiography of the conspiracy, in its traditional and antagonistic versions, namely about the degree of the involvement of Gomes Freire de Andrade in the conspiracy and about the role of Beresford in their judgement, see Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, 'A instauração do Liberalismo (1807-1832)' in *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, pp. 121-126, and the referred bibliography.

and the others became freedom martyrs. Beresford was afterwards accused, namely by the 1820 revolutionaries, of responsibility in the trial of the conspirators. However, it appears that several Portuguese factions acted, and that Forjaz used Gomes Freire de Andrade in his political manoeuvres in relation to the British and to the King. The exact details of all these events remain to be clearly analysed.<sup>361</sup>

The Marshal General Marquis of Campo Maior, Beresford transmitted to the government, through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra*, held by Forjaz, the news about the conspiracy. These were then communicated to King D. João VI, as well as the measures taken, always through the War department. But the events led also the government to portray its feeble situation to the King. The government was reduced to the Marquis of Borba, Principal Sousa, Nogueira and the two secretaries. The Marquis and the Principal Sousa were in poor health, Nogueira had some diseases, and missed many sessions, and Salter de Mendonça, the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*, was in a very poor state of health. Sometimes it was impossible to gather the minimum number of three members to meet. Finally, the governors asked the King to act in order not to suspend the government and to avoid that they had to convoke people to replace them.<sup>362</sup>

---

<sup>361</sup> See confidential letters from the Marquis of Campo Maior Marshal Beresford to José de Andrade Corvo de Camões and to Captain Pedro Pinto de Moraes Sarmiento, Páteo do Saldanha, 19 and 22 April 1817, related to the preparation of a conspiracy, and also from the latter and other military men to Beresford about the conspiracy and the following denouncements, Collection of the Author, pub by Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 4, pp. 73-76. See also a version of the conspiracy, emphasising the co-operation between Spanish revolutionaries and the Portuguese insurgents and the role performed by Beresford and D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz in the repression of the latter, by Soriano, citing confidential documents of the Arquivo do Governo Civil de Lisboa and others, *História da Guerra Civil e do Estabelecimento do Governo Parlamentar em Portugal compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: terceira epocha: estabelecimento do Governo Parlamentar*, vol. 1, pp. 257-308. Soriano published several documents in *História da Guerra Civil e do Estabelecimento do Governo Parlamentar em Portugal compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: terceira epocha: estabelecimento do Governo Parlamentar*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1887, vol. 6, pp. 132-158 and pp. 161-182. The private papers of Forjaz, which include some official records of the period, might help to clarify this. BN, Arquivo Almada e Lencastre Bastos. Maria de Fátima Bonifácio, citing Fernando Pereira Marques and Silva Dias, considered this conspiracy a corporatist military coup without civil support and national military dimension. See 'O Século XIX em perspectiva política (1807-1890). I 1807-1834: reacção e revolução' in *Apologia da História política: Estudos sobre o século XIX português*. Lisboa: Quetzal Editores, 1999, pp. 133-159, especially p. 141.

<sup>362</sup> Register of conta no. 479, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 6 July 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 21-25. Two days later Principal Sousa wrote also to the King 'está o actual Governo mais na forma de hum Tribunal, do que hum poder executivo, efficaz e activo' (the present government seems more like a tribunal than an executive power, efficient and active). Letter from Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 8 de Julho de 1817, copybook, CEHCA, FUP, R-9, 1, 1, vol. 2, f. 186r.



This ruling frailty co-existed with strong anti-British feelings, which had several causes according to the British representative. On the one hand the Portuguese efforts to suppress the slave trade and the commercial stipulations of the treaty, which were in favour of Britain. On the other, 'perhaps' the continuance of the British officers in the superior ranks of the army and the length of the British military residence 'during which, to use a homely phrase, we may be said to have fairly worn out our welcome'.<sup>363</sup> The government tried to keep up the prospect of the return of the King. But a group of discontented people viewed the Cadaval family as a hypothetical substitute for the royal family.<sup>364</sup>

Portugal seemed far away from his 'Brazilian' King. The governors insisted on requesting the replacement of some of them.<sup>365</sup> In October 1817, they repeated their requests because of the recent death of the Principal Sousa,<sup>366</sup> the definitive poor health of the Marquis Monteiro-Mór and the new petition of dismissal from Nogueira.<sup>367</sup> During the session that took place on 21 March 1818, the governors of the Kingdom received, at last, a royal decree, dated 23 December 1817,<sup>368</sup> appointing a new governor, the Count of Peniche, D. Caetano de Noronha<sup>369</sup> who took up this post soon after. On the other hand,

---

<sup>363</sup> Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 16 September 1817, PRO, FO 63/205, f. 198r-201v, especially f. 200v.

<sup>364</sup> The exact words of Ward referring to the Cadaval family were that it could work as rallying point 'for one party which might be disposed to proceed to violent measures to obtain an amelioration of the existing system'. Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 29 December 1817, PRO, FO 63/205, f. 301r-302r, especially f. 301v. D. Nuno Álvares Pereira, 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Cadaval, was a descendant from the Condestável (Supreme Commander of the Army) of King D. João I (1357-1433). The family had returned from Brazil to Lisbon in 1816 and was investigated by the *Intendência Geral da Polícia*, without results. See Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, 'A instauração do Liberalismo (1807-1832)' in *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, p. 124. See also Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil e do Estabelecimento do Governo Parlamentar em Portugal compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: terceira epocha: estabelecimento do governo parlamentar*, vol. 1, pp. 428-431, mainly n. 1 and cited documents.

<sup>365</sup> Register of conta no. 491, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 24 September 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 79-80.

<sup>366</sup> Ward to Castlereagh, 1 October 1817, PRO, FO 63/205, f. 198r-201v.

<sup>367</sup> Register of conta no. 494, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 17 October 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 93-94. Nogueira was in Cintra during a month in the summer 1817. He had settled with his colleagues of the government that they would decide the affairs and when the votes were uniform the papers for him to sign should be sent there. He only went back to Lisbon by the middle of September because this system did not work. BN, COD 6852, p. 58.

<sup>368</sup> Register of the royal decree, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, p. 163.

<sup>369</sup> D. Caetano José de Noronha e Albuquerque. See, for instance, P. Penner da Cunha, *Sob Fogo: Portugal e Espanha entre 1800 e 1820*, p. 111.

the King insisted on the Principal Freire beginning to attend the government's sessions, without success.<sup>370</sup>

At the same time, the sovereign granted the governors and the secretaries the privilege of being addressed by the title of honour 'Excellency',<sup>371</sup> a poor compensation or incentive to them. Furthermore, they had received, a week before, a royal letter, dated 6 February 1818, communicating the coronation of King D. João VI in Rio de Janeiro,<sup>372</sup> an expressive sign of his willingness to stay there.

Although the conspiracy of General Gomes Freire de Andrade had shaken the government, it continued its routine. There were no significant innovations in the administration. During the session of the government that took place on 5 May 1818 the Count of Peniche, before Forjaz arrived, accused the department he directed, that of the Navy Affairs, of 'abuses'. The Count of Peniche mentioned new and expensive projects such as a health department and the Navy assistance in the repression of contraband interfering with the jurisdiction of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. According to him, Forjaz was asking for information and was ordering consultations with *tribunais* that did not belong to his jurisdiction.<sup>373</sup>

The rule of Portugal was unsustainable. Neither the government nor Marshal Beresford were satisfied with the way that each other ran the country. In a meeting with the government that took place on 4 April 1818, Beresford repeated his old claim of reporting directly to it without previous formal request. Besides, the Marshal reproached the governors for the obstacles raised against some of the items of the military regulation brought from Brazil in 1816. On the other hand, he complained that on the *Conselho de Guerra*, he had only one vote and many decisions opposed him.<sup>374</sup> In June 1818, Beresford went to England delegating the control of the Army to the Portuguese General

---

<sup>370</sup> Register of conta no. 522, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 21 de March 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 201-202; register of conta no. 525, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 14 April 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 216-221.

<sup>371</sup> Aviso, 6 de March 1818, with alvará 22 January 1818, which the Governors acknowledged on 12 June 1818. See register of conta no. 533, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 12 June 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 261-264.

<sup>372</sup> Register of conta no. 532, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 6 June 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 259-261.

<sup>373</sup> BN, COD 6852, pp. 111-112.

<sup>374</sup> BN, COD 6852, pp. 101-104.

Francisco de Paula Leite, Governor of Arms of the Province of Estremadura. But at the beginning of March 1819, he reassumed his post in Portugal.<sup>375</sup>

The government went on unsettled in its composition and working. The Principal Cunha, brother of the Marquis of Olhão previous governor of the Kingdom, replaced the Principal Freire, who had never held his post effectively. The King appointed him, by a decree dated 4 July 1818, to Patriarch and to governor of the Kingdom and in September 1818 he took up the latter post, although it appears that he only began to exercise his functions in 1819.<sup>376</sup> The sovereign made another appointment in January 1819, of the Count of Funchal, D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, diplomat, but he too never occupied this position.<sup>377</sup>

On the other hand, in Brazil, the King and his minister Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal<sup>378</sup> closely surveyed the government's weak powers. In a conflict of jurisdiction between the government and the *Conselho da Fazenda*, the strong

---

<sup>375</sup> BN, COD 6852, p. 119 and COD 6853, p. 19.

<sup>376</sup> Nogueira referred this in April 1819. He also mentioned that the Principal D. Carlos da Cunha, Patriarch Elect, was a very good man, scrupulous and little talented, and that he would request new grants to his family. BN COD 6848, p. 97. See also aviso, 12 November 1818, communicating the royal decision, mentioned in register of conta no. 572, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 1 February 1819, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 319, pp. 25-32. This conta was already signed by D. C. Patriarca Eleito. His complete name was Carlos Cunha Menezes. See P. Penner da Cunha, *Sob Fogo: Portugal e Espanha entre 1800 e 1820*, p. 111.

<sup>377</sup> Royal decree, 22 January 1819 mentioned in register of conta no. 586, from the governors of the Kingdom to King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 29 April 1819, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 319, pp. 108-114. Or aviso from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal [*secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil e da Fazenda*] to Count of Funchal, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 22 January 1819. BNRJ, CL, I-29, 14, 56, no. 23. The Count of Funchal was the Portuguese representative in London from 1803 till 1814 and in the Holy See from then till 1817. In this year he was appointed ambassador in Madrid but he did not perform the corresponding functions. See Luís Teixeira Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros: subsídios para o estudo da história da diplomacia portuguesa' in Eduardo Brazão (ed.), *Estudos Históricos* [Lisbon]: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, [1984], pp. 228, 231 and 225. As was mentioned, he had a considerable influence during the Peninsular Wars and when his brother D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho died, he was to replace him at Foreign and War Affairs. After his signature, without royal permission, of the Treaty of Paris dated 30 May 1814, he was punished and removed from the negotiations in the Congress of Vienna. See Forjaz to Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, 17 de Junho 1812, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 569, f. 69r, and Macedo, *História Diplomática de Portugal*, p. 381. Funchal was not convinced to hold the post as he criticised the working of the government suggesting alternative procedures. 2<sup>a</sup> via of letter from Count of Funchal to the King, London, 30 December 1819, enclosed with 2<sup>a</sup> via of letter from Count of Funchal to Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, London, 30 December 1819, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 11, 585.

<sup>378</sup> Arnold B. Clayton, about Vilanova Portugal between 1817 and 1820, wrote the following: 'His personal relationship with Dom João and his role as Minister of the Kingdom were the main supports of his power. However, due to the death or absence of several colleagues in the cabinet, he also served as interim minister of each portfolio at one time or another.' 'The Life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1977), p. 171.

expressions used by the former in relation to the latter were disapproved in Rio de Janeiro. After asking for forgiveness for using expressions that were usual in the context, the members of the government reminded that their commission was honourable but critical and troublesome. Once more, the governors observed that the distance from the King was immense and thus they begged for orders in relation to similar cases. What should they do when the *tribunais* and judges did not obey the immediate royal orders, which the government commanded to be carried out? The King's criticism not only compromised the monarch's authority but also diminished the respect the civil servants should have in relation to them, the '*Corporação*' (Corporation) that represented the King.<sup>379</sup>

At this time, the government met generally three times a week. On Mondays the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* attended the session, on Thursdays it was the turn of the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Guerra e Marinha*, and on Saturdays both attended.<sup>380</sup> By the beginning of December 1819, the governors decided to reduce the number of sessions to two a week, on Thursdays and Saturdays.<sup>381</sup> Inertia was winning.

In February 1820, the governors of the Kingdom received the decree by which the King granted resignation to Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira,<sup>382</sup> who paid his respects to his colleagues at the session that took place on the 5<sup>th</sup> that month.<sup>383</sup> Five months later, the governors were upset with the replacement of the *Desembargador* Alexandre José Ferreira Castelo who was paralysed, and raised the possibility of appointing someone *ad interim*.<sup>384</sup> This happened with the appointment for *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* first of the Count of Feira, Forjaz, and since he refused, of the *Desembargador do Paço* António Gomes Ribeiro.<sup>385</sup>

In parallel, during the month of April, Marshal Beresford went again to Brazil in order to be more empowered and to have a seat in the government. Beresford also looked

---

<sup>379</sup> Register of conta no. 622, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 26 de November 1819, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 319, pp. 298-301.

<sup>380</sup> Government's session 25 October 1819. BN, COD 6853, p. 44.

<sup>381</sup> Apparently due to a request from the Count of Peniche who felt ill. BN, COD 6853, pp. 53-54.

<sup>382</sup> Register of royal decree 31 August 1819, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 7v; also referred in register of conta no. 638, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 12 February 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 319, pp. 379-381.

<sup>383</sup> BN, COD 6853, p. 69. Nogueira had made his third request of dismissal on 8 March 1819. BN, COD 6848, p. 98.

<sup>384</sup> Register of conta no. 666, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 18 July 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 320, pp. 44-45.

<sup>385</sup> Register of conta no. 675, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 23 August 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 320, pp. 70-71.

for the return of military forces that had gone to fight in the Rio de la Plata<sup>386</sup> in 1815-1816.<sup>387</sup> In Portugal people were dissatisfied. Finances were depressed; Spanish military movements occurred and there were arrears in the pay of the Army. The British chargé d'affaires in Lisbon believed that only a more powerful government,<sup>388</sup> namely exercised by a member of the Royal Family, would guarantee stability. He was aware, by letters from Rio de Janeiro, dated 10 June, that Lord Beresford was having 'daily and lengthened conferences with the King' and there were rumours that he obtained a supply for the troops and that the Prince Royal was arriving.<sup>389</sup> But the outbursts of a revolutionary movement in Porto, on 24 August, followed by Lisbon in September, overrode all this and overtook Beresford who was returning from Rio de Janeiro.<sup>390</sup> The Liberal Revolution in Portugal led finally King D. João to leave Brazil where during thirteen years a central administrative structure had been built up.

---

<sup>386</sup> Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, 'A instauração do Liberalismo (1807-1832)' in *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, p. 143.

<sup>387</sup> Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, p. 340.

<sup>388</sup> 'A Government with more than the mere semblance of power, whose authority could crush the present (f. 34r) multiplied tyrannies of Bureaucracy...', Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 7 August 1820, PRO, FO 63/231, f. 33v-34r.

<sup>389</sup> Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 7 August 1820, PRO, FO 63/231, f. 33r-34v.

<sup>390</sup> Beresford left Rio de Janeiro on 13 August 1820 and arrived at Lisbon on 10 October 1820. See Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, 'A instauração do Liberalismo (1807-1832)' in *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, p. 143-144.

## 4 The government in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1820

### 4.1 The government structure and working

The transfer of the Court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, though for a supposed temporary period, involved the building of an apparatus to rule and administer the Portuguese territories. The governmental structure already existing in Brazil was insufficient and did not respond to the new reality of becoming the seat of the Portuguese Monarchy. However, the first measures taken when the sovereign stayed in Bahia for five weeks, due to the storm that had deviated some of the ships from the course to Rio de Janeiro did not concern any administrative change. At this stage, the sovereign seems to have been assisted essentially by the Count da Ponte D. João de Saldanha da Gama Melo Torres Guedes de Brito, governor of the captaincy of Bahia, D. Fernando José de Portugal, afterwards minister and secretary of state, and the Marquis of Belas, D. José Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa. All of them worked as advisers. But the governor of the captaincy of Bahia carried out the royal decisions and D. Fernando de Portugal established the liaison with the Prince Regent.<sup>1</sup>

The major political decision the Prince Regent took was the issue, on 28 January 1808, of a royal letter addressed to the Count da Ponte that opened Brazil to the commerce and navigation of the friendly nations.<sup>2</sup> The letter followed three immediate recommendations: a written recommendation not dated from the Marquis of Belas, a representation from the citizens of Bahia, signed by the Count da Ponte and dated 27 January 1808, and the oral recommendation from José da Silva Lisboa (later Count of Cairu) namely to Fernando José de Portugal and probably suggested by the Marquis of Belas.<sup>3</sup> It seems, besides, that Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, individual in the confidence of the Prince Regent and afterwards the key secretary of state, while on board of the *Medusa*, witnessed the negotiations between D. António de Araújo, still *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, and Lord Strangford, the British

---

<sup>1</sup> Alan K. Manchester, 'The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro' in *Conflict and continuity in Brazilian Society*, Columbia, South Carolina, University of South Carolina Press, 1969, p. 164, based on Wanderley Pinho, 'A abertura dos pôrtos - Cairú' *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 243 (April-June, 1959), 98-103.

<sup>2</sup> *Collecção de leis do Brazil*, pub. by Biker, *Suplemento à coleção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos públicos celebrados entre a coroa de Portugal e as mais potências desde 1640*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1878, vol. 7, 1805-1814, pp. 102-103.

<sup>3</sup> Alan K. Manchester, 'The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro', pp. 165-166.

minister in Lisbon and later in Rio de Janeiro, about this opening of the ports of Brazil to the foreign commerce.<sup>4</sup> What is most relevant is the fact that this letter ended the Portuguese monopoly on the colonial trade with Brazil and in practice, at the time, put it in the hands of Great Britain<sup>5</sup> despite later alterations. Simultaneously, this legal document contributed to the commercial autonomy of Brazil in relation to Portugal and according to several authors, also to its future political independence.<sup>6</sup> Other matters were carried out by the Prince Regent till his departure to Rio but the majority were usual and none had the general scope of the mentioned royal letter.<sup>7</sup>

On 7 March 1808, the monarch finally arrived in Rio de Janeiro. The setting up of the government was the priority. It appears that there was more than one point of view on how to organise it, judging from the difference between what was proposed in a recommendation to the sovereign and what was actually established. This recommendation was written in Bahia by the Marquis of Belas and included the project of the opening of the ports of Brazil to the commerce of friendly nations.<sup>8</sup>

Belas proposed to simplify the Government, in relation to its predecessor in Lisbon, and to concentrate it in one single hand, able but not powerful, through which all the information and signatures should pass. The *Junta da Fazenda* (Board of Finance) of Rio de Janeiro would be changed into the *Real Erário* whose President also would be in charge of the three *Secretarias de Estado*, gathered into a single one. He should live at the Court for the King to control him. Belas recommended that D. Fernando de Portugal occupy this post. As regards the administration of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis considered D. Fernando to be better served with a '*Secretario de Lingoas*' (i. e. a

---

<sup>4</sup> Arnold B. Clayton, 'The Life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821' pp. 77-78 and n. 21. He relies on Vilanova Portugal's critical memorandum on the subject 'quoted in João Ribeiro, *História do Brasil*, 13<sup>th</sup> ed., Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Francisco Alves, 1935, pp. 398-340'. Strangford did not accompany the fleet that transported the Portuguese Court to Rio. But this conversation may have occurred while those concerned were still in Lisbon.

<sup>5</sup> Roderick J. Barman considers that this royal letter anticipated British demands to obtain exclusive trading privileges. See *Brazil: The forging of a Nation, 1798-1852*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> See Manchester and the authors he refers to, 'The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro', p. 167.

<sup>7</sup> See Manchester, 'The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro', p. 168, referring again to Pinho. The *Chancelaria-Mor do Brasil* later on recorded the major royal documents issued at Bahia. See *Livro de registo das Leis, e Alvarás da Chancelaria Mor do Estado do Brasil...* ANRJ, Cod. 48, vol. 1, f. 1r and following.

<sup>8</sup> Recommendation from the Marquis of Belas to the Prince Regent [1808], about the opening of the ports of Brazil and about the Government in Brazil, Real Gabinete, Col. of the Author, pub. by Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI. Príncipe e Rei*, vol. 3, *A Independência do Brasil*, Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1956, pp. 38-43.

translator) and with the help of Cipriano Ribeiro Freire, a diplomat who had stayed in Portugal, than with the diplomats who accompanied the sovereign. The diplomats should be sent to the foreign Courts rather than holding administrative posts, which they were incapable of doing. Besides, according to Belas, they only hindered the sovereign's Council due to people surrounding them and to their willing of command. Finally, the Marquis noticed that these matters should be comprised in a royal letter addressed to the governors of the captaincies and that he had not seen the secretaries of state prepare them, which however should be ready while still on board, prior to arrival in Rio. On the other hand, and following Kenneth Maxwell, there was ambivalence among the high-ranking personalities that accompanied the Prince Regent, in relation to the basic purposes of the transfer of the Court. Some, backing D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, previous *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* and *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* and an early and open defendant of a close alliance with Great Britain against Napoleon, and of the move to Brazil, envisaged a deeper change than those who thought this would be transitory.<sup>9</sup>

On 11 March 1808, a few days after disembarking in Rio de Janeiro, the sovereign began to rebuild the Portuguese state apparatus through the appointment of the ministers of the *secretarias de Estado*, the central organs of the government. At the improvised Royal Palace, he firstly nominated D. Fernando José de Portugal (later Marquis of Aguiar), of the *Conselho de Estado*, to *ministro assistente* (assistant minister) to the carrying out of the Prince Regent's Cabinet and president of the *Real Erário* then created in Rio de Janeiro, as well as *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* (minister and secretary of state for Brazil Affairs).<sup>10</sup> The Viscount (later Count) of Anadia, D. João Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes, also of the *Conselho de Estado*, was appointed to go on serving as *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* excluding the Dominions of the *Estado do Brasil* (State of Brazil). Finally, to *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da*

---

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Maxwell, 'Ideias imperiais' in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (ed.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998, vol. 3, p. 418.

<sup>10</sup> Roberto de Macedo publishes the decree without referring to the source, adding the *Fazenda* to the *Negócios do Brasil*. See Roberto Macedo, *História administrativa do Brasil*, vol. 7, *Brasil sede da monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa* 1st part, ed. Vicente Tapajós, Brasília: Editora Univ. de Brasília, FUNCEP, 1983, p. 24. However the register of the decree, which is a copy of it, does not mention the Finance Affairs. Neither does more recently Heloísa Liberalli Belloto 'O Estado Português no Brasil: Sistema Administrativo e Fiscal' in Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (ed.) *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa: O Império Luso-Brasileiro 1750-1822*, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1986, pp. 292-292.



*Guerra* the Prince Regent nominated D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho following the dismissal of D. António de Araújo de Azevedo (afterwards Count da Barca) both belonging to the *Conselho de Estado* too.<sup>11</sup>

Politically the most significant fact at the level of the *secretarias de Estado*, was the withdrawal of Azevedo, who in Portugal also held *ad interim* the portfolio of the Kingdom Affairs, and the re-emergence of D. Rodrigo. The Portuguese option for the British ally against the aggressive Napoleonic France explained this change. But what needs must be emphasized here are the administrative arrangements. The appointments to the *secretarias de Estado* were made according to the legislation that first created them in 1736. At first sight, there would be no change of functions, powers and procedures. However, the sole fact of operating from Brazil and not from Portugal led to immediate alterations of territorial jurisdiction, which had other effects. The *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* became *dos Negócios do Brasil*, which ceased to belong to the *Domínios Ultramarinos*. On the other hand, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, was not recreated in a defined way, though its corresponding function was held by the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* as president of the *Real Erário* and of the *Conselho da Fazenda*. A certain ambiguity persisted as regard the designation of this *secretaria de Estado*. Ten months later, when the Prince Regent sent a letter of instructions to the governors of the Kingdom, enclosing copies of the decrees of these appointments, he referred to the ‘*Ministros e Secretários de Estado das Repartições do Reino e Brasil, Fazenda*,’ (Ministers and Secretaries of State of the Offices of the Kingdom and Brazil, Finance). That is to say, Finance appeared to have been added to Brazil Affairs. On the other hand, the designation ‘*ministro da Fazenda*’ appeared here and there.<sup>12</sup> In practice, the rule of the financial matters seems to have been exerted at the level of a secretary of state but through the *Real Erário*<sup>13</sup> and also through the *Conselho da Fazenda*. Records in the National Archives of Brazil and of Portugal suggest this too.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> For all the appointments see *Registo de Mercês*, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1, f. 1r-1v, and IAN/TT, micr. 043-2000.

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, Memorandum from D. João de Almeida, n.d., MNE, pub. in Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, p. 289.

<sup>13</sup> Paulo Merêa considers that in the alvará dated 28 June 1808, the post of president of the *Real Erário* of Rio de Janeiro corresponds to the post of minister of Finance. Paulo Merêa, ‘Da minha gaveta: os secretários de Estado do antigo regimen’ *Boletim da Faculdade de Direito*, 40 (1964) 173-190, p. 189, n. 51.

<sup>14</sup> In the ANRJ, a checking of the *Relação de códices da Antiga Secção de Documentação Histórica*, Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1962, and a brief consultation of some of them did not allow the identification of any book of register produced during 1808-1821 in the scope of the

Besides, the lists of officials and other employees of the *secretarias de Estado* residing in Lisbon and in Rio de Janeiro, published by the Lisbon Almanac did not mention the post of *secretário de Estado da Fazenda* nor any employee in Brazil.<sup>15</sup>

The administration of Navy Affairs was effectively displaced from the above-mentioned *secretaria de Estado* to the hands of D. Pedro Carlos de Bourbon. His uncle the Prince Regent appointed him to the post of admiral general on 13 May 1808.

Therefore he supervised the captains-general of the galleons of the Royal Fleet and the navy inspectors. In addition, after the restoration of Portugal, he also took charge of the naval forces, though with little impact.<sup>16</sup> This transfer of competences however, was reversed four years later, following the death of D. Pedro Carlos Bourbon.<sup>17</sup>

---

Finance Affairs by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil (e Fazenda)*. Even less in the case of the *Negócios de Portugal* collection, comprising different kinds of documents from several provenances, which was partially consulted, and whose state of disorganisation, however, does not enable a definitive conclusion. In the IAN/TT, at present, there are no finding aids referring to records produced by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* in Brazil or referring to the records of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* in general. However, a team directed by António Frazão and Catarina Guimarães began recently to arrange a group of records that in 1990 were transferred to the IAN/TT from the *Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Finanças* (afterwards discontinued). This group includes part of the archive of the *Ministério da Fazenda*, created in 1833 and a few records of the *Secretaria* that preceded it, but the exact inclusive and predominant dates remain to be clarified. On the other hand, another set of records of the archive of the *Ministério da Fazenda*, which had a troublesome custodial history was transferred in 1994 from the *Biblioteca Nacional* to the IAN/TT by a team directed by Paula Lomelino. The corresponding detailed transfer lists are now being revised and completed and it seems that there is no sign of documents of that *Secretaria de Estado*, at least in the volumes.

<sup>15</sup> The almanacs listed about fifteen to twenty officials of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda* but in Lisbon and named the secretary of the Lisbon Government as ‘*encarregado*’ (in charge of) this *Secretaria de Estado* there, together with the Kingdom Affairs. *Almanach de Lisboa* (1812) 40-42, 47-48 and *Almanach de Lisboa* (1817), part 1, 49-50. On the other hand, as late as 1820, Luís dos Santos Marrocos, official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino no Brasil*, informed his father in Lisbon that the Count of Palmela was expected to arrive to hold the post of *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* alleviating the extreme work of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal who directed two *repartições*, that one and the Affairs of the Kingdom. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 3 September 1820, in ‘*Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos*’, p. 429. The Count of Arcos directed a third, the Navy and Overseas Dominions. Marrocos, along his almost 200 letters, from September 1811 to September 1820, never mentioned the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*.

<sup>16</sup> There was even correspondence between Admiral Berkeley in Portugal, whom the British wished for commanding the Navy there and D. Pedro Carlos. See, for instance, Admiral Berkeley to Admiral General D. Pedro Carlos, Lisbon, Navy Head Quarter, 13 May 1812, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 4, 220. In these papers there are other letters sent by Berkeley to D. Pedro Carlos.

<sup>17</sup> Royal decree, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, of Rio de Janeiro, 16 November 1812, pub. by Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI...*, vol. 3, pp. 217-218. The Infant D. Pedro Carlos (-26 May 1812) was son of D. Mariana Vitória de Bragança and D. Gabriel de Bourbon e Saxe, and when orphan went to the Portuguese Court to be educated. On 13 May 1810 he had married his cousin, the eldest Princess D. Maria Teresa. See José Baptista Barreiros, *Correspondência inédita entre o Conde da Barca e José Egídio Alves de Almeida, secretário particular de El-Rei Dom João VI*, Braga: Delegação Bracarense da Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1962, pp. 11-12.

From the end of March 1808 onwards, the Prince Regent, assisted by his recent ministers developed a continuing ruling activity. This included apparently minor administrative acts such as the issue of permits to come from other Brazilian captaincies to Rio de Janeiro or letters of thanks for the expressions of joy on the Prince Regent's arrival from the *Câmaras Municipais*.<sup>18</sup> Main political and economic measures were also issued then. Among these was the royal decree that revoked the prohibition on the production of certain manufactures in Brazil and in the overseas dominions.<sup>19</sup> This was one of the emblematic acts of the reversal of the colonial status of Brazil in relation to Portugal. In parallel other organs of government were re-established by the sovereign and through the secretaries of state. The process implied the appointment to posts thus reactivating them,<sup>20</sup> and especially the set up on Brazilian territory of almost all of the *tribunais* that used to have a seat in Lisbon with some rearrangements and name adjustments.

On 1 April 1808, at the Royal Palace of Rio de Janeiro, the *Conselho Supremo Militar* was created, with jurisdiction over matters that belonged to the *Conselho de Guerra*, the *Conselho do Almirantado* and the *Conselho do Ultramar* in the military area.<sup>21</sup>

On 22 April, a royal *alvará* established the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço e da Consciência e Ordens*, with a president and *desembargadores* to appoint as well as two *escrivães da Câmara* one to the business of the *Desembargo* and the other to the business of the *Consciência e Ordens*. This tribunal inherited the functions of its two predecessors and of the *Conselho Ultramarino* excluding military affairs.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance, *Ministério do Império. Registo das leis, cartas e alvarás*, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1, f. 1r-2r, and IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000 DDP.

<sup>19</sup> On 1 April 1808. See, for instance, Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 46; Manchester, 'The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro', p. 169.

<sup>20</sup> Such as the *guarda-jóias* (jewels-keeper) of the Crown Treasury, as soon as 31 March 1808. Register of the royal decree nominating the *porteiro da Câmara* (porter of the Chamber) Francisco de José Rufino de Sousa Lobato, replacing João Diogo Baptista de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa, who could not accompany the Prince Regent, due to illness. *Registo de Mercês*, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1. f. 1v, IAN/TT, micr. 043-2000.

<sup>21</sup> Register of the *alvará régio*, *Ministério do Império. Registo das leis, cartas e alvarás*, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1, f. 2r-4v, and IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000 DDP.

<sup>22</sup> *Ministério do Império. Registo das leis, cartas e alvarás*, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1, f. 6v-9r, and IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000 DDP. See also Pe. Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos, *Memórias para servir á História do Reino do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Editôra Zelio Valverde, 1943, .vol. 1, p. 248. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Lisbon: 1825. This explains why documents created by the *Conselho Ultramarino* were forwarded from the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e dos Negócios Ultramarinos* to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*, as the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço* was linked to the latter *Secretaria de Estado*. See ofício from the Count of Anadia to the Count of Aguiar

In the *Relação do Rio de Janeiro* and in the *Relação da Baía*, the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço* was already working which dealt only with some of the affairs of the *Desembargo do Paço*.<sup>23</sup> The union of both central departments in a single one was reflected in the corresponding *Livro de posses* (Book of entrances into office).<sup>24</sup> But day-by-day they worked separately. Register books were created for each department, constituting separate sets, several of which corresponded to the carrying out of similar functions, such as the recording of the *consultas* which they prepared or the *avisos* they received. On the other hand, in several of these books, the designation ‘*do Estado do Brasil*’ (of the State of Brazil) followed the name of the department.<sup>25</sup> Finally, the Marquis of Angeja, D. José Xavier de Noronha Camões de Albuquerque Sousa Moniz,

---

sending him some remaining *consultas* from the *Conselho Ultramarino*, Paço, 31 January 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac.1.9. However, though this Council was discontinued and its functions absorbed in Rio de Janeiro, the *Almanach de Lisboa* went on listing its councillors, officials and other members and functionaries, residing in Lisbon and a few in Rio de Janeiro. It also announced its working hours. On the other hand, the Almanac published that the president was the Count of Aguiar, which again makes sense hence the departments that now exerted most of its functions were connected with the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* he directed instead of that of the Overseas Dominions. *Almanach de Lisboa* (1812), pp. 204-207.

<sup>23</sup> Vinhosa, *Brasil sede da monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa (2ª parte)*, p. 140, and Nanci Leonzo, ‘As instituições’ in Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (ed.) *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa: O Império Luso-Brasileiro 1750-1822*, pp. 317-318.

<sup>24</sup> 1808-1827, ANRJ, Cod. 22, vol. 1/1, IAN/TT, micr. 011-98, no. 1.

<sup>25</sup> See, for instance, the following register books, firstly on those concerning the *Desembargo do Paço*: *Registo das Consultas da Secretaria*, 1808-1819, ANRJ, Cod. 17, vol. 1-7; *Registo de consultas*, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 149, vol. 1-5; *Registo das Consultas à Mesa e respectivo despacho*, 1808-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 518; *Registo de avisos régios expedidos à Mesa do Desembargo do Paço deste Estado do Brasil*, 1808-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 20, vol. 1-4; *Registo das cartas passadas pelo Desembargo do Paço a diversos ministros*, 1808-1812, ANRJ, Cod. 150; *Registo dos Decretos que se acham na Mesa do Desembargo do Paço do Estado do Brasil*, 1808-1817, ANRJ, Cod. 18, vol. 1; *Registo das ‘Ordens que se expedirem pela Mesa do Desembargo do Paço aos Ministros deste Estado do Brasil e domínios ultramarinos’*, 1808-1816, ANRJ, Cod. 19, vol. 1; *Assentos de bacharéis*, 1809-1827, ANRJ, Cod. 23. Secondly, on those concerning the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*: *Registo de consultas e resoluções*, 1808-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 26, vol. 1-9; *Registo de avisos e portarias das Secretarias de Estado para a Secretaria do Despacho da Mesa de Consciência e Ordens*, 1808-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 183; *Registo das cartas e alvarás expedidos pela Secretaria da Mesa de Consciência e Ordens*, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 27, vol. 1-11; *Registo das Ordens e Portarias [avisos e provisões] que se expedem pelo Tribunal do Despacho da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, aos ministros e mais pessoas do mesmo tribunal, na Repartição dos Defuntos e Ausentes*, 1808-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 25, vol. 1; *Registo das Portarias e Ordens que se expedem pelo Tribunal do Despacho da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, 1808-1828, ANRJ, Cod. 25, vol. 3; *Registo das provisões do Tribunal da Mesa de Consciência e Ordens da Repartição da Fazenda dos Defuntos e Ausentes*, 1808-1818, ANRJ, Cod. 28, vol. 1; *Registo das provisões do Tribunal da Mesa de Consciência e Ordens da Repartição da Ordem Militar de Cristo, S. Bento de Avis e Santiago de Espada. Livro de registo de provisões régias*, 1808-1813, ANRJ, Cod. 28, vol. 1; *Registo de Decretos que baixaram à Mesa*, 1808-1828, ANRJ, Cod. 181; *Registo de Alvarás na Secretaria*, 1808-1818, ANRJ, Cod. 182.

nephew of the Prince Regent, went on presiding over the *Desembargo do Paço*, as in Lisbon, and over the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, now put together.<sup>26</sup>

Also on 22 April, the Prince Regent created the *Chancelaria-Mor do Estado do Brasil* analogous to the previous *Chancelaria-Mor do Reino* or *da Corte e Reino*, in Lisbon.<sup>27</sup> Three days later Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal was appointed *chanceler-mor* (principal chancellor).<sup>28</sup> In simplified terms, this Great Chancellery, at the time, advised the sovereign on the legal and formal content of documents issued by him, excepting those issued through the departments, which had their own chanceries. Some private documents intended to be public were also validated there. Among other functions, the *Chancelaria-Mor* was still concerned to register the most important public acts.<sup>29</sup> By the royal *aviso* of 5 October 1811, the *chanceler-mor* had to notify of the publication and distribution of laws and decrees, all governors, chancellors and *ouvidores* in Brazil and in the overseas territories.<sup>30</sup>

On 9 May 1808, it was the turn to establish the *Registo de Mercês* (Register of Awards),<sup>31</sup> which was also followed by the appointment of the corresponding employees, namely the *escrivão da Real Câmara*.<sup>32</sup> This department that had, since 1791, in Lisbon, worked at the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, registered the royal awards. On 10 May, the Prince Regent transformed the *Relação do Rio de Janeiro* into the *Casa da*

---

<sup>26</sup> See *Registo de Mercês*, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1, f. 4r, and IAN/TT, micr. 043-2000. José Subtil refers to the holding of the post by Angeja but with some doubts, as he did not find any references in the records of the *Desembargo* at the IAN/TT. See 'O Desembargo do Paço 1750-1833', vol. 1, p. 57, n. 43. This is due to the fact that there were parallel organs in Lisbon and Brazil, though with different levels of importance and jurisdiction, and also because the records of this department in Brazil remained there and are less known and used by Portuguese scholars.

<sup>27</sup> *Alvará* referred, for instance, in the *termo de abertura* (opening term) of the *Livro de Registo das Leis, e Alvarás da Chancelaria Mor do Estado do Brasil...*, ANRJ, Cod. 48, vol. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Registo de Mercês*, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1, f. 5r, and IAN/TT, micr. 043-2000. But Clayton misunderstood Vilanova Portugal's nomination to the presidency of the *Desembargo do Paço*, as since the mid 17th century this post was usually combined with the position of *Chanceler Mór*. Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', pp. 79-80. Vilanova Portugal moved from the *Desembargo* in Lisbon to the new tribunal but as a *desembargador*, on the same date. *Registo de Mercês*, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1, f. 4v, IAN/TT, micr. 043-2000.

<sup>29</sup> About the functions of this department see, for instance, *Guia Geral dos Fundos da Torre do Tombo*. Primeira Parte: *Instituições do Antigo Regime*, Lisboa: IAN/TT, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 2-7, and the publications referred there; Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', pp. 79-80.

<sup>30</sup> The governors of the Kingdom would do it in Portugal. See Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', pp. 85-86, citing ANRJ, cx. 461, pasta 1, no. 4, 5.

<sup>31</sup> *Alvará* copied in the '*Livro 1º do do Registo das Mercês*', ANRJ, Cod. 137, vol. 1, f. 1r.

<sup>32</sup> Appointment of Matias António de Sousa Lobato, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 13 May 1808, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1, f. 14r, IAN/TT, micr. 043-2000.

*Suplicação do Brasil* (Supreme Court of Appeals of Brazil) with a jurisdiction similar to that of the *Casa da Suplicação* in Lisbon. Thus, the new Court exerted its competencies over Pará and Maranhão, and over the *Relação* of Bahia, which was maintained, and outside Brazilian territory over the islands of Azores and Madeira. The sovereign justified the re-creation of these and other departments, by the interruption of communication with Portugal and by the fact that Rio de Janeiro was now the seat of its Court, as he was residing there.<sup>33</sup> Again there followed the appointments of the corresponding employees, several of whom were serving at the extinguished *Relação do Rio de Janeiro*.<sup>34</sup> A year later, its territorial jurisdiction was reduced, as the connections with Lisbon were normalized.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, the post of *intendente geral da Polícia da Corte e Estado do Brasil* was held by Paulo Fernandes Viana.<sup>36</sup>, with similar jurisdiction and form to the one in Lisbon. The *Intendência Geral da Polícia da Corte e Estado do Brasil* had policing and safety functions including the control of the movements of people entering or leaving the Brazilian territory.<sup>37</sup>

The *Erário Régio* and the *Conselho da Fazenda* were the other major departments rebuilt in Rio de Janeiro, but joined into a single one.<sup>38</sup> Its powers consisted of the administration, collecting, distribution, accountancy and recording of the royal assets and public funds of the State of Brazil (or of the Continent, as the *alvará* also referred) and Overseas Dominions. The jurisdiction of the previous *Juntas da Fazenda e da Revisão* of the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro was concentrated in the new department.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Royal *alvará*, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 10 May 1808, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1, f. 12v-15r, IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000.

<sup>34</sup> See, for instance, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1, f. 8v, IAN/TT, micr. 043-2000.

<sup>35</sup> As we have mentioned before, Pará and Maranhão and the islands of Azores and Madeira were again transferred to the sphere of the *Casa da Suplicação* in Lisbon on 6 May 1809. This time the monarch alleged that Portugal was free from the French and the travels were shorter and more frequent between those places and Lisbon than with Rio de Janeiro. Royal *alvará*, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 6 May 1809, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1, f. 102v-103r, IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000.

<sup>36</sup> Royal *alvará* 10 May 1808 referred in the register of the royal letter, 16 May 1808, appointing the *intendente geral da Polícia*, according to the decree of 13 May 1808. ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1, f. 15r-15v, IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000.

<sup>37</sup> See, for instance, Vinhosa, *Brasil sede da monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa (2ª parte)*, pp. 153-158.

<sup>38</sup> The *alvará* dated 17 December 1790 had united the *Real Erário* and the *Conselho da Fazenda* in Lisbon in a sole department. However, it seems that it corresponded to the reorganization of both departments, rather than to a concentration. A significant change was the accumulation, by the president of the *Erário*, of the presidency of the *Conselho da Fazenda*. See Antônio Frazão, *O Conselho da Fazenda: inventário e estudo institucional*, pp. 43-45.

<sup>39</sup> The *Real Erário* took to some degree the functions of the *Junta da Fazenda do Rio de Janeiro*. This is reflected, for instance, in the *Registo de Avisos e Portarias da Junta da Fazenda-Real Erário-Tesouro Público*, 1804-1823, (1832) ANRJ, Cod. 142, vol. 1-11. It is a book of register of

But the *Juntas da Fazenda* of the remaining captaincies of Brazil<sup>40</sup> and at the overseas territories were to be maintained. Though created together, and with the same president, the *Erário* and the *Conselho da Fazenda* had their functions distinctly specified. Both had the same prerogatives as their Lisbon models. The *Conselho da Fazenda* held authority and jurisdiction over the State of Brazil and the Adjacent Islands and, on the other hand, over the colonies of the Islands of Azores, Madeira, Cabo Verde, S. Tomé, as well as over the African and Asian Dominions, which had belonged to its predecessor in the Kingdom and also to the defunct *Conselho Ultramarino*. It supervised every item of the Royal Finances, excluding the Royal Stores, the Royal Depot of the Army as well as the items related to land population, farming and *sesmarias* (allotment of uncultivated lands), which now pertained to the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço* by inheritance from the *Conselho Ultramarino*.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, always at the level of the most significant departments, on 23 August 1808 the *Real Junta do Comércio e Agricultura, Fábricas e Navegação do Estado do Brasil e Domínios Ultramarinos*, (Royal Board of Commerce, Agriculture, Manufacturing and Navigation of the State of Brazil and Overseas Dominions) emerged absorbing the functions of the *Mesa da Inspeção do Rio de Janeiro*<sup>42</sup> which was then abolished. The *ministro de Estado e despacho* (minister of state and assistant to the monarch) presiding over the *Erário Régio* was to hold the presidency of the *Junta do*

---

*avisos* and *portarias* that began with the *Junta da Fazenda* and was continued by the Real Erário and still by the Tesouro Público (Public Treasury) its successor after the Portuguese King return to Lisbon. See *Relação de códices da Antiga Secção de Documentação Histórica*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>40</sup> There were *Juntas da Fazenda* in Brazil at the level of the captaincies-general (Rio de Janeiro, S. Salvador da Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Pará, S. Paulo, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, Goiás). Presided over by the governors of the latter, they had a direct link with the *Real Erário* in Lisbon and were independent from each other although, in some cases, their competencies overlapped causing frictions. Dealing with matters of revenue, they were the key element to control economically Brazil. Arno Wehling, *Administração portuguesa no Brasil de Pombal a D. João (1777-1808)*, pp. 113-119, and list of captaincies-general table 1, p. 38. See also Caio Prado Junior, *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo: colônia*, p. 374.

<sup>41</sup> Register of Royal *avará*, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 28 June 1808, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1, f. 31r-44v, IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000.

<sup>42</sup> The *mesas da inspeção* regulated the trade of certain goods, and interfered sometimes in their production. At this period and in Brazilian territory there were *mesas da inspeção* not only in Rio de Janeiro but also in Bahia, Pernambuco and Maranhão, and they supervised mainly the commerce of sugar and tobacco. Though these *mesas* were linked to the central government in Lisbon separately from the governor or the viceroy, the latter influenced them, especially in the case of the *Mesa da Inspeção do Rio de Janeiro*. See Arno Wehling, *Administração Portuguesa no Brasil de Pombal a D. João (1777-1808)*, pp. 119-121. Or a brief mention by Caio Prado Junior, *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo: colônia*, p. 378.

*Comércio*,<sup>43</sup> which happened on 18 May 1809, with the Count of Aguiar, D. Fernando José de Portugal.<sup>44</sup>

Successive appointments were made at the different levels of the governmental organs during the following months. Several people continued to serve in the offices and departments recreated in Rio de Janeiro and others who had also accompanied the Court, replaced people staying in Lisbon. People born in Brazil or already residing there was also appointed to posts of the new central administration, such as the *Intendência da Polícia*.<sup>45</sup> But the extensive emigration from Portugal, especially after the expulsion of the French, seems to have been absorbed by a growing bureaucracy.<sup>46</sup> In general and paraphrasing Manchester, all this apparatus was 'a new yet old and familiar system'.<sup>47</sup>

This restless activity of resettling the Portuguese central administration in Rio de Janeiro reached organs and posts outside the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro that were dependent on the government in varying degrees. Appointments and re-appointments followed.<sup>48</sup> So did the creation of *comarcas* (judicial districts) and of *vilas* (towns).<sup>49</sup> Several important departments were established in the captaincies, but now linked the Rio de Janeiro's central structure. Such was the case of the *Juntas do Desembargo do Paço* created in the capitals of the Brazilian captaincies and of governments of the overseas dominions<sup>50</sup> or of the *Relação do Maranhão*<sup>51</sup> in 1811 and 1812, and nine years later of

---

<sup>43</sup> Register of royal alvará, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 23 August 1808, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1, f. 62v- 63v.

<sup>44</sup> *Registo de posses e juramento dos deputados da Real Junta do Comércio*, ANRJ, Cod. 520, f. 1r.

<sup>45</sup> See, for instance, *Registo de Mercês*, 1808-1810, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1, f. 1r-5v, 40r, 49r, etc.

<sup>46</sup> See mainly Alan K Manchester, 'The growth of bureaucracy in Brazil, 1808-1821' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 4/1 (1972), 77-83. See also Vinhosa, *Brasil sede da monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa (2ª parte)*, pp. 163-164. The number of officials of the *secretarias de Estado* as well as of the *tribunais* in Rio de Janeiro was in general slightly inferior to the number of officials of the corresponding organs in Lisbon. In the case of the *secretarias de Estado* this was around twenty. See *Almanach de Lisboa* (1812) and *Almanach de Lisboa* (1817). Sometimes the officials cumulated posts or exerted functions in other organs. This was, for instance, the case of Gaspar Feliciano de Moraes, in Lisbon, official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and scrivener at the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*. *Almanach de Lisboa* (1812), p. 41 and p. 384. Or the case of Luís dos Santos Marrocos in Rio de Janeiro, who was employed at the Royal Libraries and kept this post even after being appointed official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 28 September 1815, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', pp 298-299.

<sup>47</sup> 'The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro', p. 168.

<sup>48</sup> See, for instance, nominations to the *Relação da Bahia*, and reappointments to *ouvidores* of the *Comarca da Bahia*, ANRJ, Cod. 15, vol. 1, f. 11v-12r.

<sup>49</sup> See, for instance, Manchester, 'The growth of bureaucracy in Brazil, 1808-1821', pp. 80-81.

<sup>50</sup> Boards of the *Desembargo do Paço*, with competencies that before were in the hands of the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço*. See alvará 10 September 1811 cited by Vinhosa, *Brasil sede da*



the *Relação do Pernambuco*<sup>52</sup>. On the other hand, departments also dependent on the central administration and which pre-existed in the captaincies, such as the *Juntas da Real Fazenda* (Boards of Royal Finance), had their administrative connection moved from the *Erário Régio* in Lisbon to the *Erário Régio* and also the *Conselho da Fazenda* in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>53</sup> The rebuilding of the structures of the Portuguese state in American territory was accompanied with an ‘increasing centralisation of power’ in that city and a larger, though limited capacity, by the Crown to interfere in some local affairs originating resentment from the ‘pátrias’.<sup>54</sup>

The government of the Portuguese colonies and insular possessions was exclusively carried on under the ministers at Rio de Janeiro, even after the expulsion of Junot from Portugal during the summer 1808.<sup>55</sup> It was administratively inefficient that the government in Lisbon did not supervise or at least take part in the government of Madeira and Azores after Junot left Lisbon. These islands were nearer Portugal, where the war was the major concern, and the governors of the Kingdom often felt that it was disadvantageous that the local authorities did not report directly to them.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, the direct links with the seat of the Portuguese Crown might counterbalance the presence or proximity of the British ally and the French danger.

The *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* was the main interlocutor for the Atlantic possessions as well as for the colonies in the East, spread from Mozambique to Goa to Macao.<sup>57</sup> But other administrative connections were

---

*monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa (2ª parte)*, p. 140 or by Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 471.

<sup>51</sup> Royal resolutions 23 August 1811 and 5 May 1812 and alvará 13 May 1812 cited by Vinhosa, *Brasil sede da monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa (2ª parte)*, p. 143. Or references by Nanci Leonzo, ‘As instituições’, p. 317.

<sup>52</sup> Alvará 6 February 1821 cited by Vinhosa, *Brasil sede da monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa (2ª parte)*, p. 144.

<sup>53</sup> See, for instance, in the case of the *Junta da Fazenda de S. Paulo*, *Registo das Cartas e Provisões Régias do Real Erário e do Conselho da Fazenda*, 1769-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 447, vol. 1-6, and *Provisões do Inspector e Presidente do Real Erário*, 1781-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 448, vol. 1-27, as listed in the *Relação de códices da Antiga Secção de Documentação Histórica*, Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1962, pp. 100-101.

<sup>54</sup> Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 59 and p. 47.

<sup>55</sup> This displeased the government at Lisbon, as the produce of these territories was channelled to Brazil. See, for instance, dispatch no. 90, Charles Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 12 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 39r-39v.

<sup>56</sup> Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon 8 September 1810, PRO, FO 63/92, f. 312r-313r; Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 25 November 1810, PRO, FO 63/95, f. 9r-10r; Stuart to Marquis Wellesley, Lisbon, 17 March 1810, PRO, FO 63/89, f. 98r-101v.

<sup>57</sup> See, for instance, the Register of the royal orders issued by that *Secretaria de Estado* to the authorities of the Islands of Azores, Madeira, Cabo Verde and S. Tomé, in the Atlantic. *Registo de*

established, namely with the assistant minister at the Prince Regent's Cabinet and the president of the *Real Erário* and *Conselho da Fazenda*.<sup>58</sup>

When Portugal was restored to independence, the question of its government was raised in Brazil. The war and the ways to finance it, anchored on the Anglo-Portuguese alliance against Napoleonic France, were the major issues till 1814 and even afterwards, though in circumstances of no urgency. The exceptional conditions of directing the armed forces persisted. Thus the affairs of Portugal were greatly dominated by that reality. The dealing with these affairs at the highest level in Brazil involved on the one hand, and specially during the first four years, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*.<sup>59</sup> This happened with restrictions due to the effective rule exerted in Portugal by D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in association with Charles Stuart, the British representative, Arthur Wellesley commander of the Anglo-Portuguese Forces and William Beresford, the commander of the Portuguese Army. On the other hand the day-by-day handling of the home affairs of Portugal was managed through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* (from 1816 onwards also designated *dos Negócios do Reino do Brasil*) according to specific ways that will be described in the following chapter.

With respect to the department of Foreign Affairs of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* it was internally rebuilt in the same way as its homonymous in Lisbon. Besides the secretary of state, it comprised a senior official, a language official (translator), fifteen to twenty officials and assistants, a porter and a bookkeeper<sup>60</sup>. In parallel, the obvious concern of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios*

---

*avisos...*, 23 March 1808-1 February 1821, ANRJ, NP, Cod. 268, IAN/TT, micr. 11-98. See also the Register of the royal orders issued by that *Secretaria de Estado* to Goa and Mozambique. *Registo de avisos, avisos circulares, cartas régias...*, 6 June 1809-27 September 1821, ANRJ, Cod. 268, IAN/TT, micr. 11-98. The registers of the royal orders to Macao were inserted in the Goa ones. See still reference to the letters from Diogo Vieira de Tovar e Albuquerque *Procurador da Coroa e Fazenda* in Goa to the Viscount of Anadia, D. João Rodrigues de Sá Menezes, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, 12 March 1809, made by Tovar on a report to the Prince Regent, [1815], ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 7, 456.

<sup>58</sup> See a set of documents sent from the authorities of the Portuguese possessions to the above-mentioned *Secretaria de Estado* and to the minister referred to, between 1809-1822, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, pac. 1,13. See a similar set in ANRJ, NP, cx. 642, pac. 1,4, pac. 1,7, pac. 1,8, pac. 1,11, pac. 1,26, pac. 1,28, pac. 1,54, pac. 1,91, pac. 2 (including Benguela and Angola). See also documents scattered in ANRJ, NP, cx. 616, pac. 1,46, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 2,18.

<sup>59</sup> Correspondence from the governors of the Kingdom to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, 31 May 1809-18 March 1820, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885-912 and March-June 1820, June-October 1820, AHI, lata 338, mç. 3, pastas 16 and 17.

<sup>60</sup> *Almanach de Lisboa* cited by A. Ferrand de Almeida Fernandes, *Subsídios para a história administrativa do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros: Primeira parte: das origens até ao final*

*Estrangeiros* was to operate the external relations of the Portuguese Court, from the Brazilian seat. This was prior to reactivating the connections between the corresponding minister and the Portuguese representatives in the foreign countries. Wherever the political and war conditions allowed this was done, though the geographical situation of the Court did not favour an effective communication with some of the legations.

After September 1808, and afterwards following the map of the Napoleonic Wars, Lisbon served as a point of re-distribution of documents circulating between this office in Rio de Janeiro and mainly the continental legations. Channels were established with the successive Portuguese representatives in Spain first, in Seville, and mainly in Cadiz and afterwards in the capital, Madrid, freed definitively in 1813 from Joseph Bonaparte.<sup>61</sup> But the legation in London was the crucial and first link to be reconnected with the Portuguese *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*.<sup>62</sup> The Manifesto of the Portuguese Prince Regent against France decided already in Brazil was printed and distributed to the diplomatic representatives in England as well as in other countries, including Portugal, by the London Legation.<sup>63</sup> Soon the Portuguese representatives in Palermo and S. Petersburg also established communication with Rio de Janeiro,<sup>64</sup> accompanied by the Legation in Stockholm, though with intermittent troubles due to the moveable Russian attitude in relation to France and to England and to the Swedish change of politics towards France on the one hand and Russia on the other.<sup>65</sup> Several

---

*do século XIX*, Lisbon: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Secretaria Geral, Repartição do Arquivo e Biblioteca, 1979, p. 7. Typewritten for internal use.

<sup>61</sup> See Correspondance received from the legations in Seville (1809-1810), Cadiz (1810-1813) and Madrid (1814-1820), Ministério das Relações Exteriores, *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 - documentação anterior a 1822*. 2nd. ed. revised and augmented, Brasília: FUNAG, 2000, pp. 166-167.

<sup>62</sup> See Correspondence received from the London Legation, 1808-1821, *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 - documentação anterior a 1822*, pp. 165-166; Book of register of *despachos* from the Court in Rio de Janeiro to the Legation in London, 13 March 1808-30 May 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 566. Besides its political importance this legation gained a decisive economical function, as it became a financial agency to the Portuguese Government in Rio (and in Lisbon we may add). See Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 478 and previous references.

<sup>63</sup> D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, 28 May 1808, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 566, f. 17v.

<sup>64</sup> See Correspondence received from the legations in Palermo (1809-1820) and S. Petersburg (March 1809-October 1821), *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 - documentação anterior a 1822*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>65</sup> See Diplomatic correspondence from Rodrigo Navarro de Andrade in S. Petersburg to Domingos de Sousa Coutinho in London, 19 September 1807-1810, BNRJ, COD 15, 1, 6. Andrade frequently referred to interruption and menaces of interruption of the ordinary mail especially to England, from Russia or from Stockholm. See also oício no. 306, duplicate, from Navarro to the Count of Linhares, S. Petersburg, 24 March- 5 April 1811, ANRJ, Gabinete de D. João VI, mç. 3, 82.

legations in Europe followed: Turin, Berlin, Rome (Holy See), and Naples, and later the Hague, Hanseatic cities namely Hamburg, and Copenhagen, as well as Florence and Bern.<sup>66</sup> In parallel, the first peace between the allies and France in 1814 allowed for regular flows of correspondence between the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Brazil and the relevant legations in Paris and Vienna.<sup>67</sup> In the American territories, besides the re-connection with the legation in Philadelphia in the United States of America, sometimes through Lisbon,<sup>68</sup> a representation was created in Montevideo.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, the Portuguese government meant to receive in Rio de Janeiro the representatives of the foreign powers with which there were diplomatic relations. Beyond the case of the British Legation early established due to obvious political reasons, there were few legations opened in Brazil at this time. The Holy See, Spain, Russia, the United States of America, then Sweden, then Austria, and afterwards France, Netherlands, Prussia and Sardinia sent representatives, frequently just at the *chargé d'affaires* level.<sup>70</sup> The fact that only in 1819 a public ceremony to deliver the credentials and letter of recall

---

<sup>66</sup> See periods of holding posts by Portuguese diplomatic representatives in foreign countries between 1808-1822 in Luís Teixeira Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros: subsídios para o estudo da história da diplomacia portuguesa' in Eduardo Brazão (ed.), *Estudos Históricos*. [Lisbon]: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, [1984], pp. 223-232. As the author notes, this list, which is still the best for the period 1640-1834, has several failures. We detected some of them concerning the studied period. See also lists of Portuguese ministers in the foreign Courts published in the *Almanach de Lisboa*, (1812), p. 37, (1814), pp. 37-38, (1817), pp. 38-39, (1820), pp. 171-173.

<sup>67</sup> See Correspondence received from the legations in Vienna (1814-April 1821) and Paris (1818-1821), *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 - documentação anterior a 1822*, pp. 151-152. See also *Despachos* from the Court to Francisco José Maria de Brito in Paris, 1814-1817, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 683, and *Ofícios* from Francisco José Maria de Brito to the Court, 1814-1816, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 686.

<sup>68</sup> See index of the *ofícios* from Lisbon to Philadelphia, 28 March 1810-28 July 1824, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 22, (2).

<sup>69</sup> See namely Correspondence received from Montevideo (November 1816-October 1821), *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 - documentação anterior a 1822*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>70</sup> See for instance: Index of the registers related to the United States of America of the *Livros de Funções de Corte*, 1807-1821, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 22, (3); Correspondence from Conde das Galveias, Conde de Linhares, Marquês de Aguiar, T. A. Vilanova Portugal and J. B. Andrade e Silva [secretaries of state for Foreign Affairs] to Lord Strangford [England's representative, in Lisbon 1808, in Rio 1809-1815], Casa Irujo [Spain, Rio 1809-1812], Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, Barão de Tuyl [Russia, Rio 1819-1821] Smith, D. João de Castilho y Carroz [Spain, Lisbon 1810, 1811] Thomas Sunter [USA, Rio 1819] Andrés de Villalba, [Spain, Rio 1814-1817] Arcebispo de Nisibi [Rome nuncio, Rio 1814-1816] Almirante Dixon, Marquês do Lavradio, etc., November 1808-March 1822, AHI, lata 342, mç. 4, pasta 4; See periods of holding posts by Portuguese diplomatic representatives in foreign countries between 1808-1822 in Luís Teixeira Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros: subsídios para o estudo da história da diplomacia portuguesa', pp. 232-242. See also of lists of foreign ministers in the Portuguese Court published in the *Almanach de Lisboa*, (1812), p. 37 (1814), pp. 37-38, (1817), pp. 38-39, (1820), pp. 174-175 respectively.

took place in the Court at Rio de Janeiro<sup>71</sup> reflects this less important nature of the foreign legations.

It appears that, on the whole, the *secretarias de Estado*, several years after their rebuilding in Rio de Janeiro, worked inefficiently. Maler, the French representative in Brazil explained this by the non-existence of an internal organization and of rules regulating the distribution of work, as well as by the absence of a better selection of officials.<sup>72</sup> This was not their opinion, naturally. Luís dos Santos Marrocos, official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Rio de Janeiro, asserted that in this *secretaria de Estado* the choice was the most rigorous possible.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand, he stressed his seven daily hours of hard work.<sup>74</sup> But in fact, at the time, the *secretarias de Estado*, namely this one, and the Foreign Affairs, though following some fixed administrative procedures, were not structured internally. In addition, personal connections influenced the day-by-day division of work, apart from the rank of the officials and other employees, whose promotion still much depended on these connections. The correspondence of the above-mentioned Luís dos Santos Marrocos gives many examples of this way of working.<sup>75</sup> Besides, the limits between public service and private service in the *secretarias de Estado* were often tenuous and apparently more in Rio de Janeiro than in Lisbon. Marrocos did not hesitate in writing that employees like assistant porters or *ordenanza*, had served not only in the affairs of those offices but also in the affairs of their officials, as a favour and at the same time as their duty.<sup>76</sup>

The secretaries of State usually did not work together. On the other hand, there existed links among them and between the *secretarias de Estado* they directed, due mainly to functional reasons. Affairs that were followed by more than one *secretaria de Estado* resulted in more contacts between them, often mediated by the sovereign. The Prince Regent re-addressed issues related to financial subjects that the Portuguese

---

<sup>71</sup> This happened with the USA representatives. See Chamberlain to Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 24 July 1819, PRO, FO 63/221, f. 11r-12v.

<sup>72</sup> Maler to the French Foreign Affairs Office, cyphered, 14 October 1815, AAE, cited by Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 126.

<sup>73</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 10 June 1820, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 420. He denied to his father that the officials wrote badly.

<sup>74</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 12 May 1818, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 325. This excluded Sundays.

<sup>75</sup> In order to hurry the carrying out of the affairs of a group of people, which Luís dos Santos Marrocos and his father knew in Lisbon, he prepared himself a set of 35 royal letters that corresponded to the whole dispatch related to the Basilica. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 10 June 1820, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 420.

<sup>76</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 17 September 1820, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 431.

minister in London dealt with and which the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho had presented to him.<sup>77</sup> Throughout 1813, D. Fernando José de Portugal, then Count of Aguiar, and still *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* frequently addressed his recent colleagues of the Foreign and War Affairs, Count of Galveias D. João de Almeida and vice-versa, concerning matters such as the appointment to diplomatic posts and their salaries, the promotion of members of the Army in Brazil and some in Portugal, and permission for them to take leave.<sup>78</sup> But even if the matter had already been submitted to the sovereign by one of these secretaries of State, the other presented it to him again, in connection with the specific competency of his *secretaria de Estado*.<sup>79</sup> In certain circumstances the secretaries of State, when exercising their duties, met each other to discuss more important matters and critical situations. The monarch was generally aware of these conferences. This appears to have happened mainly during the last months of the stay of the Court in Brazil in the face of the 1820 Revolution in Portugal and the difficult political and financial circumstances in Brazil. Tomás António Vilanova Portugal, then *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, assistant minister and president of the Real Erário, discussed several questions in the course of this period with, on the one hand, the Count of Arcos, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*,<sup>80</sup> and on the other the Count of Palmela, D. Pedro de Sousa e Holstein, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*.<sup>81</sup> They also looked for advice outside their *secretarias de Estado*. The *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* D. Fernando José de Portugal frequently took counsel on his administrative

---

<sup>77</sup> See for instance, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, 28 July 1808, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 566, f. 24v.

<sup>78</sup> See 'Ministério Guerra e Estrangeiros', correspondence sent by Count Aguiar, 1813, ANRJ, NP, cx. 823, pac. 1, namely documents 10, 11, 12, 15.

<sup>79</sup> For instance: The Count of Oyenhausen commander of a Calvary Squadron in S. Paulo was allowed by the Prince Regent, through the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*, to go to London. The latter informed the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in order that he asked for the respective royal orders about the matter. ANRJ, NP, cx. 823, pac. 1, doc. 12.

<sup>80</sup> See, for instance, note from D. João VI to Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, Boavista, 8 August 1820, AHI, lata 169, mç. 3, pasta 16. The Count of Arcos and Vilanova Portugal were going to settle the exact contents of the royal letter to grant new competencies to Beresford.

<sup>81</sup> See, for instance, letter from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, [Rio de Janeiro], 23 January 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 692. Palmela and Vilanova Portugal had to consider the problems of the Erário in the *Reino* (Portugal).

decisions from Father Joaquim Dâmaso, who worked at the Royal Libraries. Dâmaso was free to see and handle all his papers.<sup>82</sup>

On the other hand, the secretaries of state met the monarch to deal with more or less routine matters.<sup>83</sup> The *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, as assistant minister to the 'Real Despacho' was present at least at some of the conferences that the other secretaries of state attended with the sovereign.<sup>84</sup> In Brazil initially this happened mostly in the Royal Palace of Rio de Janeiro but later on the secretaries of state met the monarch outside the town, wherever he resided.<sup>85</sup> But they also gave written opinions on subjects related to the day-by-day work, although the frequency is difficult to evaluate for the time being. The 'deserving' criteria applied for the selection of people for posts in Lisbon, presented by Principal Sousa, governor of the Kingdom, led the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* to write to the monarch on them.<sup>86</sup> In his turn, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, sent a letter to the Prince Regent criticising the governors of the Kingdom for mentioning the Cortes, on the pretext that they had been hearing the *tribunais* on the levying of taxes.<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, they could meet together with the sovereign to discuss more important and sensitive matters, such as the rights of D. Carlota Joaquina, wife of the Prince Regent, and their nephew D. Pedro Carlos to the Crown of Spain in connection with the rule of Brazil's neighbouring Spanish Provinces.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 19 May 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 76.

<sup>83</sup> They went to the '*Conferências do despacho*' with 'SAR' (HRH) as Marrocos wrote about António de Araújo Azevedo, then *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 18 September 1815, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 238.

<sup>84</sup> See for instance, for a previous period, the draft of note from D. João to the Viscount [of Balsemão, then *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*], Paço de Salvaterra, March 1804, ANRJ, NP, cx. 728 B.

<sup>85</sup> Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal went frequently to the *Real Fazenda de Santa Cruz* in 1818. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 24 February 1818, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 316. This was usual also in Portugal. Besides the Ajuda Palace, the Prince Regent carried out the public affairs in the palaces of Queluz and of Mafra and even at the Court of Salvaterra.

<sup>86</sup> D. Fernando de Portugal to the Prince Regent, 31 October 1809, ANRJ, cited by Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 126.

<sup>87</sup> D. Fernando de Portugal to the Prince Regent, 16 August 1809, ANRJ, cited by Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 124.

<sup>88</sup> Memorandum from D. João de Almeida, n.d. MNE, pub. in Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. 286-287.

## 4.2 The Monarch ruling

Cabinet affairs (*negócios de Gabinete*), were the responsibility not only of the ministers of the kings as the king's themselves, as D. Manuel Luís de Castro, member of the *Casa Real*, reminded Infanta D. Maria Isabel de Bragança, daughter of the Portuguese Prince Regent, on account of her impending marriage to the Spanish King D. Fernando VII.<sup>89</sup> At least during the stay of the Court in Brazil, the Prince Regent D. João closely surveyed the work of his secretaries of state and at a final stage decided on many of the matters.<sup>90</sup> Though under foreign pressure and thus politically more vulnerable, namely during the Peninsular Wars, he stressed his own power of decision.<sup>91</sup>

The sovereign worked in his *Gabinete*, i.e., following José Caetano Pereira de Sousa, the private apartments of the Prince, where the papers to be analysed (*'papeis do despacho'*) were sent and where the most important affairs were dealt with.<sup>92</sup> These affairs were not only public but also private. The private apartments of D. João were also called, though rarely, the *Real Gabinete* (Royal Cabinet).<sup>93</sup> There are still references to

---

<sup>89</sup> Memorandum from the *reposteiro da Câmara*, D. Manuel Luís de Castro to D. Maria Isabel de Bragança, [1816], IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 6, f. 3v. Castro advised the Infant not to meddle in those affairs unless she was sincerely and repeatedly invited to.

<sup>90</sup> Lima expressed this well: '*Cada um dos ministros governava por si e o Rei governava a todos*' ('Each minister ruled by himself and the King ruled all of them'), *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 125.

<sup>91</sup> The British minister in Rio de Janeiro, Lord Strangford, reported a private conversation between him and the Prince Regent writing the following: 'He had borne with patience the perpetual interference of unauthorised Persons in every Department, and in every measure of His Government, still He thought he had a Right to regulate His own Domestic arrangements as He pleased', Lord Strangford to G. Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 9 October 1808, PRO, FO 63/60, f. 77v. Some years before, D. João had admonished the Viscount of Balsemão for having taken measures on an affair in Pará, Brazil, without informing him previously because, D. João was sure, he had forgotten to. Draft of note from D. João to the Viscount [of Balsemão, then *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*], Paço de Salvaterra, March 1804, ANRJ, NP, cx. 728 B.

<sup>92</sup> From the French *Gabinet*. Sousa also gives another meaning, the *Conselho Privado* (Privy Council) of the Prince on politic matters. See *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*. At the time, in Portugal, besides the *Conselho de Estado*, there was no Council with these characteristics. It seems, however, that there was in 1799 a project of creating a *Conselho Privado*, linked with the reorganisation of the *Secretarias de Estado*. See draft of *alvará*, ANRJ, NP, cx. 714, doc. 6. The term *Gabinete* was applied with the same meaning to the working apartments of the ministers and secretaries of state and of other members of the royal family, even when the latter did not carry out state businesses, such as the above mentioned D. Isabel. His adviser recommended her to occupy herself in her *Gabinete*, playing music, drawing, embroidering... See Memorandum from the *reposteiro da Câmara*, D. Manuel Luís de Castro to D. Maria Isabel de Bragança, [1816], IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 6, f. 8v-9r.

<sup>93</sup> The scope of private and of public obviously changed even in the same society. But the distinction was made. The Desembargador Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal classified as a private affair (*negócio particular*) of the *Real Gabinete*, D. João's agreement to the departure of



the *Gabinete Secreto* (Secret Cabinet) of the monarch, where the secret papers were to be kept.<sup>94</sup> This may refer to the same Royal Cabinet or more probably to the piece of furniture where these documents were kept and which was perhaps placed within the Royal Cabinet. On the other hand, the secretaries of state were sometimes designated as ‘*Ministros do Gabinete*’ (Cabinet’s Ministers).<sup>95</sup>

The assistant minister, simultaneously minister of Kingdom Affairs, i.e. of Brazil Affairs, assisted the work of the Royal Cabinet.<sup>96</sup> This was reinforced when Vilanova Portugal, whom D. João especially confided in, held together the portfolio of the Brazil Affairs, first with the portfolio of the Foreign and War Affairs and then with the Navy and Overseas Dominions.<sup>97</sup> D. Maria Teresa, the Prince Regent’s older daughter assisted him as well.<sup>98</sup> Besides, José Egídio Álvares de Almeida, official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*<sup>99</sup> and councillor of the Conselho Ultramarino and of the Conselho da Fazenda<sup>100</sup> seems to have been a kind of secretary of the monarch as had already happened in Portugal.<sup>101</sup> D. João was himself very careful in organising his work despite the assistance he had.<sup>102</sup>

---

his wife the Princess D. Carlota Joaquina, to accompany their two daughters till Spain (which did not happen). Recommendation from Vilanova Portugal to the Prince Regent, Rio de Janeiro, 29 de Fevereiro de 1816, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 7. Luis dos Santos Marrocos referred to the *Real Gabinete* also. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 24 October 1811, in ‘Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos’, p. 37.

<sup>94</sup> Letter from José Anselmo [Correia] Henriques to the King D. João VI, Hamburg, 25 October, 1819, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 11, 577.

<sup>95</sup> Memorandum from D. João de Almeida, n.d. MNE, pub. in Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, p. 287.

<sup>96</sup> Lima, writing about D. Fernando de Portugal, considered that his post was equivalent to the one of prime-minister, preceding all the colleagues and being acquainted with the matters of all the portfolios. See *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 123. But it is too strong a comparison and regarding for instance the Foreign Affairs during the years D. Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho held it, March 1808-January 1812, this did not happen.

<sup>97</sup> See Clayton, ‘The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821’, p. 171.

<sup>98</sup> See Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1996, p. 74. ‘Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos, escritas do Rio de Janeiro à sua família em Lisboa, de 1811 a 1821’ *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, 56 (1939), p. 19. D. Maria Teresa was the young widow of his cousin the Spanish D. Pedro Carlos de Bourbon, afore mentioned.

<sup>99</sup> Register of the *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 18 October 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 80-84. Marrocos stated to his father that he never entered in the *Secretaria de Estado* neither worked for it. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 12 March 1818, in ‘Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos’, p. 320.

<sup>100</sup> See, for instance, *Almanach de Lisboa*, (1812), pp. 205, 264.

<sup>101</sup> Manchester, ‘The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro’, p. 157. Manchester added that he was ‘a Brazilian by birth’, ‘served as confidential advisor to the Prince Regent’ and later was honoured with the title Marquis of Santo Amaro. To have an idea of his work assisting the Prince Regent in Portugal see José Baptista Barreiros, *Correspondência inédita entre o Conde da Barca e José Egídio Álvares de Almeida, secretário particular de El-Rei Dom João VI*, Braga:

Other people worked to guarantee the routine at the Royal Cabinet, including the writing of documents, namely the most secret,<sup>103</sup> the opening of some of the official mail<sup>104</sup> and the private one, the delivering of mail, and special works such as the arrangement of the papers kept at the Cabinet, a private and secret service carried out by João Brusco, after the arrival of the Court to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>105</sup> This implied the existence of a small and flexible structure of servants around the Royal Cabinet, several belonging to the *Casa Real*, such as scribes, scriveners, officials and porters. Luís dos Santos Marrocos was one of them. Though linked to a department of the private service of the sovereign,<sup>106</sup> the Royal Library, and to the arrangement of the manuscripts, whose second sending from Lisbon he had accompanied, Marrocos was more than once called to carry out services connected with D. João's Cabinet.<sup>107</sup> The Royal Cabinet was placed in the

---

Delegação Bracarense da Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1962. Sep. *Revista Militar*. Barreiros publishes the letters from Álvares de Almeida to António Araújo de Azevedo, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, after Count da Barca, and a few copies of letters from the latter to the former, between 4 April 1801 and 24 November 1807. This correspondence was then in the Collection Barca/Oliveira at the *Biblioteca Pública de Braga* and is now at the Arquivo Distrital de Braga, re-classified *Casa de Sá*, to which belonged the family of Araújo de Azevedo, and still in arrangement. José Egídio A. de A. became very intimate of Araújo and received diplomats at his house in Rio de Janeiro. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 23 November 1815, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 259.

<sup>102</sup> See for instance, for a previous period, his reminder of the session of '*Despacho*' he had with D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, then *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, on 15 July 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. 2, 1, 126. See also several billets (almost daily in 1819) from the Prince Regent to Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and assistant minister cumulating with other portfolios, 1817-1821, BNRJ, CÓDICE 5, 1, 40, IAN/TT, micr. 0089; AHI, lata 169, mç. 3, pastas 13-16; ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B.

<sup>103</sup> Certain documents such as the decree of dismissal of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, José Seabra da Silva, in Lisbon in 1799, were drawn up at the Royal Cabinet. See ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B.

<sup>104</sup> The Count of Palmela, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* sent to the King the bundles of documents he received by the packet, for him to decide which ones he should use or wanted to open. Count of Palmela to D. João VI, Rio de Janeiro, 16 January 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 691.

<sup>105</sup> Letter from João Brusco to the Prince Regent, and enclosed with a list of the papers kept in the cupboard of the Cabinet (*Relação dos papéis que estão arrumados nos armários do Gabinete*) n.d. Real Gabinete, col. of the Author, pub. by Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. 210-213.

<sup>106</sup> See Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 26 June 1812 and 6 July 1813, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 89 and pp. 146-147.

<sup>107</sup> Some of the tasks were made in liaison with the intendant of Police and the senior official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 29 August 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 95. He expected to be rewarded by the Prince Regent, either by the Royal Library or the Cabinet. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 16 November 1811, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 45.

buildings of the Court in the town of Rio de Janeiro,<sup>108</sup> though it had moved from one room to another. In 1811 there was a new room for it, the '*sala nova do Despacho do Real Gabinete*', above the Royal Chamber.<sup>109</sup>

The royal audiences were another part of the governmental work of D. João. Some months after his arrival in Rio de Janeiro he was in the custom of giving an audience every night, excluding Sundays and holidays, from 8 to 9H, to members of the diplomatic corps, to his ministers, and to persons of rank in civil and military departments of state or to anyone who could afford to dress accordingly. This hand kissing ceremonial<sup>110</sup> was an occasion for people to address their requests directly to the sovereign, in addition to its highly social significance and its symbolic meaning from the point of view of the royal power.<sup>111</sup>

The monarch heard different people on the most important ruling affairs and received several written recommendations. These people included his ministers and secretaries of state, simultaneously members of the *Conselho de Estado*.<sup>112</sup> D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, who held the Foreign and War Affairs, often gave his opinion, for instance about the answer to an *ofício* from the governors of the Kingdom, on their powers and on the punishment for treason.<sup>113</sup> Two years later he advised the Prince Regent to re-establish communication with Louis XVIII and the Count of Artois and to

---

<sup>108</sup> About the adaptation of the Palace of the vice-roy and the annexation of several buildings to the *Paço*, see Jurandir Malerba, *A Corte no exílio: civilização e poder no Brasil às vésperas da Independência (1808-1821)*, S. Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000, pp. 233-234. Based namely on the coeval memories of Pe. Luiz Gonçalves dos Santos, *Memórias para servir á História do Reino do Brasil*, ed Noronha Santos, Belo Horizonte, Itatiaia; S. Paulo Edusp, 1981. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Lisbon, 1925.

<sup>109</sup> Marrocos was working there at the time. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 24 October 1811, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 37. The moves inside the Royal Palace of Rio de Janeiro went on, though not specifically the Royal Cabinet. In the beginning of 1812, for instance, the manuscripts that Marrocos was arranging were transferred to the room of the *Real Tesouro* because D. Carlota Joaquina needed it. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 7 January 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 120.

<sup>110</sup> Drawn with a certain irony by an anonymous artist. See illustration 21 in Malerba, *A Corte no Exílio: Civilização e Poder no Brasil às vésperas da Independência (1808-1821)* from the original in the BNRJ.

<sup>111</sup> From Lord Strangford to G. Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 5 October 1808 PRO, FO 63/60, f. 49 v. See also Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 614, referring to Theodor von Leithold, *Meine Ausflucht nach Brasilien...*, Berlin: 1820.

<sup>112</sup> Not all the documents related to the *Conselho de Estado* during this period are identified. Sometimes is difficult to establish the context of creation of recommendations from the secretaries of state to the King, and know if they produced these recommendations as members of the *Conselho de Estado*.

<sup>113</sup> Representation from D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to the Prince Regent, Rio de Janeiro, 16 August 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 639, pac. 1,58.

renew their pension on account of the possible restoration of the French Royal House.<sup>114</sup> At the beginning of 1821, the Count of Palmela, in charge of the same portfolio, was also advising D. João, this time about the convenience of the King and the Prince D. Pedro to return to Portugal.<sup>115</sup> Other members of the Council of State sent their recommendation to D. João, such as the Count of Galveias who advised him not to follow a policy of enticement of the slaves from French Guyana to revolt and destroy.<sup>116</sup> He also took counsel from persons he confided in, or simply from persons whose opinion he was interested to know. The *Desembargador* Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal was one of the most requested, even before holding the *secretarias de Estado* in 1817.<sup>117</sup> He presented his opinion in 1809, on the re-establishment of the Regency in Portugal, though he did not belong to the Council of State. In 1815 and 1816 he gave several opinions about the marriage of his daughters D. Maria Isabel de Bragança and D. Maria Francisca de Assis, to the King of Spain, D. Fernando VII, and his brother D. Carlos Isidro de Bourbon and about related affairs.<sup>118</sup> Later on he suggested names to hold main posts of government.<sup>119</sup> The Bishop *Capelão-Mór* (Chief Chaplain), D. José Caetano da Silva Coutinho, in his turn, advised D. João on the project of marriage of two of his siblings to siblings of the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I.<sup>120</sup> Again on the marriages of the above-mentioned Portuguese Princesses, the Prince Regent further listened to José de Oliveira Pinto Botelho e Mosquero, Paulo Fernandes Viana, intendant of the Police, and the diplomat João Paulo Bezerra.<sup>121</sup> Afterwards, during the critical months following the eruption of the Constitutional Revolution in Portugal, the King consulted ‘several Persons of weight’ at the Court and received their letters of advice. In January 1821, these persons

---

<sup>114</sup> Letter from the Count of Linhares to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 5 April 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 2.

<sup>115</sup> Recommendation of Palmela to D. João VI, Rio de Janeiro, 16 January 1821, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 11.

<sup>116</sup> 28 May 1809, Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 297, n. 316, citing Mello de Moraes.

<sup>117</sup> Recommendation from the *Desembargador* Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Prince Regent, [1809], ‘Real Gabinete’ pub. Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. 97-100.

<sup>118</sup> Recommendations from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Prince Regent, Santa Cruz, 17 August 1815, Rio de Janeiro, 6 September 1815, 5 November 1815, 29 February 1816, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 7.

<sup>119</sup> Count da Barca to the *Erário*, Count of Palmela to the Foreign Affairs, Cipriano Ribeiro Freire to the Navy; João Paulo Bezerra to the Kingdom; Count of Funchal to the *Conselho de Estado*. Recommendation from Tomás António de Vila to the Prince Regent, [end of 1816 or beginning of 1817], ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 774.

<sup>120</sup> Recommendation from the Bishop Principal Chaplain to the Prince Regent, Rio de Janeiro, 18 June 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 3.

<sup>121</sup> Recommendations, Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 1815, and Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 1815 IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 7.

were the chancellor, the *desembargador* judge of the Custom House, another *desembargador*, the *general das armas* (general commandant), the intendant general of Police, besides the secretaries of state Count of Arcos, Count of Palmela, and Vilanova Portugal.<sup>122</sup> Sometimes, the Prince Regent D. João received written opinions that were not expressly requested but resulted from the activity of the author or the post he held. The Principal Sousa, governor of the Kingdom was prolific in expressing this kind of opinion.<sup>123</sup>

In more tense and serious situations the monarch summoned the Council of State. This happened frequently during the months prior to the move to Brazil. While the Court was in Brazil the Council met again, though not regularly. In 1807, still in Lisbon, eight members composed the Council of State: the Cardinal Patriarch D. José Francisco de Mendonça, the Marquis of Angeja D. José de Noronha e Camões, the Marquis of Pombal Henrique José de Carvalho e Melo, the Marquis of Belas D. José Vasconcelos e Sousa, the Viscount of Anadia D. João Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes, D. Luís Vasconcelos e Sousa, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho and D. João Almeida e Castro.<sup>124</sup> The sovereign could, however, decide not to request the participation of all of the councillors.<sup>125</sup> When the Prince Regent went to Brazil, only the Cardinal Patriarch and Luís Vasconcelos e Sousa did not go.<sup>126</sup> D. António Araújo de Azevedo and the Count of Aguiar, D. Fernando José de Portugal, had meanwhile been appointed councillors of state,<sup>127</sup> which in 1812 had seven members.<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> Edward Thornton to Viscount Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 31 January 1821, PRO, FO 63/237, f. 52r-69v. It was Palmela the source of information of Thornton.

<sup>123</sup> See for instance, letter from the Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon 11 March 1816, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 8, 460, on the need of developing the national industry. Or his opinion on the 1815 balance of the *Terreiro* that had been already presented in a session of the Lisbon's government, Recommendation from Principal Sousa, Lisbon, 1815, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 7, 454.

<sup>124</sup> They had been appointed on 9 and 13 July 1796, *Almanach [de Lisboa]* (1807), p. 93.

<sup>125</sup> During the hard period previous to the departure of the Court, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, though initially very active, was removed from the sessions of the Council, by the Prince Regent. It appears that this resulted from D. Rodrigo having reported to his brother 'the details of a council meeting [where he] charged Araújo with being a Francophile'. Alan K. Manchester, 'The transfer of the Court to Brazil', p. 178, n. 42, referring to Mello Moraes, *História da trasladação*, p. 41.

<sup>126</sup> See reference to those who went by Manchester, 'The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro', p. 157. They died in 1808 and 1809, respectively.

<sup>127</sup> Azevedo was councillor of state already in 1807, as he held the post of *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. Sometimes news in the almanacs was not accurate or up-to-date in relation to the moment of publishing or to the whole year. On 25 August 1807, José Egidio Alvares de Almeida, secretary of D. João, asked precisely D. António de Araújo de Azevedo, who then held the portfolio of the Kingdom Affairs and was assistant minister to the sovereign, to order the issuing of an *aviso* appointing F. J. Portugal councillor of State. Letter pub. in José Baptista

The Council of State was really active in 1808. Between mid April and the beginning of May its members pronounced themselves, in writing, on a proposal for a manifesto against France made by D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho also councillor of state and at the same time *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. They did not discuss it in a session. On the other hand, the opinions were addressed to D. Rodrigo, to be presented to the sovereign, and not directly to the latter, as used to happen in 1807 in Lisbon. Probably this was due just to the political re-emergence of D. Rodrigo.<sup>129</sup> Later that year the assistant minister D. Fernando José de Portugal heard some of the councillors privately, by order of the Prince Regent, on the project of enlarging the Southern Brazilian frontiers reaching the Spanish Captaincy of Buenos Aires and Rio de la Plata.<sup>130</sup> On 13 August 1808, following a meeting of the secretaries of state and the monarch, the Council of State presided over by the monarch met to debate the rights of D. Carlota Joaquina and of the Infant D. Pedro Carlos to the Spanish crown and specifically three related documents. D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, working as ‘*relator*’ (speaker) opened the session reporting the questions and reading some of these papers as well as extracts from the latest Gazettes from Europe. Then each member gave his opinion, voting (*voto* or *parecer*), by order of seniority, beginning by the most recent, with some interruptions by another member.

On 21 September 1808, the Council of State met again in the royal presence, in the Court. This meeting was summoned after the arrival, in Rio de Janeiro, of a caique from the Algarve with news and letters concerning the uprisings against the French.<sup>131</sup>

---

Barreiros, *Correspondência inédita entre o Conde da Barca e José Egidio Alvares de Almeida, secretário particular de El-Rei Dom João VI*, 1962, pp. 97-98. It was as councillors of state that both Azevedo and F. J. de Portugal made recommendations in April-May 1808, on the project of the Manifesto against France. IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 53, mç. 1, (6); IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 53, mç. 1, (19), MNE, cx. 11, mç. 5 (1).

<sup>128</sup> Besides those two, the Council was then composed by the Marquis of Angeja, the Marquis of Belas, the Marquis of Pombal, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho Count of Linhares and D. João de Almeida e Castro Count of Galveias. *Almanach de Lisboa* (1812), pp. 39-40.

<sup>129</sup> Ofícios from the Marquis of Belas, Marquis of Pombal, Marquis of Ângeja, D. João de Almeida e Castro, Viscount of Anadia, D. António de Araújo de Azevedo to D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, 14 April-10 May 1808, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 53, mç. 1, 14-21. They were published by Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. 19-34.

<sup>130</sup> For this and the following periods on the *Conselho de Estado*, see Memorandum from D. João de Almeida, n.d. MNE, pub. in Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. 276-300. This memorandum would have been written in 1809 or 1810, according to Sara Marques Pereira, *D Carlota Joaquina e os “Espelhos de Clio”: actuação política e figurações historiográficas*, Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1999, p. 123, n. 37.

<sup>131</sup> It was most probably this meeting that the British minister in Rio de Janeiro referred to. Dispatch no. 8, Lord Strangford to G. Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 8 October 1808, FO 63/60, f. 61r-61v.

D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, who was again the speaker because the matter had to do with the office he held, opened the session. After briefly reporting the events, without presenting any documents, he proposed to send a proclamation to Portugal, promising the arrival of one of the princes and British assistance. He also suggested replacing the Regency. This was intensely discussed according to the same system of seniority. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of the following month, the *Conselho de Estado* was held once more to debate the government in Portugal.<sup>132</sup> Subsequently its members addressed written recommendations to the Prince Regent, on the subject, and specifically on the royal letters to send to Portugal.<sup>133</sup> The *Conselho de Estado* met again on 22 December 1808 to discuss whether the provisional government of Portugal that had begun its functions on 19 September 1808 should be kept or not. The Prince Regent ordered that the councillors should receive the documents that this government of Portugal sent to him. These were about the events, which had occurred since the beginning of the operations to free Lisbon, the restoration and the measures undertaken after.<sup>134</sup> The following year, in the month of July, it appears that the sovereign intended to consult with the councillors of state about a change in the Lisbon Regency<sup>135</sup> that effectively took place.

Afterwards, the activity of the *Conselho de Estado* and especially its meetings seem to have become paralysed, as far as the records allow us to deduce at present. The fact that there was no replacement of the dead councillors also suggests this. In 1814 the *Conselho de Estado* was reduced to three and later to two members: D. João de Almeida Castro, then Count of Galveias, who died in January,<sup>136</sup> the Count of Aguiar and D. António de Araújo de Azevedo.<sup>137</sup> In June 1817 the Count of Funchal D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, then Portuguese minister in Rome was appointed councillor of state<sup>138</sup> but he stayed out of Brazil. Aguiar and Azevedo had died meanwhile. Although new secretaries of state were appointed simultaneously with the Count of Funchal, becoming

---

<sup>132</sup> Recommendation from D. António de Araújo de Azevedo to the Prince Regent, Rio de Janeiro, 11 November 1808, IAN/TT, cx. 53, mç. 1 (6).

<sup>133</sup> Recommendations from Marquis of Angeja, D. António de Araújo de Azevedo, D. Fernando José de Portugal, D. João de Almeida, Marquis of Pombal, Marquis of Belas to the Prince Regent extract on the recommendations, 16 October 1808-11 November 1808, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 53, mç. 1, (6-13).

<sup>134</sup> Draft of the recommendation from D. João Almeida Melo e Castro to the Prince Regent, 23 December 1808, IHGB, DL 105.17.

<sup>135</sup> Copy of dispatch from Strangford to Canning, July 1809, enclosed with dispatch from Balthurst to Villiers, Foreign Office, 17 October 1809, PRO, FO, 179/7.

<sup>136</sup> Rio de Janeiro, 22 January 1814, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 95 (Saturday, 23 April 1814) [p. 3].

<sup>137</sup> *Almanach de Lisboa* (1814), part 1, p. 38. All the others had died and were not replaced.

<sup>138</sup> Decree 23 June 1817, Rio de Janeiro, 28 June 1817, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 234, (Friday 3 October 1817).

then members of the *Conselho de Estado*, in practice, and almost till the return of the Court, the Conselho de Estado did not operate.<sup>139</sup>

The revolutionary movement that began in Porto on 24 August 1820 and extended to Lisbon in mid September and the following events in Portugal as well as in Brazil led the King to consult numerous people, including the councillors of state.<sup>140</sup> Apparently, in mid October 1820 nine people attended the *Conselho de Estado* without D. João's presence.<sup>141</sup> Again in January 1821 there was a meeting of the *Conselho de Estado*.<sup>142</sup> The feverish activity of counselling the monarch and debating the recent events especially involved the three secretaries of state, Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, the Count of Arcos, D. Marcos de Noronha e Brito and the Count of Palmela, D. Pedro de Sousa e Holstein. Their authority to advise D. João VI in this context is not always obvious. It could be either that of minister and secretary of state or that of councillor of state.<sup>143</sup> On 17 February 1821 Vilanova Portugal suggested the King to summon the 'Conselho', namely Luis José, Paulo Fernandes intendant of Police, and José da Silva Lisboa<sup>144</sup>. It seems that this took place the day after.<sup>145</sup> Some days later, D. João agreed to the proposal of the newly appointed minister for Foreign Affairs, Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, so that the heir to the throne, D. Pedro, attended the meetings of the *Conselho de Estado* and also the ministers' meetings.<sup>146</sup> But soon the Portuguese monarch was on his way back to Portugal.

---

<sup>139</sup> According to Maler, French chargé d'affaires in Brazil, writing in May 1820, D. João VI had no *Conselho d'Estado* to address to, and no intermediate entity he could consult. Maler, 23 May 1820, AAE, cited by Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 634.

<sup>140</sup> We did not identify sets of records created by the *Conselho de Estado* or related to its working in this period. Thus the present account can only be tentative.

<sup>141</sup> Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, 21 October 1820, pub. in Melo Morais, *Brasil Histórico*, 33 (14 August 1824), 1 and referred to by Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', pp. 245-246, and n. 25.

<sup>142</sup> Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, 14 January 1821, BNRJ, 5, 40, 1, no. 88, cited by Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', p. 246, n. 25.

<sup>143</sup> See for instance, recommendation from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, 8 January 1821, enclosed with billet from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, [Rio de Janeiro], 7 January 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 690. In his recommendation he transcribed another recommendation from the Count of Arcos.

<sup>144</sup> Tomás António de Vilanova de Portugal to D. João VI, [Rio de Janeiro], 17 February 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 696.

<sup>145</sup> Neill Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, p. 76, referring mainly letters from Palmela to D. João.

<sup>146</sup> See Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: The struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, p. 80 and sources referred.



It is difficult to evaluate how the opinions of the members of the *Conselho de Estado* affected the final decisions of the Prince Regent, later King D. João VI during the thirteen years of Brazilian government. But although it worked mainly in disturbed periods,<sup>147</sup> the *Conselho de Estado* was a useful tool for the monarch to obtain different perspectives, which in the end tended to the position of consensus that he followed.

---

<sup>147</sup>Clayton stresses the short running of a 'government by debate-in-council' adding that 'On the whole, D. João was content to take the word of those he trusted'. 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', p. 305. This applies perfectly to the three-four years period Vilanova Portugal was the key minister and secretary of state.

### 4.3 The government and the main political events: the Brazilian priorities

The convergence of Portugal and Great Britain in the European scenario reinforced D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho politically, as *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. On the other hand, the British minister and extraordinary envoy at the Portuguese Court in Brazil, Lord Strangford, who arrived from England on 22 July 1808,<sup>148</sup> acquired a distinct status in relation to the Prince Regent D. João.<sup>149</sup> At least in the first years of residency he had an easy access to the sovereign<sup>150</sup> and presented the British perspective - sometimes his own point of view - directly to D. João and to his ministers.<sup>151</sup> Besides, and as mentioned before, D. Rodrigo and Strangford strengthened relations with each other and though they did not always coincided, more than once they acted conjointly in order to influence some of the sovereign's political decisions.<sup>152</sup>

One of the British priorities was the signature of a commercial treaty in the spirit of the opening of the Brazilian ports to foreign commerce. This finally occurred on 19 February 1810, after the British Parliament refused to ratify a Treaty of Cooperation and Commerce proposed by Portugal on 28 February 1809. The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, established an almost complete liberal system of commerce, which in practice became oppressive to the Portuguese Crown. Brazil initially benefited from this treaty and, on the other hand, there was a guarantee that the rights held by the British there would be maintained even when the seat of the Portuguese Court returned to Europe. In this way Brazil would not easily go back to the economic status prior to 1808. Simultaneously another two treaties were celebrated between the two countries, a Treaty

---

<sup>148</sup> Dispatch no. 1 Strangford to George Canning 22 July 1808, PRO, FO 63/59, f. 122r-126r.

<sup>149</sup> The recognisance of this began with the immediate private audience given by D. João to Strangford, a special distinction, followed by the public audience the day after. D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, 29 de July 1808, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 566, f. 30v-33r.

<sup>150</sup> Still in November 1810, Strangford daily accompanied the Prince Regent in his excursions to the country. Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, 1 November 1810, PRO, FO 63/86, f.130r-131v.

<sup>151</sup> Strangford to Bathurst, Rio de Janeiro, 16 January 1810, PRO, FO 63/83, f. 16r-16v.

<sup>152</sup> See, among other documents, the copies of confidential letters from D. Rodrigo to Strangford, enclosed with the dispatches the latter sent to George Canning, in November and December 1808. PRO, FO 63/61. It was also mentioned that the Portuguese representative in London D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, the Chevalier De Souza, was brother of D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho and both, with Strangford, formed a kind of triangle of communication and personal influence. For instance, when the Prince Regent resolved to 'furnish some person in Europe, with powers to negotiate with France conjointly with and under the sanction of Great Britain', 'to prevent distance between the two Courts', Strangford 'insinuated' the Chevalier de Souza to the Prince Regent. Lord Strangford to George Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 30 January 1809, PRO, FO 63/68 f. 74r-76r.

of Alliance and Friendship, and a Packet Convention. Great Britain committed herself not to recognize as King of Portugal any prince who was not an heir and legitimate representative of the House of Braganza. In addition it would defend the Portuguese position on the limits related to Guyana, to the North of Brazil, and promote the devolution, by Spain, of Olivença in the South of Portugal. In the meantime the Portuguese government had also negotiated with Great Britain a loan to subsidise the war against the French in Portugal.<sup>153</sup>

Although the ‘affairs of Portugal’ were, from September 1808 onwards, always present in the daily ruling, a Brazilian or a Southern American perspective soon gained ground. The unity of the Brazilian territories and the question of its northern and specially its southern frontiers pervaded the government’s internal and external activities and required financial resources for the military arrangements.<sup>154</sup> The Portuguese interference in the politics of the neighbouring Spanish colonies was demanding not only taking into account these requisites but also because it implied an extra diplomatic effort and constant pondering by the Rio de Janeiro government. On the one hand, the Princess of Brazil, D. Carlota Joaquina harboured huge ambitions as to the regency of Spain and specifically its South American territories. Though temporarily useful to the Portuguese projects in the area, D. Carlota Joaquina’s own politics, put in practice with the strong complicity of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, commander of the British fleet in Rio de Janeiro, complicated the government’s action. On the other hand the British ally was not, by any means, interested in supporting the territorial expansion of Brazil and even less the absolutist projects of D. Carlota Joaquina.<sup>155</sup> These nationalist Brazilian external

---

<sup>153</sup> See Jorge Borges de Macedo, *História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de Geopolítica*, p. 370; Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, pp. 47-48; Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 209-232 and 261-265. See the treaties in José Ferreira Borges de Castro (ed.), *Collecção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao presente*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1857, vol. 4, pp. 348-423.

<sup>154</sup> Barman stresses the connection between the establishment of a ‘strong administrative apparatus’ in the Portuguese ‘New World’ and ‘the demands of the war and the needs of the imperial system’. Besides the *Conselho Supremo Militar*, mentioned before, he refers to the creation also in 1808, of the *Arquivo Militar* (Military Archives) as well as of the schools of surgery in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro to answer to the medical needs of the armed forces, and the establishment of the *Real Academia Militar* (Royal Military Academy) at Rio de Janeiro in 1810. Not to mention the organisation of an Army based on the regular troops assigned to Brazil and supplemented by local recruits. *Brazil: The forging of a Nation, 1798-1852*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>155</sup> The Princess of Brazil’s project with Sir Sidney Smith, in its first steps, and the reserves shown by the British representative in Rio de Janeiro were mentioned in several of the dispatches from Viscount of Strangford to George Canning, Rio de Janeiro, November-December 1808, PRO, FO

politics<sup>156</sup>, which at least initially were much discussed, led to the military occupation of the French Guyannes during the period of December 1808-January 1809.<sup>157</sup> In mid 1811 the Portuguese intervened also militarily into the affairs of the so-called *Banda Oriental*, i.e., the eastern side of the Rio de la Plata, now Uruguay.<sup>158</sup>

The composition of the government experienced a first change when João Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes, Count of Anadia, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, died on 30 December 1809,<sup>159</sup> and was replaced by D. João de Almeida de Mello e Castro, Count of Galveias. Although he was the enemy of D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho his colleague of the Foreign and War Affairs, and felt hurt because he had not been appointed first to this post, he was not an enemy of England and represented continuity.<sup>160</sup>

A major change was to be experienced with the death of D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho then Count of Linhares, on 26 January 1812,<sup>161</sup> replaced *ad interim* first by the Count of Aguiar D. Fernando de Portugal and months later by the Count of Galveias.<sup>162</sup> The Count of Funchal D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, was to succeed his brother in the

---

63/61. About the arduous diplomatic action in 1809-1810, of the Portuguese extraordinary envoy in Spain, D. Pedro de Sousa e Holstein, related to the D. Carlota Joaquina's rights of succession to the Crown of Spain, see Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime português*, pp. 250-260. On the diplomatic effort made by Portugal's representative in London see besides Alexandre, and for instance, draft of a note from Chevalier de Souza to Marquis Wellesley, enclosed to dispatch from Viscount Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, Rio de Janeiro, 12 August 1810, PRO, FO 63/85, f. 134r-135r.

<sup>156</sup> 'quase exclusiva, nacionalista e expansionista' (almost exclusive, nationalist and expansionist), Jorge Borges de Macedo, *História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de Geopolítica*, p. 371.

<sup>157</sup> This occupation was disputed from 1814 and effective till 1817. Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, pp. 291-292, 296, 300. See also Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime português*, pp. 243-244.

<sup>158</sup> Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 46; Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, pp. 213-215.

<sup>159</sup> *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 3, (10 January 1810), [p. 3].

<sup>160</sup> Galveias had been dismissed from the Foreign Affairs due to French pressure (in August 1803) and expected that the British would apply for his reinstatement. He showed signs of certain resentment against the British, such as not promoting British officers in the service of the Prince Regent. Strangford, though did not classify Galveias as enemy, included him in the Portuguese 'Party against Great Britain'. Dispatch no. 23, confidential, Strangford to the Marquis of Wellesley, Rio de Janeiro, 12 March 1810, PRO, FO, 63/83, f. 166r-169 and Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, 15 Nov 1810, PRO, FO 63/86, f. 137v.

<sup>161</sup> Rio de Janeiro, 29 January 1812, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 119, (21 May 1812), [p. 3].

<sup>162</sup> A. Ferrand de Almeida Fernandes, 'Subsídios para a história administrativa do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros: Primeira parte: das origens até ao final do século XIX', p. 7; Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, 20 May 1812, Memória, BN, COD 6850, p. 120.

same post and to arrive in Rio de Janeiro. But in the end he never did.<sup>163</sup> From then till almost the eve of the return of the Court to Lisbon, in 1821, there was a reduction of the exercise of central ruling to fewer secretaries of state besides the monarch and his advisers. In effect, the Count of Galveias was very ill at least during a couple of months in 1812 which led the British minister in Rio to treat directly with the Prince Regent. Moreover the portfolio of the Affairs of Brazil was still held by the Count of Aguiar D. Fernando de Portugal ‘one of the most ignorant and helpless of Men’ and ‘so self-willed’ that it was ‘idle and absurd’ to try to negotiate with him, according to Strangford’s conditioned opinion.<sup>164</sup> Two years later D. João de Almeida e Castro died.<sup>165</sup> On the other hand, José Joaquim de Freitas,<sup>166</sup> *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar*, who figured as the effective secretary of state of that office, was ill. Thus D. Fernando de Portugal, then Marquis of Aguiar, accumulated the three portfolios.<sup>167</sup> He was overloaded with work and distributed the three daily hours he usually spent carrying out the affairs of one single office, for all of the three offices.<sup>168</sup> D. António de Araújo de Azevedo relieved him of the portfolio of the Navy and Overseas Affairs still in the first months of 1814,<sup>169</sup> but he, in turn, was ill for a period in 1815.<sup>170</sup>

---

<sup>163</sup> On 1 June 1812, the Count of Funchal wrote to the Prince Regent an ambiguous letter regretting the death of his brother, commenting on internal questions of the Office in London and, most important, underlining his fears in relation to his succession, and making himself available to hold the post. ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 4, 245. A fortnight after it was reported in London his appointment, and the news was published a month later in Lisbon. Postscriptum London, 15 June 1812, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 167, (20 July 1812), [p. 6]. In parallel Strangford was expecting ‘impatiently’ his arrival at Brazil. Copy of a letter from Viscount Strangford to Stuart, Rio de Janeiro, 16 June 1812, BL, Add Mss 31 236, f. 102r-105v.

<sup>164</sup> Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, 15 Nov 1810, PRO, FO 63/86, f. 137v; copy of a letter from Viscount Strangford to Stuart, Rio de Janeiro, 16 June 1812, BL, Add Mss 31 236, f. 103r-103v. In 1815, William Carr Beresford, then in Brazil, though noticing the anti British feelings, considered D. Fernando de Portugal, then Marquis of Aguiar, not an enemy of the British but satisfied with quiet things. From Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 15 October 1815, PRO, FO 63/188, f. 37r-40v.

<sup>165</sup> On 18 January 1814. See Rio de Janeiro, 22 January 1814, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 95 (23 April 1814), [p. 3].

<sup>166</sup> Or José Joaquim da Silva e Freitas as referred in the *Almanach de Lisboa*, (1814), part 1, p. 42.

<sup>167</sup> Aguiar ‘gemo’ (groans) with the three offices. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 25 January 1814, in ‘Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos’, pp. 180-181; Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, [Lisbon], 9 April 1814, Memória, BN, COD 6851, p. 171.

<sup>168</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 22 February 1814, in ‘Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos’, p. 185.

<sup>169</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 22 February 1814, 11 March 1814, 1 April 1814 in ‘Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos’, p. 185.

<sup>170</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 18 September 1815, in ‘Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos’, p. 238.

These alterations coincided with the reduction of the British influence on D. João's politics. None of the ministers who were holding the offices were considered pro Great Britain by Strangford. Araújo de Azevedo, in particular, had deserved his major attention.<sup>171</sup> But what changed dramatically from the end of 1811 to 1814 was the direction of the war in Portugal and later in the Peninsula as a whole. The Portuguese were freed from the French, and felt less obliged in relation to their British allies. The expected return of the sovereign to the old seat of the Portuguese Monarchy was postponed, though much debated and desired not only by his European subjects but also by Great Britain<sup>172</sup> – apprehensive in relation to the course of continental Portugal in the Peninsula and in the equilibrium of Europe.

The Portuguese politics and diplomacy post war reflected this situation. The instructions to the ministers in the foreign countries and namely to the envoys to the Congress of Vienna, celebrated from 1 October 1814 to 9 June 1815, were contradictory and late in relation to the renewed debates and constant negotiations. The Prince Regent and its government, centred in Araújo de Azevedo,<sup>173</sup> defended that the delivery of the Guyana to France depended on the devolution of Olivença to Portugal, by Spain. However the delivery of the Guyana by Portugal was already predicted in the Treaty of Peace signed by Portugal and France on 30 May 1814<sup>174</sup> thus became an invalid argument. Besides, the Portuguese government of Rio de Janeiro insisted once again on delaying the interdiction of the slave trade, an issue that disturbed several interests in Brazil but this was a British cause. Both issues were lost. However Portugal gained by its participation in the Congress – from which she was initially excluded by the ‘great four’, the states of the Quadruple Alliance, i.e., Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria<sup>175</sup> - and by the recognition of its role against the Napoleonic forces. Portugal also benefited from the experience transmitted by the contact with the new European problems from

---

<sup>171</sup> Strangford had accused him, for instance, of being the ‘secret spring’ of the intrigues against the Count of Linhares, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, whom on the contrary he always considered Great Britain's most important ally in the Portuguese Government. Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, 15 November 1810, PRO, FO 63/86, f. 137v.

<sup>172</sup> Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 48.

<sup>173</sup> Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*, p. 290.

<sup>174</sup> The Prince Regent D. João disapproved the treaty - and the conduct of the Count of Funchal, its signatory - precisely on account of the Guyana's. Summary by José Manuel Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos diplomáticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>175</sup> Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*, p. 305.

which she was alienated, but that also had implication on Brazil, and on maintaining D. João's power that, at the time, guaranteed the unity of its territories.<sup>176</sup>

At a different level, from 1814 onwards, the policy for the marriages of the Portuguese princes was part of the effort to diversify the supports in the international scene. Matrimonial alliances were attempted with Russia,<sup>177</sup> a winning power whose effective diplomatic weight and conduct towards Portugal the government misunderstood, and with France,<sup>178</sup> and achieved with Spain and later with Austria. Spain tried to obtain Portuguese cooperation in controlling the rebels of La Plata, with the arranged marriage of the princesses D. Maria Isabel de Bragança and D. Maria Francisca de Assis, to the King of Spain, D. Fernando VII, and his brother D. Carlos Isidro de Bourbon in 1816.<sup>179</sup> In contrast Portugal envisaged neutralizing a reaction from Spain to the Portuguese expeditions in its southern American colonies. However these dynastic marriages did not prevent the later deterioration of the relations between the two countries and their sovereigns.<sup>180</sup> In turn, the marriage of the Prince D. Pedro, heir to the throne, to Princess D. Leopoldina, daughter of the Austrian Emperor, concluded in November 1817 in Rio de Janeiro, was a 'diplomatic coup' according to Barman.<sup>181</sup> It was a way of trying to influence the European powers in favour of the already United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil, avoiding their support for Spain concerning the affairs of the *Banda Oriental* and its conquest by the Portuguese. But all these diplomatic procedures were not enough in relation to the Atlantic control by Great Britain and its naval hegemony over the Continent, whose effects the Rio de Janeiro Government was still not able to foresee.

---

<sup>176</sup> Macedo, *História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de Geopolítica*, p. 385-387.

<sup>177</sup> On the project of marriage of a daughter of the Prince Regent with the son of the Emperor of 'All Russias' Alexander I, and of Russian Princess to the Prince of Portugal, see for instance, Recommendation from the Bishop Principal Chaplain to the Prince Regent, Rio de Janeiro, 18 June 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 3. In addition Portugal settled with Russia, in 1812 and again in 1815, the reestablishment and prorogation, for a year, of political and commercial relations as both countries had agreed them in the Treaty of Friendship, Navigation and Commerce signed in 1798. See summary of the Declarations of 19 May-10 June 1812 and of 29 March 1815 made by Portugal and Russia in Oliveira, *Actos diplomáticos do Brasil...*, pp. 74 and 79. See also about the negotiations of the latter declaration, António Saldanha da Gama to the Marquis of Aguiar, Vienna, 23 February 1815, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mc. 6, 438.

<sup>178</sup> In the beginning of 1816 it seems there was the project of marrying the Princess Maria Teresa, widow of D. Pedro Carlos, to the Duke of Berry, brother of the French King Louis XVIII. See Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. 216-217.

<sup>179</sup> Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 380.

<sup>180</sup> Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 404.

<sup>181</sup> *Brazil: The forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 61.

The raising of the State of Brazil to Kingdom of Brazil, at the end of 1815,<sup>182</sup> was another sign of the Prince Regent's willingness to stay even with British opposition and the malaise of his European subjects. Simultaneously, it was one more step in the creation of an idea of Brazil, though economically and politically centred in Rio de Janeiro and with no real effects on the unification of jurisdictions and institutions in the Brazilian territories.<sup>183</sup>

The Portuguese Crown continued to be absorbed by the Brazilian problems. In the aftermath of the Congress of Vienna and despite having promised to forbid the slave traffic in the North of the Equator within a period of eight years,<sup>184</sup> the Portuguese diplomacy did not give up trying to delay it, instead of renegotiating the Treaty of Commerce signed in 1810 with Great Britain, so onerous specially for European Portugal.<sup>185</sup> At the same time, the policy of intervening in the La Plata region persisted. In May 1816, approximately 5,000 so-called *Voluntários d'El Rei*, commanded by Lieutenant-General Lecor were sent from Portugal to Santa Catarina in the South of Brazil, supposedly to defend it from instability in the *Banda Oriental*, aggravated by the occupation of the guerrillas led by José of Artigas. Artigas opposed not only Spain but also the autonomous government of Buenos Aires, Montevideo then linked to the latter, and Brazil. The Portuguese expedition took over several fortresses in the area including, in January 1817, Montevideo.<sup>186</sup> It was a complex situation locally and from the point of view of the external context. Great Britain - and the United States - were sympathetic to the rebelling Spanish colonies and did not welcome the expansion of Brazil. The Portuguese diplomats engaged themselves once more in a Brazilian question. The Count of Palmela in London and D. António Saldanha da Gama in Madrid, till 1820 defended the enlarged southern frontiers of Brazil, in the face of the Spanish threat of retaliation in

---

<sup>182</sup> The *Estado do Brasil* was elevated to Kingdom and united to the Kingdom of Portugal and of the Algarves, under the title '*Reino Unido de Portugal, e do Brasil, e Algarves*' that should be used in all the official records such as *cartas de lei*, *alvarás* and *provisões*. Carta de lei, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 16 December 1815, printed, IAN/TT, SP 2275. This was reinforced in 1817 with the grant of specific arms to it and the incorporation of the arms of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves in a single shield, to be used in the banners, flags, royal seals and coins. Carta de lei, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 13 May 1817, in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 144, (20 July 1817).

<sup>183</sup> Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 53 and p. 59.

<sup>184</sup> Treaty between Portugal and Great Britain, Vienna, 22 January 1815, summary pub. in Oliveira, *Actos diplomáticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, p. 78.

<sup>185</sup> See, for instance, Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*, p. 338.

<sup>186</sup> See Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*, pp. 340-341.



Portugal and in Brazil and of the disapproval or apparent detachment of the great European powers, Great Britain, France, Austria Prussia and Russia.<sup>187</sup>

Meanwhile, the effective composition of the government had changed again. At the end of 1816, D. António de Araújo de Azevedo Count of Barca, replaced the seriously ill Marquis of Aguiar in the offices he was holding, i.e., the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* and the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and at the presidency of the *Erário*.<sup>188</sup> The Marquis of Aguiar died on 24 January 1817<sup>189</sup> and Barca, who also became ill, accumulated all the portfolios till his own death, on 21 June 1817.<sup>190</sup> This explains why, paraphrasing Maler the French representative in Rio de Janeiro, for around nine months the seals of the correspondence with the Lisbon departments and from the possessions were not broken and, on the other hand, the accounts of the *Erário* were not checked and sanctioned.<sup>191</sup>

The government was renewed two days after the death of the Count of Barca. The Prince Regent appointed the diplomat João Paulo Bezerra as president of the *Erário*, also the diplomat Count of Palmela D. Pedro de Sousa e Holstein, as *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, the governor of Bahia, Count of Arcos D. Marcos de Noronha e Brito, as *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, and the *Desembargador do Paço* Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, as *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and in-charge of the *Casa de Bragança*.<sup>192</sup> The Count of Arcos arrived in Rio de Janeiro on 5 February 1818 and took office afterwards.<sup>193</sup> The Count of Palmela stayed in London

---

<sup>187</sup> See also Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 54 and Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 451.

<sup>188</sup> Register of the aviso from the Count of Barca to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 27 November 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, pp. 91-92; despachos from the Count of Barca received in Lisbon, Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, 26 March 1817, Memória, COD 6852, pp. 23-24.

<sup>189</sup> *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (15 January 1817) referred in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', pp. 292-293.

<sup>190</sup> *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (25 June 1817) in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 310, n. 66.

<sup>191</sup> Maler, 13 July 1818, AAE, referred by Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 483.

<sup>192</sup> News about these appointments, by decree of 23 June 1817, Rio de Janeiro, 28 June 1817, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 234, (3 October 1817); register of the royal letters from the Prince Regent to the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 25 June 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, pp. 110-111.

<sup>193</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 24 February 1818, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 316.

until the summer of 1820. Thus Bezerra also held, *ad interim*, the Foreign and War Affairs till dying on 29 November 1817.<sup>194</sup>

In these circumstances, Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal became the dominant minister of D. João till 1821, also accumulating the presidency of the *Erário Régio* and the portfolio of the Foreign and War Affairs *ad interim*<sup>195</sup> and for, some months, the Navy Affairs and Overseas Dominions. During a short period, Vilanova Portugal assisted the King in all the portfolios.<sup>196</sup> Already as *chanceler-mor*, and before his appointment as secretary of state, he had been involved in important governmental matters such as the affairs of La Plata. When Barca was ill in 1817, he worked as a 'liaison' between the Prince Regent and General Lecor, commander of the *Voluntários Reais* at Montevideo.<sup>197</sup> At the same time, he began to prepare and send a part of the monarch's official correspondence.<sup>198</sup> However the work overload, which a long accumulation of portfolios implied, affected the running of the offices.<sup>199</sup>

In March 1817, the province of Pernambuco, in the Northeast of Brazil, was the setting of a disturbing revolt.<sup>200</sup> Following orders of the captaincy's governor, on 6

---

<sup>194</sup> *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, (3 December 1817), referred in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 232, n. 39 or *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 55, (5 March 1818). These news about Bezerra's death, as well as the mention made by Father Luís Gonçalves dos Santos added the post of *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*. See Santos, *Memórias para servir á História do Reino do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Editôra Zelio Valverde, 1943, vol. 2, p. 608.

<sup>195</sup> See Oliveira, *Actos diplomáticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, p. 92.

<sup>196</sup> Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 152; Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', p. 128 and p. 169.

<sup>197</sup> Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', pp. 218-219, based namely on correspondence from Lecor to Vilanova Portugal, AHI, lata 174, maço 4.

<sup>198</sup> Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', referring to letters from D. João to Vilanova Portugal, the BNRJ, Codice 808/ 25, 2, now BNRJ, COD 5, 1, 40, IAN/TT, micr. 0089.

<sup>199</sup> Marrocos observed that in spite of the incessant fatigue of Vilanova Portugal, the multiplicity and seriousness of the affairs grew incredibly in two offices he held. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 3 September 1820, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 429.

<sup>200</sup> The following paragraph is based mainly on Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, pp. 56-61. A very brief narrative by Keneth Maxwell and Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva 'A república pernambucana (1817)' in Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (coord.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa: O Império Luso-Brasileiro 1750-1822*, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1986, pp. 385-386. A longer narrative in Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, pp. 495-519. For a short descriptive version see Simão José da Luz Soriano, *História da guerra civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: terceira epocha: estabelecimento do governo parlamentar*, vol. 1, pp. 247-255. See also the first account on the revolt and the first repressive acts from Bahia, published by the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, following the statement of the captain of the Ship 'Flor da Bahia', José Vieira dos Santos, on 27 May, in Porto, where he had arrived after 52 days of travel from Bahia, Lisbon, 5 June, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 132, (6 June 1817).

March, it was necessary to arrest several people suspected of Masonry in Recife, including an officer whose troops then revolted. The main authorities conformed to the new reality, proclaimed a republic and a provisional government was set up. It had an extensive social support, from slaves and artisans to merchants, *letrados* and royal officials. The revolt spread to Paraíba do Norte and Rio Grande do Norte and into the south of Ceará. The reasons for the rebellion had to do with resentment of the Portuguese born in Brazil regarding the Portuguese born in Europe (*reinóis*) especially those who had arrived after 1808.<sup>201</sup> It also had to do with the animosity towards the transfer of powers to Rio de Janeiro in parallel with heavier taxes, the request for more revenue from the provinces and long delays in the payment of the troops.<sup>202</sup> The rebels' aims such as the 'opening of direct trade', 'intellectual contact with the outside', 'popular sovereignty' shaped in to the republic, 'freedom of worship and equality before the law'.<sup>203</sup> But they did not envisage the independence of Brazil as a nation-state.

Two months later, it ceased 'through a combination of counter risings, military defeats, and a loss of the will to fight'.<sup>204</sup> In May, military contingents were sent from Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Lisbon, to Recife. The Crown immediately applied a policy of severe punishment, which several people considered imprudent. Afterwards D. João called for more troops from Lisbon. The revolt shook the monarch and the government in Rio and since then they influenced their acts by the constant suspicion of disloyalty.<sup>205</sup> The denunciations of a conspiracy in Lisbon, in May 1817, whose participants were also involved in the Masonry or in related associations, reinforced this insidious atmosphere. On 18 March 1818 a royal decree forbade all secret societies.

Following the death of his mother Queen D. Maria I, in June 1816, the Pernambuco revolt had postponed the ceremonies of acclamation of D. João VI in Rio de Janeiro and in Pernambuco. Effectively on 7 April 1817, D. João had been acclaimed King in all the other Portuguese dominions, including the occupied Montevideo.<sup>206</sup> Thus,

---

<sup>201</sup> 'Between 1808 and 1822 some 24,000 Portuguese of all categories sought refuge in Brazil'. Alan K. Manchester, 'The growth of bureaucracy in Brazil, 1808-1821' p. 78, referring to José Honório Rodrigues, Nota Limiar of the *Registro de Estrangeiros, 1808-1822*, Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional, pp. 6-7.

<sup>202</sup> Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 495.

<sup>203</sup> Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 60.

<sup>204</sup> Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 57.

<sup>205</sup> Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a Nation, 1798-1852*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>206</sup> Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 416.

on 6 February 1818, Rio de Janeiro solemnly celebrated his acclamation,<sup>207</sup> relieved by the end of the revolt. The Brazilian capital was, more than ever, the seat of the Portuguese Monarchy.

For two years, the Portuguese government in Rio, centred on the King and on Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, ran the affairs in an atmosphere of political apathy. This was despite huge enterprises such as the occupation of Montevideo, or of projects like the creation of Nova Friburgo in the south of Brazil, to be populated by a Swiss colony.<sup>208</sup> As regards Portugal and its affairs, there was even a certain alienation from the Rio Government. However, the revolutionary acts that began in Portugal in September 1820 decisively changed the political course of Portugal and Brazil.

---

<sup>207</sup> Rio de Janeiro, 10 February 1818, News of the public act of aAcclamation of D. João VI on 6 February 1818, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 112, (13 May 1818), [pp. 1-7]. See also Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, pp. 606-613.

<sup>208</sup> Clayton, 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', p. 177 and following.

## 5 Records between Portugal and Brazil, 1808-1820

### 5.1 Creation and circulation of records

After the withdrawal of the French army led by Junot, in September 1808, and following a period of political uncertainty, the governors of the Kingdom and the two secretaries, *dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* and *dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra e da Marinha*, were the core of the central civil administration in Portugal. Therefore they were also the key for the flow of official documents between the government in Lisbon and the Prince Regent, later King D. João VI, and his secretaries of state in Rio de Janeiro. Initially, the contacts were sparse but from March to May 1809 they became more frequent. The most important official record series that linked administratively both governments were the *contas* and the *ofícios dos governadores do Reino* (*contas* and *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom) in the direction Lisbon-Rio de Janeiro, and the *avisos* and *ofícios* from the secretaries of state, in the reverse direction.

The *contas dos governadores do Reino* were numbered up to 678,<sup>1</sup> beginning in 18 October 1808 and ending by mid September 1820.<sup>2</sup> They were *cartas* (letters)<sup>3</sup> or

---

<sup>1</sup> The last two *contas* created by the governors of the Kingdom, nos. 677 and 678 were ready to be signed before 15 September 1820, when the Constitutional Revolution spread to Lisbon. Apparently they were not signed. The *contas* were sent together with the *conta* no. 2 from the interim government established at the time, by the Maritime Mailship 'Infante D. Sebastião' that departed from Lisbon on 27 September 1820. Register of the *contas* 678 and 677, IAN/TT, liv. 320, pp. 72-88.

<sup>2</sup> Almost the whole of the *contas* and several of their annexes were kept in Brazil, even after its independence in 1824, latterly in the Arquivo Nacional. Nowadays they are divided from the point of view of their custody. An almost complete group of mostly first *vias* of the *contas* are in the IAN/TT, Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro, cx. 1-24, pastas 1-37. They were catalogued and offered together with other original documents and reproductions by Brazil to Portugal, through the *Comissão Brasileira dos Centenários de Portugal* in the sequence of the celebration of the centenaries of Portugal in 1940. See *Elenco das publicações e dos documentos, originais ou em reprodução fotográfica, com o respectivo relacionamento, apresentados pelo Diretor do Arquivo Nacional da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil...*, Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1941. The second and even third *vias* of the *contas* and several of their annexes are scattered in the ANRJ, in the *fonds Negócios de Portugal, caixas*. Their retrieval is rather difficult as the main finding aid, a systematic file, does not correspond to the re-arrangements and renumbering made in the end of the 60's. There are a few of these *vias* also in the ANRJ, in the so-called *Gabinete de D. João VI*. See, for instance, *conta* no. 229, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Palace of the Government, 11 June 1813, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 5, 376. I often used the register books, indeed copybooks, of the *contas* sent (out-letters), that are in the Portuguese National Archives, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314-320.

dispatches addressed to D. João by the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, exceptionally by the *secretário dos Negócios da Guerra e da Marinha*, and seldom by the British minister in Lisbon, Charles Stuart (later Baron de Rothesay) as governor of the Kingdom with powers in everything related to war and finances. The procedure for the creation and circulation of the *contas* was as follows.

The governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries met at the Palace of the Government in Rossio square, in Lisbon, to debate and decide on the ruling matters. Some officials and scribes of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* also worked there and gave them administrative assistance. The first eleven *contas* (till 24 May 1809) dealt with a vast range of matters and thus were signed by all the present governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries of the government. But once their powers and structure became better defined and stable and the internal working better organised, from 1810 onwards, the *contas dos governadores do Reino* resulted, though not exclusively, from the activities that the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* carried out over Home and Finances matters.<sup>4</sup> Thus the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra e da Marinha* almost ceased to sign them.<sup>5</sup> Besides, the only British member of the government attended the majority of the sessions as long as he held the office (September 1810-April 1814) but rarely signed them.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Their usual designation was *conta* but the above mentioned register books were entitled 'Registo das Cartas que os Governadores do Reino de Portugal escrevem para o Rio de Janeiro ao Principe Regente Nosso Senhor' and in the beginning despatches were registered either as *conta* or *carta*. The governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries of the government refer to one of the *contas* as *representação* (representation). It was a *conta* with the specific purpose of presenting to the monarch their opinion and decision contrary to royal instructions that they had received. Register of *conta* 11, 24 May 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 26v-33r.

<sup>4</sup> Several cases also regarded the War or even the Foreign Affairs and they were mentioned in the *contas*, but the corresponding annexes were sent through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. That was the case of the mention of the shooting of the corregedor Barcelos Nepomuceno Pereira, ordered by General José António Botelho, and the reference to a posterior account through the *Secretaria de Estado da Guerra*. Register *conta* 12, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 33r-38r.

<sup>5</sup> D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz who was holding those offices went on signing specific *contas*, which reported on urgent questions such as the financial situation in 1816 or the need of royal appointment of a new governor of the Kingdom. See register of *conta* 440, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 September 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 239-245; register of *conta* 666, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 18 July 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 320, pp. 44-45.

<sup>6</sup> He signed for instance the *conta* enclosed with which was the *portaria* from the governors of the Kingdom, dated 18 February 1812, keeping the privilege of lodging to the *estaqueiros* (monopolists) of the playing cards contract. Register of *conta* no. 148, Lisbon, 21 February 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 49r.

The earlier *contas* were organised in paragraphs that were frequently numbered.<sup>7</sup> They summarised the decisions taken by the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*. In general, these decisions were supported by enclosed documents with reference to their number. The *contas* also acknowledged the receipt of documents from the sovereign in Rio de Janeiro to the governors of the Kingdom, through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and reported on the completion of the sovereign's orders. Some *contas* mentioned all these different kinds of actions. Others referred just to one kind of action and even to a single act. In parallel, and apart from the different kinds of writings, they varied much in the number of folios, which generally had identical dimensions. They were produced regularly but in no fixed time.

These aspects were closely dependent on the administrative flow. But this, in its turn, was conditioned by several factors. The distance between the offices in Lisbon and the offices in Rio de Janeiro together with the perilous transportation were important conditions, as will be shown. Another factor was the practices of the administration. Whenever it was intended to give priority to an affair or underline its importance, this was presented by itself in a *conta dos governadores do Reino*. This happened, for instance, when there was discrepancy between major royal orders and the real events in Portugal according to its government,<sup>8</sup> or when the financial situation became alarming to the governors of the Kingdom and to both the secretaries.<sup>9</sup> This also happened when it was intended to distinguish a specific *requerimento* (petition) from the usual lots of *requerimentos*. Several *informações* from the *governadores do Reino* and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* on the routine *requerimentos* in order to apply for office and to obtain several kinds of royal *mercês* were sent in separate *contas*.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> After the *conta* 137, it was not usual to number the paragraphs, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315.

<sup>8</sup> The *conta* 69, dated 10 November 1810, dealt exclusively with the situation created by the Rio de Janeiro's perseverance in appointing Cipriano Ribeiro Freire to *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* and to held the *Real Erário*, when more than one year before he had been effectively replaced by D. Miguel Forjaz Pereira and by the Count of Redondo. Register of *conta* 69, 10 November 1810, IAN/TT, liv. 314, f. 135v-139r.

<sup>9</sup> The *conta* 440, dated 17 September 1816, dealt exclusively with financial matters, considered urgent by the governors of the Kingdom. Register of *conta* 440, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 September 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 239-245.

<sup>10</sup> Luís Santos Marrocos, working in the manuscripts of the Royal Library in Rio de Janeiro, was well aware of the administrative practice. Therefore he advised his father Francisco José dos Santos Marrocos, librarian in the Royal Library of Ajuda in Lisbon, to use his friendship with the governor of the Kingdom Principal Freire, in order that the *informação* on his *requerimento* to chronicler of the Casa de Bragança was sent separately from the 'turbamulta' (rabble) of the other *requerimentos*. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 18 May 1818, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 329. See also, for instance, the *conta* no. 445 from the governors of the Kingdom,

The *contas* were addressed to the sovereign, *Senhor* (Sir), written almost in the head margin at the right. The number and via of the *contas* were recorded on the left. The text was written only in one of the half vertical sides of the folio, either in the right (folio recto), or in the left side (folio verso) and leaving a significant blank space (corresponding to 6 or more lines) from the head margin. The beginning of the text varied, sometimes according to the governor's actions that were reported and using formulas suggesting these actions.

When the governors of the Kingdom advised on *requerimentos*, the text of the *conta* often began '*Cumprindo as Reaes Ordens de Vossa Magestade, informa o Governo os requerimentos das Pessoas abaixo declaradas*' (Executing Your Majesty's Royal Orders, the Government reports on the petitions from the people above mentioned).<sup>11</sup> Sometimes, the governors of the Kingdom introduced the presentation of certain documents to the sovereign with the following initial formulas '*Temos a honra de levar à Soberana Presença de V. Magestade...*' (We have the honour of addressing to the Sovereign presence of Your Majesty...)<sup>12</sup> or '*Levamos à Augusta Presença de Vossa Magestade...*' (We address to the August Presence of Your Majesty).<sup>13</sup> Frequently the text began by mentioning the receipt of several documents from Brazil that were then detailed, with the name of the ship and the date of entrance in Lisbon.<sup>14</sup> Or it simply began to narrate facts and actions without a standardized introduction.

The text of the *contas* usually ended with the final greeting formula '*A Muito Alta e Muito Poderosa Pessoa de Vossa Alteza Real* or, when D. João became King, *de Vossa Magestade; guarde Deos muitos annos, como desejamos e havemos mister*' (The Most High and Most Powerful Person of Your Highness or Your Majesty; God save for many years, as we desire and need) followed by the place and the date and the signatures of the

---

sending their *informação* on the *requerimento* from Pedro Alcântara Pereira Rolim, porter of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* requesting the post of *oficial ordinário* of this *Secretaria*, and to his son, Tomás dos Santos Pereira Rolim, the post of supernumerary. Register of *conta* 445, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 28 November 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 264-265.

<sup>11</sup> *Conta* no. 556 from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 5 November 1818, ANRJ, NP, cx. 702, pac. 1,107-1,118.

<sup>12</sup> Register of the *conta* no. 440 from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 September 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 238-245, especially p. 238.

<sup>13</sup> *Conta* no. 431 from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 September 1816, IAN/TT, MR, ANRJ, vol. 14.

<sup>14</sup> '*Pelo Navio Grão Para; que entrou a 23 do presente mez, recebemos...*' (By the Ship 'Grão Pará'; which entered on 23 of the present month, we received...). *Conta* no. 553, 2<sup>a</sup> via, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 28 September 1818, ANRJ, NP, cx. 702, pac. 1,49-1,79.



governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*. The style of writing was not left to chance in these *contas* or *ofícios* to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>15</sup> They were prepared by one or more of the governors together with the secretary<sup>16</sup> and minuted by clerks of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* or even by its secretary.<sup>17</sup> Then the *contas* were read by one of the governors of the Kingdom or the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* and checked, during their sessions, sometimes amended, written out fair and signed by the governors of the Kingdom and the secretary, generally when they met again in the Palace of the Government in Rossio.<sup>18</sup>

The annexes of the *contas* were often original documents,<sup>19</sup> which in such cases were copied prior to their sending.<sup>20</sup> They comprised several types of single documents and files (*processos*). Among them were on the one hand, *informações* from the *governadores do Reino* on *requerimentos*, with *consultas* or *informações* from the *tribunais* and their ministers, which went up to the Royal Presence to be resolved by the monarch and, on the other, the *papéis da Real Assinatura*, documents that went up for signature by the monarch.

Both the *consultas* and *informações* from the *tribunais* and their ministers and the *papéis da Real Assinatura* were listed in a document also enclosed. The lists mentioned first the designation of the *tribunais*. These *tribunais* were administratively connected with the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and with the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*. They were, in general, the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*,

---

<sup>15</sup> Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, governor of the Kingdom, observed regarding the Count of Peniche that he had '*uso da Corte*' (practice of the Court) to remind certain modifications and respectful phrases convenient to use in the *ofícios* to Rio de Janeiro. April 1819, Memoria, BN, COD 6848, p. 96.

<sup>16</sup> See session on 27 April 1812, BN, COD 6850, p. 111.

<sup>17</sup> See some drafts and minutes of the *contas* in IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242.

<sup>18</sup> See sessions on 15 March 1811, 14 May 1811 and on 9 August 1811, BN, COD 6849, p. 59, p. 90 and BN, COD 6850, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> This implied a risk of loss that was sometimes questioned. On 1814 the Marquis of Pombal requested permission not to send the original letters of the possessions of the Crown and of the Orders of that Marquisate in order that the apostils of the *mercês* granted to him by portaria dated 14 September 1814, were drawn up. The *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* considered accordingly that the *tribunais* drew up the apostils separately and sent them to Rio to be signed by the Prince Regent, with the copies of the donations, and then returned and put together with the originals. Register of aviso from the Marquis of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 27 November 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, pp. 87-88.

<sup>20</sup> See annotation in the margin of register of conta 440, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 September 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 239-245. A few of the copies were kept, together with folders listing them, at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. See IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242.

*Desembargo do Paço, Conselho da Fazenda, Conselho da Fazenda e Estado, Senado da Câmara, Casa de Bragança, Junta do Tabaco, Assembleia de Malta, and Junta da Bula da Cruzada*. Under each of the headings there was a subheading regarding the action that the *consultas* and *informações* referred to, and within this category, the name of the candidate or petitioner.<sup>21</sup> The *papéis* to be signed by the monarch were, in its turn, listed by the name of the person to whom the document was addressed, following the type of document (*carta, alvará, apostila*) and its contents. These documents were prepared in Lisbon, in the different *tribunais* and *secretarias de Estado* to which they related.<sup>22</sup>

Many other documents, either originals or copies, were also enclosed with the *contas dos governadores do Reino*. Among them there were petitions with annexes,<sup>23</sup> *informações* from officers holding the departments linked with the above mentioned *secretarias de Estado*,<sup>24</sup> *informações* from the governors of the Kingdom,<sup>25</sup> memoranda, leaflets and gazettes, representations, sentences and court proceedings,<sup>26</sup> and *passes de perdão* (pardon permits). There were also proposals, balances from the *Junta do Comércio*,<sup>27</sup> *ofícios* from ministers of official departments to the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*<sup>28</sup> and from members of the government to several authorities, papal briefs,<sup>29</sup> *portarias* from the governors of the Kingdom appointing to several posts in the Kingdom,<sup>30</sup> accounts<sup>31</sup> and votes from the governors of the Kingdom.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> For instance, among the annexes of the *conta dos governadores do Reino* 19, 16 August 1809: ‘1 Relação das consultas que sobem à Real Presença, Senado da Câmara, Sobre o concurso aos lugares de Juiz dos Orfãos da Repartição do Bairro Alto, Juiz do Crime do Bairro de Andaluz, Mouraria e Mocambo’, (List of the *consultas* that go up to the Royal Presence, Municipal Council Senate, About the candidature to the posts of Judge of the Orphans of the bairro Alto Department, Crime Judge of the Quarter of Andaluz, Mouraria and Mocambo) then the names of the candidates. ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 1,85-1,90.

<sup>22</sup> As it was defined by the sovereign in the *Carta Régia*, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 30 de August 1809, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242, registered in IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 53-60.

<sup>23</sup> ANRJ, cx. 702, pac. 1, 113.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, a set of *informações* from the *provedor* of the Chapels of D. Afonso IV, regarding petitions requesting *mercearias*, many including a decision on. 1812-1818, ANRJ, NP, cx. 686, pac. 1,31-1,44.

<sup>25</sup> See, for instance, ‘*Informaçoes pertencentes à Conta nº 541*’, ANRJ, NP, cx. 702, pac. 1,17-1,27. ‘*Informaçoes pertencentes à Conta Nº 557*’, ANRJ, cx. 702, pac. 1,125.

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 1,85-1,90 and ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 1,7.

<sup>27</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 702, pac. 1,142-1,148.

<sup>28</sup> Mentioned in the register of *conta* no. 34, 26 January 1810, IAN/TT, liv. 314, f. 67r-72r.

<sup>29</sup> *Conta* no. 324 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 7 January 1815, IAN/TT, ANRJ, vol. 10.

<sup>30</sup> See, for instance, mention to the *portaria* appointing Salter de Mendonça to *Regedor e Chanceler da Casa da Suplicação*, in the absence of royal orders. Register of *conta* no. 80, 20 February 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 157v. See also register of *conta* 151, Lisbon, 5 March 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 49r-50r or *conta* 349, 27 June 1815, summarised in *Elenco...*, p. 249.

When ready, the *contas* were numbered and as they were sent in two and sometimes three *vias*, this was also recorded. Both these registers were essential in the circulation of the *contas* and their annexes and an integral part of the process of carrying out most of the official affairs of Portugal. Generally, the order of numbering the *contas* was chronological but this could be altered on exceptional occasions.<sup>33</sup>

Before being mailed, the *contas* were copied into one or more register books,<sup>34</sup> sometimes by the same official who had written them.<sup>35</sup> These were in general full copies.<sup>36</sup> After the *conta* was sent, it was recorded, on the outer margin of the register, the name of the ships that transported the first and the second *vias* of that *conta* and their dates of departure. The same information was also recorded on the copies or minutes of the *contas*.<sup>37</sup> When sending the second *vias* of one or more *contas* it was initially also mentioned in the beginning of the register of the *conta* with which they were sent. At least in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* there was an official who supervised the correspondence with Rio de Janeiro.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Account of the rebuilding of a convent, for instance, see *conta* no. 349, 27 June 1815, summarised in *Elenco...*, p. 249.

<sup>32</sup> These were *representações* or *pareceres* where the governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries justified their different opinion and vote on a particular affair. See, for instance the 'votos' from the Patriarch Elect and D. Francisco Xavier de Noronha, opposite to their colleagues' decision to confirm a sentence of death penalty and in favour of the royal confirmation. Annexes 3 and 4 to *conta* no. 16 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 26 June 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 1,69.

<sup>33</sup> That was the case of the *conta* no. 440 initially numbered 431, due to the arrival of Marshall Beresford with news from Rio de Janeiro that could be related to the content of the *conta* then to be sent. Register of *conta* no. 440, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 September 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 239-245.

<sup>34</sup> Besides the above-mentioned register books of the *contas dos governadores do Reino*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314-320 there is still another one, the 'Livro 1 Contas dos Governadores do Reino a S.A.R. 1808 até 1811', IAN/TT, MNEJ. Externally alike the first book of register of that series internally is almost identical. It covers the register of the *contas* 1-110, while the other records the *contas* 1-108.

<sup>35</sup> The first *via* of the *conta* no. 5, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Palace of the Government, 27 January 1809, was written by the same clerk that recorded it in the register book. See IAN/TT, Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro, pasta 1, and IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 13v-15r.

<sup>36</sup> After the register of the *conta* 103, dated 25 June 1811, on several of the registers, was only recorded: 'Com as assinaturas dos Senhores Governadores do Reino' (With the signatures of the Lords Governors of the Kingdom). IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 200r.

<sup>37</sup> See, for instance, minute of *conta* no. 5, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 25 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242.

<sup>38</sup> In 1812 this official was Gervazio José Pacheco de Valladares. See 'Relação das Despezas da Secretaria d'Estado dos Negocios da Marinha e Domínios...no 1º quartel do Anno de 1812'. BCM-AH, cx. 1283, 1.

In order to obtain a clearer picture of the circulation of these *contas dos governadores do Reino* we propose to describe the creation and use of their most frequent annexes, the *consultas* and *informações* from the *tribunais* and their ministers on *requerimentos*.

The process was, in general, as follows. A *requerimento* to obtain a royal *mercê* (favour) in Portugal, in the domains covered by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* or by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, was submitted there or to the Government's Palace,<sup>39</sup> or still in the appropriate *tribunais* generally also in Lisbon. But many people requesting posts or *mercês* with effect on Continental Portugal, either residing in Brazil or in Portugal, could also submitted these *requerimentos* to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* in Rio de Janeiro. In the case of subjects living in Portugal, the *Secretaria de Estado* sometimes suggested this to the petitioners.<sup>40</sup> But the fact that *requerimentos* had to be sent to Brazil for a final decision burdened the petitioners in such a way that the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* decided to create a chest in order to help them.<sup>41</sup>

These *requerimentos*<sup>42</sup> were addressed to the monarch (*Senhor*), generally began 'Diz...' (Says...), followed by the name of the petitioner, reasons for the *requerimento*, and the *mercê* requested (*Pede a Vossa Magestade que...* - Requests His Majesty that...).<sup>43</sup> They ended with the formula *E Real Merce* (And Royal Favour). The petitioner

---

<sup>39</sup> There was a box for the *requerimentos* to Rio de Janeiro, entering by the several *secretarias de Estado*, including the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha*. Ofício from D. Miguel Forjaz to Visconde of Azurara, Calçada da Ajuda, 14 de March 1820, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 430.

<sup>40</sup> The series *Registo de 'Papéis expedidos' / 'Livros de Porta'* of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, registered the decisions on the petitions submitted in Lisbon. This comprised the issue of following documents by this *secretaria de Estado* or indications to the petitioners on what to do next, including, sometimes, the indication to request in the 'Corte' (*Requeira na Corte*) directly or through the same office, and the indication that the petition was sent to the Court. See for the period 1808-1819/20, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 1797-1813, and specifically for 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 1809. See also, for instance, *verbete* on the *requerimento* of Pedro António Camarino, 1817, stating 'deve requerer na Corte' (Must request at the Court). IAN/TT, MR, mç. 892. Besides see *Requerimentos à Corte do Rio de Janeiro*, 1809-1820, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 243-259. This series regards to *requerimentos* submitted in Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>41</sup> Register of conta no. 279, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 15 January 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, f. 13r

<sup>42</sup> The *requerimentos* were also called *petições* though the former designation was, in this case, the usual one. The juridical dictionary by Sousa defined *petição* and mentioned in other items *requerimento* with the same meaning. 'Mercê' and 'Petição' in José Caetano Pereira e Sousa, *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*, 3 vol. in 1, Lisbon: Tipographia Rollandiana, 1825-1827.

<sup>43</sup> There were variants in the formula expressing the request. For instance: '*Pede a Vossa Magestade seja servido deferir-lhe como reverentemente supplica...*' (Requests for His Majesty to be served to decide as he reverentially begs...). *Requerimento* from Midosi, 15 August 1818,

or its procurator signed it. The *requerimentos* should also have been dated,<sup>44</sup> but usually they were not.

The facts presented in the *requerimento* had to be certified by enclosed documents. When the *requerimentos* concerned official posts, these documents should have been original certificates issued by the *Secretaria de Estado* and the respective *tribunais* and not *públicas formas* (public forms)<sup>45</sup> as often happened, though they were issued by a *tabelião* (notary). Uncertified documents were used as well, but they were invalid and forbidden by the *Regimento das Mercês*.<sup>46</sup> In the case of *requerimentos de remuneração de serviços* related to the payment for services made to the sovereign, they need also to include a certificate from the *Registo Geral das Mercês* (where the *mercês* awarded was required to be recorded), *fês de ofício* (record of service) and, depending on the quality of the services rendered, a *folha corrida* (judicial certificate on the criminal behaviour of the petitioner).<sup>47</sup> Finally, the *requerimentos* with their enclosed certificates, namely those sent to Brazil had to be sealed.<sup>48</sup> The non-compliance with these

---

enclosed with 2<sup>nd</sup> via of ofício from Forjaz to Vilanova Portugal, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 August 1818, ANRJ, NP, cx. 616, pac. 1, 3.

<sup>44</sup> The signature with all the names and the dates was established already in 1615 and 1650, respectively. See 'Petição' in José Caetano Pereira e Sousa, *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*.

<sup>45</sup> Fair copy of documents, usually certificated by a notary. 'Pública forma' in Aurélio Buarque de Holanda Ferreira, *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. and augmented, Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1992.

<sup>46</sup> Even petitioners well inside the administration, such as the librarian of the Royal Libray of Ajuda, Francisco dos Santos Marrocos, failed to implement some of these procedures. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 30 May 1820, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 414.

<sup>47</sup> See 'Mercês' in José Caetano Pereira e Sousa, *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*.

<sup>48</sup> Following the aviso from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to the governors of the Kingdom, of 30 June 1811, the latter ordered to the *Desembargo do Paço* to inform the inhabitants of the Kingdom that the *requerimentos* to the Throne, *tribunais*, etc., would not be carried out without sealing the documents according to Law. Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 9 January 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 331. See also Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 3 April 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', pp. 71-72. Afterwards this was reaffirmed. Register of conta no. 279, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 15 January 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, f. 13r. In Lisbon, in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, petitioners were officially advised to seal their documents, See, for instance, 1817, October, 18 – Alexandre Rodrigues 'Deve selar os documentos', in *Papeis expedidos / Livros de Porta*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 1809.

procedures, especially the lack of certified documents, was a reason to refuse them,<sup>49</sup> and often they were not accepted for submission.<sup>50</sup>

The *requerimentos* were so numerous that in 1811 instructions were given in order to restrain the abundance of those submitted to the government by the department of the Foreign Affairs, War and Navy.<sup>51</sup> In the case of the *requerimentos* regarding benefices and churches of the Kingdom, presented through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, which were numerous too,<sup>52</sup> the government in Brazil was not aware, in due time, of the corresponding vacancies. Thus, in an attempt to minimise this lack of information and to control the granting of benefices, the Prince Regent ordered the governors of the Kingdom to send him a list of the vacancies, every six months.<sup>53</sup> Besides, *requerimentos* were often repeatedly submitted for an identical purpose. In 1815, the petitioners in Brazil as soon as they received the enclosed certificates from their refused *requerimentos* in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*,<sup>54</sup> submitted new *requerimentos* enclosing the same documents. That was why the Marquis of Aguiar, who was held the post of *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*, ordered that only the original documents should be returned to the petitioners.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> See, for instance, *informação* on the *requerimento* from Francisco Pizarro, enclosed with conta no. 556, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Palace of the Government, 5 November 1818, ANRJ, cx. 702, pac. 1, 113.

<sup>50</sup> Luís dos Santos Marrocos stressed that this was a practice established by Law and custom and that in such a case the *requerimento* did not even receive a '*escusado*' upon, and vanished. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 3 April 1812, in '*Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos*', pp. 71-72.

<sup>51</sup> AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 244, no. 33. The *requerimentos* to obtain different kind of *mercês* seem to have increased due to the fact that the services made during the Restoration and the defence of the Kingdom against the French were taken into account by the *tribunais*. The *aviso* to the *Desembargo do Paço*, 25 August 1810, established this. See '*Mercês*' in José Caetano Pereira e Sousa, *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teorético e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*.

<sup>52</sup> See, for instance, the register of contas in 1811 and 1812. IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 48r-49r.

<sup>53</sup> These *requerimentos* regarded specifically the benefices and churches of the *Real Padroado* (Royal Patronage), *Casa de Bragança*, *Casa das Senhoras Rainhas* (Household of the Queens), the three Military Orders and the *Apresentação da Coroa*. Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 22 April 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 402-403.

<sup>54</sup> In Portugal it was usual to the departments to return these certificates to the petitioners who, in exchange, signed a receipt. See, for instance, receipt of Isidoro Luis attesting he had received from Pedro d'Alcântara Rolim, porter and bookkeeper of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, the documents enclosed with his refused petition. Lisbon, November 1816, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 616, capilha ano 1810-1822.

<sup>55</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 15 November 1815, in '*Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos*', pp. 245-246. Marrocos also wrote that people were saying that the true reason for that order was to increase the seal duty and the notaries' income. The return of documents enclosed with *requerimentos* seems to have been an usual procedure, at the time, kept during the French

The *requerimentos* submitted in Lisbon were studied by the *tribunal* or *tribunais* that carried out the matters dealt with in these documents.<sup>56</sup> Either the *requerimentos* were received directly in the *tribunais* or were sent by the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, enclosed with *avisos*. Some *requerimentos* resulted in an *informação* from one of the members of the tribunal; others gave rise to a *consulta* from a group of members.

The *informação* (report) from the *tribunal* was addressed to the sovereign (*Senhor*). Whenever the *requerimento* was sent through a royal order, the *informação* included a formula such as ‘*Manda or Ordena V. Magestade*’ (Your Majesty orders), mentioned the respective document (frequently an *aviso* from the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*) and recorded the action ordered, ‘*que eu informe interpondo o meu parecer or com o meu parecer*’ (that I report with my recommendation). Then the *requerimento* or *requerimentos*, identified by the name of the petitioner, were summarized. Next followed the analysis of the *requerimento*, sometimes with reference to annexes, and then the *parecer*, introduced with the words ‘*parece-me*’ (it seems to me) or ‘*segundo o meu parecer*’ (according to my opinion). The *informação* ended with the formula ‘*porem V. Magestade Mandará o que for servido*’ (however Your Majesty will order what will serve You). Finally, the document was dated and signed, sometimes referring to the post held by the author of the *informação*.<sup>57</sup> It appears that at least during this period people used to try to obtain certificates of *informações* to use them in different administrative contexts,

---

administration. See note of receipt of documents by Francisco Qly, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior, 24 February 1808, on the *requerimento* from Francisco Qly, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 244, no. 15.

<sup>56</sup> Principal Sousa, governor of the Kingdom, criticized the usual carrying out of the *requerimentos* by the *tribunais* and especially the *Conselho da Fazenda* which, according to him, was ‘*informe, Vista ao Procurador Regio; Conforma-se o Tribunal*’ (report, survey by the Procurator of Crown; The Tribunal agrees). Copy of letter from Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 29 March, 1814, AFL, CEHCA, FUP, R-9, 1, 1, vol. 2, f. 29r-32r, especially f. 29r, 30v-31r.

<sup>57</sup> See, for instance, the *informações* 8-12, from the *desembargador fiscal das Mercês* and *desembargador do Paço*, enclosed with the *conta* no. 556, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, 5 November 1818, ANRJ, cx. 702, pac. 1, 107-1, 118.

but this was forbidden by a decree.<sup>58</sup> The public access to official records was legally difficult.<sup>59</sup>

The *consulta* was a key document in the process of royal decision-making.<sup>60</sup> This document was produced by the *tribunais*, with the exception of the *Erário Régio*, *Casa da Suplicação*, *Relação e Casa do Porto* and the *Junta do Arsenal Real da Artilharia e Depósito de Armas e Munições de Guerra* (Board of the Royal Arsenal of Artillery and Depot of Arms and War Munitions) established in Porto.<sup>61</sup> The *consulta* was demanded by the sovereign (*consulta de serviço do rei*) or resulted from a petition made by the parties (*consulta de partes*).<sup>62</sup> The latter were the majority of the *consultas* enclosed with the *contas dos governadores do Reino*.

---

<sup>58</sup> Note from Gaspar Feliciano de Moraes (*escrivão* of the Royal Archive of Torre do Tombo and officer of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*) to Manoel Maria da Costa e Sá, requesting him to send a copy of the decree. BCM-AH, Documentos Avulsos, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos, cx. 1283, 1.

<sup>59</sup> João Homem da Costa Côrte Real was dismissed from the post of *capitão-mór* of Sousel (captaincy belonging to the *Casa de Bragança* in Portugal) in 1812 or 1813, following an accusation of a *desembargador* and by a decision on a *consulta* from the *Casa de Bragança*. Intending to justify himself, after being freed by the *Conselho de Guerra*, he requested certificates of documents kept at the *Conselho de Guerra*. According to *informações* from the *auditor geral do Exército* (auditor general of the Army) and the marshal commander in chief, his file was stolen from the *Secretaria Militar*. Thus he requested from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra* a certificate of these *informações*, which was refused ‘*por ser contra o uso*’ (because it was against custom). This *requerimento* and copies of the requested *informações* were sent to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and it was decided that the petitioner had to request in the Court. In order to do that, Corte Real presented a new *requerimento*, dated Belém, 14 June 1816, asking for the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to give him the documents they had on the case, as this was an exceptional and unexpected one and as the original documents had been deliberately removed. If this was not possible, he requested that the government sent all the documents and ordered the *Casa de Bragança* to produce a *consulta* on his petition. Ofício from D. Miguel Forjaz to Salter de Mendonça, Calçada d’Ajuda, 19 February 1816, with enclosed and appended documents, June 1816, IAN/TT, MR, mc. 430.

<sup>60</sup> In Spain the official departments also produced *consultas*, though I did not check if they are the same type of documents during this period. The *Vocabulaire internationale de la diplomatie* refers the following: ‘A la chancellerie de Castille, à partir du XIVE siècle, un avis exprimé en marge d’une requête remise au roi est dit *consulta*.’ Commission Internationale de Diplomatie. Comité International des Sciences Historiques; M<sup>a</sup> Milagros Carcél Ortí (ed.) *Vocabulaire internationale de la diplomatie*, 2nd ed. revised, València: Conselleria de Cultura; Universitat de València, 1997, no. 330.

<sup>61</sup> See Pedro de Alcântara Pereira Rolim, ‘Sistêma Que regula a divizão e colocação dos Papeis do Archivo desta Secretaria de Estado dos negocios do Reino, organizado na Epoca da Restauração da Monarquia no anno de 1808’, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 15r, 17r, 23r. In the case of the *Erário*, this happened because its president carried out the affairs directly with the monarch and not through the *secretarias de Estado*.

<sup>62</sup> See, for instance, on the *consultas* from the *Conselho Ultramarino*, Heloisa Liberalli Bellotto, ‘Diplomática luso-brasileira do século XVIII: tipologia dos documentos ascendentes e descendentes’ *Páginas a&b*, 3 (1999) 19-30. The *consultas* received more designations. *Consultas*



As with the *informação*, the *consulta* was addressed to the sovereign (*Senhor*). Organised in paragraphs and also like the *informação*, whenever the *requerimento* was sent through a royal order (frequently an *aviso*),<sup>63</sup> the *consulta* mentioned this and included a formula such as, ‘*Foi Vossa Magestade servido consultar*’ (Your Majesty was pleased to take counsel). Then the *requerimento* or *requerimentos*, again identified by the name of the petitioner, were summarized. Next, usually in separate paragraphs, the *consulta* related the procedures followed by other members of the tribunal or by outside ministers, which in general had generated other documents. The last paragraph of the *consulta* presented the opinion of the members of the tribunal (*Parece a...*) including disagreeing opinions and their authors. Finally, the document was dated and signed by all the members of the tribunal that had made the *consulta*. At least some of these *consultas* enclosed with the *contas dos governadores do Reino* contained, in the verso of the last folio, a docket with the date, the designation of the tribunal, name of the petitioner and object of his *requerimento*, besides a reference to its out register from the *tribunal*.<sup>64</sup>

Both these *consultas* and *informações* from the *tribunais* were in general submitted to the opinion of the governors of the Kingdom and of the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, though sometimes the *tribunais* sent them directly to the government in Rio de Janeiro, albeit not always with success.<sup>65</sup> The usual procedure

---

*do expediente* were apparently identical to the *consultas de serviço*. Register of conta no. 34 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 26 January 1810, IAN/TT, liv. 314, f. 67r-72r. Other designations were *consultas de bachareis* (of bachelors), *de ofícios* (of civil posts or offices), *em matéria de jurisdição* (in jurisdiction matter), *para dispensa* (for dispensation) *de confirmações gerais* (of general confirmations), *de perdão* (of pardon). See ‘Consulta’ in José Caetano Pereira e Sousa, *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*. These designations varied according to the kind of act, which the *consulta* was about. Other designations appeared, such as the *consultas lavradas* (*consultas* drawn up), applied to sets (today series) of *consultas* created by different *repartições* (sections) of the *Desembargo do Paço*. Ana Maria do Rosário S. Rodrigues, *Desembargo do Paço: inventário*, Lisbon, IAN/TT, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 57-58, 314-332, 680-685, vol. 2, pp. 129-130, 193-198, 281-282, 319-324, 391-392.

<sup>63</sup> It could be also a *portaria* or *decreto*, as referred to by Ana Rodrigues, on the *Desembargo do Paço* and the series *Consultas lavradas*, though not specifically for this period. Ana Maria do Rosário S. Rodrigues, *Desembargo do Paço: inventário*, vol. 1, pp. 57-58.

<sup>64</sup> See, for instance, the *consultas* from the *Conselho da Fazenda*, enclosed with the conta no. 556, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 5 November 1818, ANRJ, cx. 702, pac. 1, 107-1, 118.

<sup>65</sup> During a meeting, the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* João Salter de Mendonça reminded the governor of the Kingdom Principal Sousa that the *consulta* from the *Junta da Companhia dos Vinhos* on the holding of the post of *procurador delegado* (deputy procurator) to the *Desembargo do Paço* of Rio de Janeiro, rejected by the Prince Regent, was sent directly by the *Junta* to Rio, without his or the governments’ acknowledgement. BN, COD 6851, p. 177.

was, thus, to discuss these documents during the meetings of the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* who most probably presented them. Their opinions were then expressed in other *informações* addressed to the monarch (*Senhor*).

The *informações* from the governors and the secretary began with the name of the petitioner, sometimes his post, degree or occupation, followed by the object of the *requerimento*. The main actions including the *parecer*, which were referred to in the *consulta* or *informação* from the *tribunal*, were again summarized, in different paragraphs. Finally, the government's opinion was recorded, agreeing (*O Governo conforma-se...*) or not with the *tribunal*.<sup>66</sup> If there were different opinions among these members of the government they were clearly mentioned.<sup>67</sup> The *informação* ended with the date and the signatures of the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*.<sup>68</sup>

These *informações* were, in turn, abridged in the *contas dos governadores do Reino* and enclosed with them. The abstract comprised the name of the petitioner, sometimes his post, qualification or occupation, the contents of his *requerimento*, the opinion on the *requerimento* expressed in the *consulta* from the *tribunal* or in the *informação* from one of his members, also with reference to the enclosed documents, and finally the opinion from the government in Lisbon, presented in its *informação*, with reference to different opinions when they were expressed.

During the first eight months after the withdrawal of Junot from Portugal, the government in Lisbon enjoyed a certain autonomy regarding the government in Brazil. Therefore, instead of elaborating a *parecer* on the *consultas* counselling the monarch, they produced a *resolução* (resolution) that decided them. These *resoluções* were sent to Rio de Janeiro to be presented before the sovereign mainly to inform him of the decisions

---

<sup>66</sup> See, for instance, *informação* from the government, [Lisbon] Palace of Government, 7 October 1818, enclosed with *conta* no. 557, ANRJ, NP, cx. 702, pac. 1,125 or *informação* from the government, Lisbon, 26 November 1818, ANRJ, NP, cx. 702, pac. 2,35.

<sup>67</sup> See these distinct kinds of opinions of the government expressed in their *informações* in *conta* no. 556, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, 5 November 1818, ANRJ, cx. 702, pac. 1, 107-1, 118.

<sup>68</sup> See also *pareceres* or *informações* from the governors of the Kingdom on *consultas* of the *conta* no. 14, ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 1,36-1,46, and of *conta* no. 340, 20 April 1815, ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 2,82. On some of these *informações* it was written the resulting decision and document, such as 'Resolvida por Decreto' (Resolved by Decree).

they had already taken.<sup>69</sup> But the administrative procedure changed after the governors of the Kingdom received, at the end of May 1809, the royal letter dated 2 January 1809 and specially after receiving its corrections, by mid December 1809, in the royal letter of 30 August 1809. In spite of some unease, created by doubts and difference in opinions from members of the Lisbon government,<sup>70</sup> the procedure was followed until 1820. The monarch took upon himself and upon the government in Rio de Janeiro the decision on the *consultas*, and thus the *resoluções* reverted to being his prerogative, as they were prior to December 1807.

When the *contas* arrived in Brazil, they were delivered to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*. The respective secretary of state and assistant minister to the sovereign laid them before him. Sometimes they exchanged a brief correspondence regarding the carrying out of the routine matters<sup>71</sup> reported in the majority of the *contas* and their enclosed documents. In general these matters were first prepared at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*.<sup>72</sup> As far as the research allows us to state,

---

<sup>69</sup> See, for instance, register of aviso from Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 10 July 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 50-52. The monarch approved a *resolução* from the government on a *consulta* from the *Desembargo do Paço*, enclosed with the *conta* no. 3, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 12 December 1808.

<sup>70</sup> Matters like the decision on the *requerimentos* to *licenças de casamento* (licenses of marriage) were expressly channelled to the sovereign in Rio de Janeiro. Aviso 4 January 1811, mentioned in the register of aviso from Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 16 June 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 266-267. But in parallel, still in 1812 the government in Lisbon was receiving an *ofício* from the Count of Linhares, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, reminding the government not to write *resoluções* upon *consultas*. Session 20 February 1812. BN, COD 6850, p. 91

<sup>71</sup> King D. João and the secretary of state Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal wrote frequently this kind of correspondence, often in the same paper. These brief letters mentioned other documents that circulated between each other. See a set of them, 1819, ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B.

<sup>72</sup> The secretary of state often asked for internal information on the matters and the chief official or senior officer answered, in notes or on the documents, before submitting them to the sovereign. That was the case of a set of *consultas* from the *Desembargo do Paço*, on the examination of judicial posts sent by the governors of the Kingdom. The secretary of state ordered information on which posts were already held or to which people were reappointed. The official noted this on the corresponding *consultas*, adding that, according to his memory, two more were reserved. He also added that the carrying out of these *consultas* had to be followed by a single decree and a list signed by the secretary of state, containing exclusively the *consultas* regarding free posts. Informação from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, 22 November 1816, and enclosed *consultas* from the *Desembargo do Paço* and note, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 1,10, no. 6; Note on folder of the *consultas*, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 1,10, no. 5. See also the billets exchanged between the secretary of state Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal and the *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, José Joaquim Carneiro de Campos, about the carrying out of *consultas* from the *Companhia Geral do Alto Douro*, enclosed with the *conta* no. 431, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, 17 September 1816. ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, pac. 1,2 and cx. 644, pac. 1,5.

the *tribunais* recreated in Brazil were not, in general, consulted (*consultados*) regarding these affairs from Portugal.<sup>73</sup>

The royal decisions thereupon gave rise to new documents. In the case of the *informações* and especially of the *consultas* from the *tribunais* of the Kingdom, *resoluções* were recorded either on the documents themselves, or in separate ones. Apparently, they did not follow precise formulas.<sup>74</sup> The royal *resoluções* were afterwards communicated through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*, to the government in Lisbon, usually by *avisos*. In general, it attempted to gather the answers to the sometimes extensive and diversified contents and annexes of the *contas*, in order to transmit them with reference to the number of the *conta*.<sup>75</sup> The same happened with the documents to be signed by the monarch, enclosed with the *contas*.<sup>76</sup> But when this delayed too much the administrative continuity, the documents with reference to a *conta* were sent separately to Lisbon.<sup>77</sup>

The *avisos* were a very common document in the Portuguese central administration at the time. In general, they were issued on behalf of the monarch by the secretaries of state, commonly to the *tribunais* but also to any other minister, department or private entity, ordering the carrying out of royal orders.<sup>78</sup> From 1809 till 1820, the *avisos* were the main document used in the communication between the sovereign and the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* and the governors of the Kingdom as well as the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*. They answered to the *contas dos governadores do Reino* and also transmitted the royal orders on business concerning continental Portugal and its subjects, which had begun to be transacted in Brazil.

---

<sup>73</sup> But the Bishop *Capelão-mor* in Rio de Janeiro was heard on the *requerimentos* requesting ecclesiastical benefices in Portugal. *Ofícios* from the Bishop *Capelão-mor* to the Count of Aguiar, Rio de Janeiro, 1809-1816, ANRJ, NP, cx. 722, pac. 1, 2 and 3; *ofícios* from the Bishop *Capelão-mor* to the Count da Barca, Rio de Janeiro, 1817, ANRJ, NP, cx. 722, pac. 3; *informações* from the Bishop *Capelão-mor*, Rio de Janeiro, 1817-1819, ANRJ, NP, cx. 722, pac. 3.

<sup>74</sup> According to Sousa, 'Resolução' in *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático*,...

<sup>75</sup> The *aviso* of 15 June 1818 transmitted to the governors of the Kingdom the royal decisions on all the *requerimentos* of the *conta* no. 505, 19 December 1817. Mentioned in the register of the *conta* from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 28 September 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, p. 387-396.

<sup>76</sup> *Livro de assinatura real para o Reino*, 4 January 1813- 15 July 1820, ANRJ, Cod. 264.

<sup>77</sup> This happened in 1817, with royal letters, *alvarás* and other papers submitted to royal signature to avoid prejudicing the people who were waiting for them. Register of *aviso* from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 24 November 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, pp. 161-162.

<sup>78</sup> Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da Silva, *História do direito português: fontes de Direito*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985, pp. 225-226.

This series of *avisos* was addressed to the governor of the Kingdom who was presiding over the other governors of the Kingdom, from the secretary of state of the Brazil Affairs.<sup>79</sup> They had an address, *Il.<sup>mo</sup> e Ex.<sup>mo</sup> Snr.*, i.e., *Ilustrissimo e Excelentissimo Senhor* (Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Sir) or *Rev.mo Snr.*, i.e. *Reverendissimo Senhor* (Most Reverend Sir), when the Patriarch presided over the government in Lisbon. The text was organized in paragraphs. Its beginning and *narratio* or exposition was variable. When the *aviso* answered to the *conta*, the presentation to the monarch was mentioned as well as the number of the *conta*, its date and occasionally the ship that had transported it, including formulas such as ‘*Foi presente a S.A.R. a conta desse Governo em data de... por...*’ (Presented to H.R.H the *conta* from that Government dated...) or ‘*Pela Conta N<sup>o</sup>... de... foi presente ao Principe Regente or Rei Meu Senhor...*’ (By the Conta No... of... presented to the Prince Regent or King My Lord...) or ‘*Levei á Augusta Presença de S.A.R. a Conta dos Governadores do Reino de Portugal e do Algarve em data de... passado debaixo do n<sup>o</sup>...*’ (Taken to the August Presence of H.R.H. the *Conta* from the Governors of the Kingdom of Portugal and of Algarve dated... issued under the no....). The *aviso* sometimes confirmed the acknowledgment by the sovereign of the receipt by the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*, of previous *avisos* generally with documents enclosed. Different formulae communicated the carrying out of the matters submitted in the *contas* and enclosed documents. One of the most frequent regarded the returning of *consultas* that were decided by the sovereign, ‘*Baixão resolvidas as consultas*’ (The resolved *consultas* are going down).<sup>80</sup> The *avisos* also dealt with the return of documents that had gone up enclosed with the *contas*, to be signed by the sovereign, ‘*voltão assinados os Papeis da Real Assinatura*’ (The Royal

---

<sup>79</sup> See ‘*Avisos ao Governo de Portugal*’, 1809-1820/1821, IAN/TT, mç. 221-239, especially mç. 230, 235 and 237. According to the classification made by Rolim, the porter of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, in Lisbon, these documents were designated ‘*Ordens da Corte do Rio de Janeiro*’, from the point of view of the department that received and kept them. See also ‘*Registo de ordens expedidas pelo Principe Regente aos governadores do reino*’, 1809-1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380-383. The great majority of the documents copied in these register or copybooks were *avisos* although they included also copies of *cartas régias* and *decretos*. Finally see register of *avisos* and *portarias* to several authorities in Portugal, 1809-1822, ANRJ, cod. 251, vol. 1-12. These copybooks included copies of *avisos* sent by the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to the governors of the Kingdom.

<sup>80</sup> Others were: o Rei ‘*houve por bem deferir*’ (the King decided to concede); ‘*não merecerão a Real contemplação*’ (they will not deserve the Royal consideration); ‘*fica reservado*’ (it is reserved); the *consultas* ‘*não baixão resolvidas*’ (the *consultas* do not go down resolved); the King ‘*não se dignou atender*’ (the King did not deign to consider). Register of several *avisos* from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, 1819, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 383, pp. 95-96.

Signature Papers go back signed).<sup>81</sup> The text ended with a final greeting, *Deos Guarde a V. Ex.<sup>a</sup>* (God save Your Excellency) followed by the dates and the signature of the secretary of state. The addressee's name was written almost at the foot margin of the folio, in its inner margin.<sup>82</sup>

Some of these features changed when the *aviso* was issued independently of the *contas* received in Rio de Janeiro. That was the case of the *avisos* sending *requerimentos* presented to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* that had to be informed by the government in Lisbon.<sup>83</sup> The text began with a formula comprising the *intitulatio* or entitling and a dispositive clause, *O Príncipe Regente* or *O Rei Meu Senhor Manda...* (The Prince Regent or the King My Lord Orders...). Then the action that originated the *aviso* was briefly expressed, and next the order itself, *E He Servido que...* (And he is pleased that...). The text of these *avisos* ended with a formula related to their execution, comprising their submission to the government in Lisbon, '*O que V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> fará presente a esse Governo*' (What Your Excellency will present to that Government) often followed by '*para que assim o tenha entendido* or *para sua intelligencia* or *para que assim se execute*' (in order that the Government understands it or to its comprehension or in order to be executed that way) or exceptionally '*para que fique intendendo as intenções de S.A.R. sobre a materia de que se trata*' (in order that the Government understand the intentions of H.R.H. about the subject that is dealt with). A specific set of *avisos* was also sent from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* to the governors of the Kingdom, regarding the permit to go to Rio de Janeiro, under the condition that there were no records of bad conduct.<sup>84</sup> The features were similar, except for the repeated mention to the granting of a licence '*Há por bem permitir licença*'.

Several of these *avisos* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* to the governor of the Kingdom who was presiding over the other governors of the Kingdom, contains a third text element. The text began with the action giving rise to the royal order, followed by a formula regarding the order itself '*de Ordem do Mesmo Senhor [o Rei] o participo a V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> para o fazer presente aos mais Governadores do Reino para*

---

<sup>81</sup> When the documents enclosed were very important, they were often sent by two vias. See mention to the receipt of the second vias of the royal letters to Lord Wellington, Marshal Beresford and Francisco Silveira Pinto, without having arrived the first vias. Register conta no. 116, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 16 August 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 17r.

<sup>82</sup> *Aviso* from the Marquis of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 9 July 1809. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 237.

<sup>83</sup> See especially '*Avisos com remessas de requerimentos*', 1809-1820, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 221-234.

<sup>84</sup> 1809-1820, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 235.

*seu governo*' (by the King's order I communicate this to Your Excellency to be presented to the other Governors of the Kingdom).<sup>85</sup> Finally a formula regarding the final greeting followed, *Deos guarde a V. Ex<sup>a</sup>*, (God save Your Excellency) and the place and date. Finally came the signature of the secretary of state followed by the addressee, usually near the foot of the folio, in the left. This type of *avisos* was sometimes called *avisos de informe*.<sup>86</sup>

It seems that the *avisos* answering to the *contas dos governadores do Reino*, the royal orders and in general the '*despachos*' (despatches) from Rio de Janeiro, sent by the *secretarias de Estado* were opened during the meetings of the governors of the Kingdom.<sup>87</sup> Afterwards, the two secretaries of the government, through the offices they directed, issued other *avisos* or *portarias*<sup>88</sup> to authorities or departments<sup>89</sup> or to each other,<sup>90</sup> in order that the royal orders were executed.<sup>91</sup> This happened even when some of the royal resolutions implied the issuing of documents that depended on the royal signature, such as decrees, *alvarás*<sup>92</sup> and royal letters. This was the case of the appointment to posts, especially the triennial appointment of ministers of the several

---

<sup>85</sup> See, for instance, aviso from the Count of Barca to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 3 January 1817, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 237. The *aviso* communicated that the King nominated the Count of Barca to hold the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* during the illness of the Marquis of Aguiar.

<sup>86</sup> The *contas* from the governors of the Kingdom sometimes referred to the reception by the same governors of such '*avisos de informe*'. See, for instance, register of conta no. 186, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 12 September 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 103v-106r.

<sup>87</sup> Session 26 January 1816, BN, COD 6851, p. 233.

<sup>88</sup> See glossary.

<sup>89</sup> In the case of the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* see, for instance, the Register of Consultas of the Kingdom, 1809-1821, IAN/TT, MCO, liv. 41. At the margin of each register it was recorded the corresponding decision either from the governors of the Kingdom and or from the sovereign in Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>90</sup> During this period, the secretário dos Negócios do Reino sent frequently to his homologous of the Foreign Affairs, *avisos* regarding the issue of passports to Brazil, after royal authorization and inquiries by the Intendência da Polícia. See for instance, register of aviso from João António Salter de Mendonça to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, Palace of the Government, 11 May 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 41, f. 33r.

<sup>91</sup> In the case of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, see the register of *avisos* sent and the respective indexes for the period 1808-1820, IAN/TT, liv. 39-56, and liv. 626-643. This a general register that includes the register of *portarias* (excluding those granting ecclesiastical benefices or benefices of the Military Orders) but the flow of *avisos* to several tribunais justified also the creation of separate registers.

<sup>92</sup> See glossary.

departments<sup>93</sup> and other *mercês*, such as the presentation of ecclesiastical benefices. In the latter case, the bishops had to be informed and, in turn, granted the respective *confirmações* (confirmations) and *colações* (collations). After the royal approval, the respective departments and offices of the Kingdom drew up and issued the documents that had to be signed by the sovereign, registered them and finally sent them to Brazil.<sup>94</sup> These documents had to be presented in Portugal within a reasonable period of time.<sup>95</sup> The royal decrees of *mercê* were sent to Lisbon in the form of certificates that included a copy, as the originals were never given to the candidate and stayed in the *Secretaria de*

---

<sup>93</sup> When the governors of the Kingdom issued *avisos* and *portarias* for this purpose, they often recalled the uncertainty and lateness of the travels to and from Rio de Janeiro. Register of conta no. 109, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 1 August 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 1v-2r. See also reference to the appointment, by *portaria* from the governors of the Kingdom, of Dr. Manuel Pacheco de Resende to vice-rector of the University of Coimbra. Register of conta no. 151, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 5 March 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 49r-50r.

<sup>94</sup> The name place of these documents was Lisbon in spite of having been signed by the monarch in Brazil. See, for instance, in the case of the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, the Register book of the papers of the Order of S. Bento de Avis of the Royal Signature, 1795-1819, IAN/TT, MCO, liv. 220. The book registered *alvarás*, decrees and royal letters, with an interruption from 27 October 1804 till 2 June 1813.

<sup>95</sup> Sometimes this did not work. In 1811 the governors of the Kingdom were reminded that they could not issue promotion decrees, and afterwards publish them in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, as this belonged to the Prince Regent. Instead they should publish the proposals of promotion they approved as follows: '*Por aviso expedido para a promoção feita em consequência da proposta do Marechal Comandante em Chefe do Real Exercito de tal data...*' (By *aviso* issued for the promotion made in sequence of the proposal from the Marshall Commander in Chief of the Royal Army dated...), Ofício no. 41 from the Count of Linhares to the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 20 November 1811, and duplicate, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 145, no. 28. Often the governors of the Kingdom issued *portarias* before receiving the royal resolution on the matter. In 1812 they issued a *portaria* appointing a *corregedor* to Vila Viçosa, alleging the urgency of Beresford and the fact that there was only one candidate. This *portaria* followed a request by an *ofício* from Marshal Beresford to Forjaz, a *portaria* from the governors of the Kingdom for the *Junta da Serenissima Casa de Bragança* (which had jurisdiction on Vila Viçosa) to produce a *consulta*, and the *consulta* from the Junta proposing a bachelor. Register of conta no. 161 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 9 de April 1812, and of conta no. 163, Lisbon, 26 April 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 60v-61r, f. 62v-63v. On 1813 the sovereign remarked to the governors that they exceeded their competences on the issuing of *portarias*. Among the papers for Royal Signature enclosed with the *contas* 226 and 229, dated 11 June 1813, there were letters of appointment of the *juizes de fora* of Setúbal and Vila Franca de Xira, issued by the *Desembargo do Paço* in Lisbon, following the *portarias* from the governors of the Kingdom but still without royal confirmation by decrees. The Prince Regent did not sign the letters, waiting for new letters written again in Lisbon subsequent to the arrival of the decrees. However, all these administrative procedures and power concerns did not prevent the appointed judges to exercise their functions meanwhile. The Prince Regent recommended the exact observation of this practice to all the *tribunais*. Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 6 September 1813, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 381, pp. 105-106; register of conta no. 266 from the governors of the Kingdom to the prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 3 January 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 260r-263v.



*Estado*. Meanwhile, the *portarias* worked as the main documents.<sup>96</sup> The subsequent *despachos* (procedures) and registers were completed in the *estações* (departments) of the Kingdom.<sup>97</sup> Initially, the sovereign ordered that the departments in Brazil draw up the documents that had to be signed by him.<sup>98</sup> However, the monarch altered his orders due to the claims made by the governors of the Kingdom.<sup>99</sup>

Together with this channel of communication, other channels worked, provided by *ofícios* in the direction of Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. There were at least two series of *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom to the sovereign. One series was sent from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário de Marinha* to the monarch, through the *secretário de Estado da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* in Brazil. They began in October 1808 and appear to have ended in August 1820. A set of these *ofícios*, is kept at the *Biblioteca Central da Marinha- Arquivo Histórico* (BCM-AH) in Lisbon but they were dispersed and mixed with documents from other series, according to later classes, all chronologically arranged.<sup>100</sup> These *ofícios* were not numbered but were signed. Often,

---

<sup>96</sup> Marrocos explained this apropos the royal *mercê* of a habit of Christ, Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 3 November 1815, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 241.

<sup>97</sup> See also in the case of the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* the Register Book of Letters and Alvarás, 1799-1821, IAN/TT, MCO, liv. 86. Before these documents were sent to Rio de Janeiro to be signed, they were copied in this book. The abstract of the documents, recorded in the margin, referred to the royal decree issued in Rio de Janeiro that had originated them. Sometimes, it was made the register of the date of the rise of the document to the monarch. When the documents came down from Brazil, signed by the monarch, the date of their arrival at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* or presumably at the office, was also registered in the margin. Besides, the register of the royal signature was added. Based on these registers, it is possible to say that between the date of issue of the provisional document with the royal decision, and the definitive one, 10 to 14 months easily elapsed, though occasionally the period was shorter.

<sup>98</sup> The *aviso* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* answering to the *conta* no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom, dated of 18 October 1808, communicated the royal approval of appointments made by the governors of the Kingdom to the *Desembargo do Paço*. But the *aviso* also referred the creation of the following decrees of appointment addressed to the *Desembargo do Paço* in Rio de Janeiro, through which the corresponding royal letters of appointment would be issued, and not through the *Desembargo do Paço* in Lisbon. Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Marquis das Minas, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 12 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, p. 40.

<sup>99</sup> Register of the royal letter from the Prince Regent to the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 9 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, p. 32. Corrected by the royal letter, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 30 de August 1809, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242 and registered in IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 53-60. See also, in 1811, mention to the practice by the governors of issuing *portarias* and *avisos* appointing ministers during three years or granting other *mercês*, due to the uncertainty and delay of the trips. Register of *conta* no. 109, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 1 August 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 1v-2r.

<sup>100</sup> See mainly BCM-AH, cx. 185, Correio Marítimo; BCM-AH, cx. 841, Ofícios diversos, and BCM-AH, cx. 1283, 1, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos. Some *ofícios* also in BCM-AH, cx. 245, Entradas e Saídas de Navios nos Portos de: Lisboa. It is

together with these *ofícios* are their second vias and sometimes their drafts and annexes, especially certificates annexed to petitions. Some of the *ofícios* have separate notes regarding the carrying out, by the government in Rio de Janeiro, of the matters that the *ofícios* dealt with.<sup>101</sup> In other *ofícios*, in the folio 1r, the royal decision on the contents and its date was also recorded.<sup>102</sup> These *ofícios*, like the *contas* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, were copied in register books of out letters,<sup>103</sup> and often the act of sending the *ofício* to registration (*'Registo'*) and the execution of the registration (*'Registado'*) was added to the folio 1r of the draft of the *ofício*.<sup>104</sup> This series of *ofícios* regarded the conduct of the weakened Navy business in Portugal. They were answered by *ofícios* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos* to the governors of the Kingdom, addressed to the governor who was responsible<sup>105</sup> or to the *secretário dos Negócios da Marinha*.<sup>106</sup> The

---

possible to find more *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios da Marinha* to the Prince Regent, under other classes. Though not yet described with such provenance, it may be possible to find more of these *ofícios* in the Collection *Negócios de Portugal* in the Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro probably in the cx. 612-615, 619, 647, 667, cx. 693. I did not find any in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Rio de Janeiro, *Caixas Não-catalogadas* (Boxes Not Catalogued), 1808, 1809 and 1821, cx. 244, 245, 282, in re-arrangement under the *Resgate* Project. As they comprise not only documents produced by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha* in Lisbon during the period 1808-1820, but also a few documents created by the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos* in Rio de Janeiro and returned to Lisbon, it is feasible that they might also be there.

<sup>101</sup> One of these notes summarised the content of the *consulta* from the *Junta da Fazenda da Marinha* enclosed with the *ofício* and the content of the latter, with the governors of the Kingdom's opinion. Besides it mentioned that inside the *ofício* there was the *consulta* to be signed by HRH (the Prince Regent) on 17 July. *Ofício* from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 20 February 1815, BCM-AH, Documentos Avulsos, cx. 841, *Ofícios diversos*.

<sup>102</sup> For instance, 'Def. 9 de Julho de 1809' (Conceded 9 July 1809). *Ofício* from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 4 March 1813.

<sup>103</sup> These are kept at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon. See AHU, Cod. 577-580.

<sup>104</sup> Draft of *ofício* from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 25 February 1819 and other drafts of the same year, BCM-AH, Documentos Avulsos, cx. 185, *Correio Marítimo*.

<sup>105</sup> *Ofício* from Count of Anadia to Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 26 August 1809, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 245. This answered *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and from the *secretário dos Negócios da Marinha* of 24 and 31 May 1809. 1<sup>a</sup> and 2<sup>a</sup> vias of *ofício* from Count of Galveias to the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 27 October 1810, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, cx. 248, no. 59. The whole series of these *ofícios* as well as the next mentioned *avisos*, are not identified. But probably there are more *ofícios* and *avisos* spread by these boxes of Rio de Janeiro, in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. In the Biblioteca Central da Marinha-Arquivo Histórico they also might be kept scattered under the systematic classification applied in more recent times to the very much disarranged Navy records. About this disarrangement see Manuel Santos Estevens, *Arquivo Geral e Biblioteca Central da Marinha: relatório*, Sep. *Anais da Marinha*, 9 (1944).

*avisos* from the secretary of state to the *secretário dos Negócios da Marinha* constituted also an answer connected to the *ofícios*.<sup>107</sup>

The other series of *ofícios* was sent from the governors of the Kingdom<sup>108</sup> and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, who held simultaneously the Navy, to the monarch. These *ofícios* numbered almost 2500 and were created from 31 May 1809 to October 1820.<sup>109</sup> They reported on matters regarding the War and Foreign Affairs during the meetings of the governors of the Kingdom. The competence of the secretary as well as of the governors of the Kingdom was small on both of these matters. But these *ofícios* communicated a great deal of information on the course of the Peninsular War (military manoeuvres, war damages) and reported on the appointments and promotions in the Army, its reorganisation by Beresford, new regulations, pay, British provision of arms, munitions and uniforms, and supplies. On Foreign Affairs, the *ofícios* reported to the monarch mainly intelligence from some of the Portuguese legations, often with gazettes enclosed. Each of these *ofícios*, more often than the *contas*, dealt with a specific question.

Like the *contas*, they were a kind of dispatches, made in two or three *vias*, and with several annexes. The external and some of the internal features, as well as the process of creation of both types of documents, were similar. The same persons who wrote the *contas* wrote at least some of these *ofícios*. The *ofícios* also like the *contas*, were numbered in the folio 1 recto, with the difference that above their number was repeated the chronological date (year, month, day). They did not include abstracts of their

---

<sup>106</sup> Ofício from Count of Anadia to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 12 January 1809, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 245, no. 2; ofício from Count of Anadia to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 26 August 1809, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 245; ofício from Count of Anadia to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 16 October 1809, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 245. The first ofício was a usual one. Enclosed with were *consultas*, several of which had been resolved, to be presented to the governors of the Kingdom and to go down to the corresponding *tribunais*. The original decrees of appointment connected with some *consultas* had to go down to the *Conselho Supremo Militar* that replaced the *Conselho Ultramarino*, in order to issue the competent documents.

<sup>107</sup> See, for instance, *aviso* from Count of Aguiar to Marquis das Minas, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 11 January 1811, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 245, no. 1. This was one of a set of *avisos* concerning permits to go to the Court, previous to the issue of passports.

<sup>108</sup> Charles Stuart, the British minister in Lisbon signed several of the *ofícios* from no. 130, dated 15 December 1810 onwards, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 887.

<sup>109</sup> *Ofícios* no. 1 to 2459, dated 18 March 1820, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885-912. The subsequent *ofícios*, remained in Rio de Janeiro, AHI, lata 338, mç. 3, pastas 16 and 17. There are also some second *vias* in the so-called *Gabinete de D. João VI*, in the ANRJ. See 2<sup>a</sup> *via* of ofício no. 2530 from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 19 July 1820, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, Cx. 5 / 6, mç. 11/12, 614.

contents. But during this same period, the *ofícios* from the Portuguese diplomatic representatives to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* were frequently abstracted in paragraphs on their last folios.<sup>110</sup> The body of the text occupied only one of the sides of the page as in the *contas*.<sup>111</sup> The addressee was the same, the Prince Regent (*Senhor*). The text also began with different ways of introducing the content. But the use of formulae appears to have been more frequent.

Some of the *ofícios* related to the presentation of documents to the sovereign and were similar, ‘*Temos a honra de levar à Presença de V. A. R. o requerimento...*’ (We have the honour to lay before the Presence of Your Royal Highness the petition...). In these cases, the text of the *ofícios* ended with another formula ‘*V.A.R. lhe deferirá como for do seu Real Agrado*’ (Your Royal Highness will decide according to Your Royal Pleasure).<sup>112</sup>

When the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* gave advice in the *ofícios*, on *requerimentos* sent annexed to *avisos* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, the text began by variants of the following two formulae: ‘*Sendo Vossa Alteza Real servido mandar-nos remeter com Aviso do... de... o requerimento e documentos inclusos de... a fim de informarmos e interpormos o nosso parecer...*’ (Having Your Royal Highness ordered to send us with *Aviso* from... [dated]... the petition and enclosed documents from... in order to report and interpose our recommendation...) or ‘*Em observância das Ordens que nos forão comunicadas em Aviso do... de or na data de ... para informarmos interpondo parecer sobre...*’ (In observance of the Orders of Your Royal Highness that were communicated to us by *Aviso* from... of or dated... in order to report and interpose

---

<sup>110</sup> These so called *índices* (index) were not systematic. The *ofícios* from Rodrigo Navarro de Andrade, in S. Petersburg, (ANRJ, Gabinete de D. João VI, mç. 3, 82, ANRJ, Gabinete de D. João VI, mç. 3, 86) and from João Pedro Quinn, in Palermo presented abstracts (ANRJ, Gabinete de D. João VI, cx. 1, mç. 2, 34; ANRJ, Gabinete de D. João VI, cx. 1, mç. 2, 38.). Those from London did not. When the Count of Palmela began to carry out his activities as *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, he was reminded the need of making such index. Ofício no. 2 from the Viscount of Torrebelá to the Count of Palmela, Naples, 8 May 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 747. The secretary of the Portuguese representative in Rome alleged the lack of time and the irregularity of the mail timetable, as reasons not to do it. Ofício from Pedro Melo Breyner to the Count of Palmela, Rome, 30 April 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 724.

<sup>111</sup> The first *ofícios* had a shorter left margin and the text was longer. See, for instance, ofício no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885. Ofício no. 3, from Pedro Melo Breyner to Count of Palmela, Rome, 30 April 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 724.

<sup>112</sup> See, for instance, ofício no. 164 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 15 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888.

our recommendation on...) ‘*Mandámos or Cumpre-nos pôr na Augusta Presença de Vossa Alteza Real que... or Temos a honra de expôr a Vossa Alteza Real que, ...*’ (We are ordered to or We are entitled to lay before the August Presence of Your Royal Highness or We have the honour to expound that...). In these cases, the text ended with formulae such as ‘*e V. A. R. porém mandará or determinará or resolverá or deferirá o que for servido or o que for do seu Real Agrado*’ (and however Your Royal Highness will order or determine or decide what will serve You or what is of Your Royal pleasure).<sup>113</sup>

The text of the *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom answering to what was ordered by the sovereign in *ofícios* from the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*<sup>114</sup> usually began with other formulas, which had some similar components. One

---

<sup>113</sup> See *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, dated 1810-1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 886-888.

<sup>114</sup> At times, the answer to matters addressed to the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* by the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* was sent in the *contas*, through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. This appears to have happened especially when D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho held the office (March 1808 to January 1812), and embraced a vast range of matters. When D. Rodrigo sent several recommendations on the free masons, the governors of the Kingdom expressly answered him that they would send a report to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. Ofício no. 84 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 13 August 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 887. But the reverse happened, with matters dealt in the *contas* not regarding the Kingdom and Finances Affairs. The matters presented in the *conta* no. 2 referring to the Foreign and War Affairs (Algerian piracy, organisation of the Portuguese Army, appointment of a consul in Madrid) were answered through the corresponding office. Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Marquis das Minas, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 12 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 36-39. The military business presented in the *conta* no. 4 from the governors of the Kingdom was answered by the War department. Register of the *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 5 July 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 42-44. An identical situation happened to the military matters dealt in the *conta* no. 6, 10 March 1809. Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Marquis das Minas, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 3 May 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 41-42. Similar cases occurred in other departments. The *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, sent through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, dated 27 August and 30 September, with annexes regarding a *devassa* (judicial inquiry) in the Captaincy of Goiaz, were answered by *aviso* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. Register of the *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 28 March 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 123-124. An *aviso* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* answered to an *informação* from the governors of the Kingdom on a petition presented through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. Register of the *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 14 February 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, p. 238. Later on, the *ofícios* no. 443, 444, 445, 447, 451, 470 e 472 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, sent to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* were forwarded by the latter to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*, as the affairs belonged to its domain. Register of the *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 2 May 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 358-361. Besides, the governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries sometimes forwarded the development of a subject or news to other departments. That was the case of news on the evacuation of the French on their third Invasion of Portugal, excepting

formula was the following: ‘*Em consequência das Ordens or das Recomendações de V. A. R. que nos forão comunicadas em officio do... de... or na data de...*’ (In consequence of the Orders or Recommendations of Your Royal Highness that were communicated to us by *officio* from... of... or dated ...), ‘*Cumpre-nos pôr na Presença or Augusta Presença de Vossa Alteza Real que....*’ (We are entitled to lay before the Presence or August Presence of Your Royal Highness that...). Another formula was ‘*Tivemos a honra de receber as ordens que Vossa Alteza Real foi servido expedir-nos por officio de... em data de...*’ (We had the honour to receive the orders that Your Royal Highness was pleased to send us by *oficio* from... dated...). In some cases these formulas were preceded by the reference to the ship that transported the documents from Brazil. Then followed the text, which sometimes ended with a formula such as ‘*O que temos a honra de comunicar a V.A.R, esperando que mereça a Sua Real Aprovação*’ (What we have the honour to communicate to Your Royal Highness, hoping that it deserves Your Royal Approval).

These *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* finished with a final greeting formula identical to that of the *contas*, ‘*A Muito Alta e Muito Poderosa Pessoa de Vossa Alteza Real guarde Deos muitos annos, como dezejamos e havemos mister*’ (To the Much High and Much Powerful person of Your Highness; God save you for many years, as we desire and need). It was followed by the place and date and the signatures of the governors of the Kingdom and of the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*.<sup>115</sup>

In the end, both the *contas* and these *ofícios dos governadores do Reino* presented many identical or similar features.<sup>116</sup> One of the differences appears to be the fact that the *requerimentos* submitted to the Foreign and War Affairs domain did not give rise to separate *informações* from the governors and the corresponding secretary. The *ofícios* included their opinion on the *requerimentos*.

The annexes of these *ofícios* were either originals or copies, numbered and listed. They comprised foreign press, printed edicts and proclamations and copies of *portarias* of

---

Almeida, to be detailed by the War department. Register of the *conta* no. 91, from the governors of the Kingdom, 19 April 1811, IAN/TT, liv. 314, f. 179r-179v.

<sup>115</sup> During the most part of the period there were five signatures.

<sup>116</sup> More than once, some of these *ofícios* were designated *contas*, at least in documents produced by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. See, for instance, register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 2 May 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 358-361; register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 6 September 1813, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 381, pp. 111-113.

ad interim appointments issued by the governors of the Kingdom and *consultas* from departments connected with the office (such as the *Real Junta da Fazenda dos Arsenais do Exército*) with annexes. They included also copies of *ofícios* from Wellington and other military authorities to the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* and *informações* from military head officers and other ministers linked to the office (Field Marshal Beresford and other Marshals and Province generals, diplomatic representatives, delegate of the chief physician of the Army, mail sub inspector) on *requerimentos*, with annexes, regarding appointments and promotions in the Army. Finally there were copies of *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom to Portuguese diplomatic representatives especially in London, inventories of the depots and forts as well as originals and copies of documents apprehended from the enemy.

The sequence of creation and circulation of *requerimentos*, *avisos informações* and *consultas* in the Foreign and War Affairs domain under the governors of the Kingdom was similar to the Kingdom and Finance Affairs. Besides the *informações* from Portuguese authorities and especially till the end of the Peninsular War, the opinion of Beresford, Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army, and that of Wellington, Commander of the Combined Forces, were also heard, originating other *informações*.<sup>117</sup> These were sent first to the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* annexed to other *ofícios*.<sup>118</sup> Some of the *informações* were forwarded to the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*, as their contents concerned also his functions. Afterwards, they were submitted to the governors of the Kingdom and sent to Brazil, sometimes in copy form.<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>117</sup> See, for instance, the *informação* requested by the government to Beresford on the retirement of a colonel. Ofício no. 169 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 23 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888. Often the *requerimentos* preceding the *informações* were first submitted either to Beresford or to Wellington.

<sup>118</sup> As after the 1820 Revolution the War and the Foreign Affairs were separated in two *ministérios* (ministries), the records were kept separately. The Arquivo Histórico Militar (AHM) in Lisbon keeps at present the bulk of the War Affairs records. Among them, regarding the correspondence with Beresford: series of correspondence from Beresford to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, 1808-1814, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção Campanhas da Guerra Peninsular, cx. 16-31, no. 1, for the period 1814-1820 AHM, 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção Comando do Marechal Beresford; series of correspondence from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to Beresford, 1809-1814, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção Campanhas da Guerra Peninsular, cx. 36-48, no.1. Though they were not checked, these series are certainly connected with the series of *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom.

<sup>119</sup> *Ofícios* and letters from Marshal Beresford, Marquis of Campo Maior, 1808-1814, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 21; *ofícios* and letters from Marshal General, Duke of Victory, Lord Wellington, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 22.

The governors of the Kingdom gave their recommendation on those documents, in the *ofícios*. We do not know if this recommendation was initially written in an *informação* of their own, like the *informações* from the governors of the Kingdom, which were enclosed with the *contas*. The *requerimentos* regarding people or matters in Portugal were submitted, similarly to the *requerimentos* presented through the Kingdom and Finance Affairs either in Rio de Janeiro<sup>120</sup> or in Lisbon, and in departments around the country.<sup>121</sup> A part or the majority of these *requerimentos* circulated in copies, though with enclosed certificates, in both directions.

In Rio de Janeiro, the *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* were laid before the monarch through the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. At least some of them as well as other correspondence received by this secretary of state was opened first by the

---

<sup>120</sup> In the margin of some of these *requerimentos*, enclosed with the *ofícios*, was written, at the time, 'Rio'. As far as a non-statistical search allows one to conclude, it appears that the *requerimentos* presented directly in Rio de Janeiro grew.

<sup>121</sup> A significant number of *requerimentos* as well as other documents all presumably more connected with the War Affairs were firstly submitted to departments of the *Estado Maior* (General Staff) in Lisbon. But often the wording was incompetent, causing administrative delays and confusion. More than once Beresford ordered that the wording of such documents should follow the nature of the object presented and enumerated them. Head Quarter of the *Pátio do Saldanha*, 13 August 1817, order of the day from Marshal General Marquis of Campo Maior to the Commanders of Bodies and other authorities of the Army in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 203, (Thursday 28 August 1817). This repeated the order of the day of 26 May 1809. In 1811 the government tried hard to discipline the submission and circulation of *requerimentos* and similar type of documents to the *Repartição dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Guerra e Marinha*, defining or reminding the departments where they had to be first presented. The documents submitted to different departments were not accepted, excluding blames of Justice negation. Following the order circular to the Army, of 4 March 1802, repeatedly recommended and explained by the orders of the day from the Marshall Commander in Chief of the Army (Beresford), that the *requerimentos* and other pretensions from people of the *tropas de linha* (regular army) had to be addressed, by their chiefs, to the Marshall who forwarded them to the right *Secretaria de Estado*, to be submitted to the Prince Regent. The same applied to the personnel of militia and similar bodies, when effectively working in the Army. The documents from the officers of the *ordenanças* had to be addressed to their chiefs to the General of the Province for him to decide on them or to send them to the *Conselho de Guerra*, or to the Commander in Chief or to the *Secretaria de Estado* according to the affair. Representations regarding both regular and militia recruitment should be submitted to the General of the Province. The Navy pretensions should be presented to the *Junta da Fazenda do Almirantado* or to the Admiral Commander in Chief of the Navy Forces, who forwarded them to the corresponding *Secretaria de Estado*. The *requerimentos* on matters under the competency of departments whose correspondence belonged to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, such as *Junta dos Três Estados, Junta do Arsenal do Exército, Inspeção Geral das Tesourarias, Delegado do Físico-Mór, Contadoria Fiscal dos Hospitais, Subinspetor do Correio Geral, Repartição dos Viveres* or *Transportes do Exército*, had to be addressed to them. They decided on the documents or produced a *consulta* and reported to the Prince Regent. Letter or billet to the *oficial maior [da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra]*, 26 April of 1811, with enclosed minute of circular and copy of announcement to publish in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divisão, 14<sup>a</sup> Secção, cx. 244, no. 33.



sovereign who then returned to him the documents or most of them.<sup>122</sup> The exact way in which the sovereign ultimately decided on matters dealt with in these *ofícios* is still unclear.<sup>123</sup> But the content of his decision was written on a few of them, in ink, in short notes folded over the head margin of the folio 1r of the *ofício* or in pencil in the blank space of this folio. These annotations were written or dictated by the secretary of state to a senior officer. They often indicate the future royal disposition and the type or types of document to be produced in order to execute this.<sup>124</sup> In other *ofícios* it was only recorded,

---

<sup>122</sup> This was not a regulated or systematic practice. In 1803, still in Portugal, the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* D. João de Almeida sent to the Prince Regent D. João, *ofícios* from the Portuguese representatives in London and in the Continent, after opening the most important. Letter from D. João de Almeida to the Prince Regent, Belas, 27 June [1803], ANRJ, NP, cx. 720, pac. 3. Already in Brazil, the Prince Regent, writing informally to D. João de Almeida, then holding ad interim the same office, mentioned the return of the '*ofícios de Portugal*' as well as the *ofícios* from London, Russia and Sweden and the keeping of the *ofícios* from Palermo because he had not finished reading him. Billet from D. João to D. João, Paço, 5 August 1812, AHI, lata 169, mç. 3, pasta 7. Years later, when the Count of Palmela finally held the post of *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, and first received the bundles transported by the packet (from Falmouth?) he sent all of them to the King as he ignored which one the King used or wanted to open. Letter from the Count of Palmela to the King D. João VI, Rio de Janeiro, 16 January 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 691.

<sup>123</sup> In some of the billets from the King to the secretary of state Tomás António Vilanova Portugal, the King gave his opinion on documents that the latter prepared or gave orders that resulted in new documents. A few of these billets, dated 1819-1820, were connected to Foreign and War Affairs, including in Portugal. See AHI, lata 169, mç. 3, pasta 6, 11, 14, 16, mç. 6, pasta 2.

<sup>124</sup> A few translated examples of the annotations: A Decree will be drawn up in the *secretaria de Estado* to resolve the three *consultas* from the *Junta da Fazenda do Exercito* that the governors of the Kingdom sent, according to their *informação* and appointing whom they proposed. Ofício no. 10, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 15 August 1809, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885. In order to draw up his retirement ... in the way proposed by the Governors. This shall be communicated to the Governors telling them that HRH conforming to their advice orders to draw up the Decree to this Decision. Ofício no. 68 from the Governors of the Kingdom, Lisbon, 16 May 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 886. HRH conformed to the Recommendation from the Governors, Ofício no. 70 from the Governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 23 May 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 886. Acknowledge and say them to give him what seems convenient to the Governors of the Kingdom according to HRH, agreeing with their recommendation and the recommendation of the Field Marshal, Ofício no. 165 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent Lisbon, 18 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888. Refused. Acknowledge the receipt, saying them that HRH conforms to the Recommendation from the Governors of the Kingdom to refuse the supplication of F. Ofício no. 166 from the governors of the Kingdom, Lisbon, 18 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888. Approving Decree, Ofício no. 167 from the governors of the Kingdom, Lisbon, 22 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888. Acknowledge and that HRH, observing the *Informação* from the Governors of the Kingdom that this officer was dispatched such little time ago, decided not to accept his pretention. Ofício no. 168 from the Governors of the Kingdom, Lisbon, 22 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888. Decree to the retirement. Acknowledge the receipt, and tell him that HRH agreeing to the recommendation from the Governors of the Kingdom, ordered to the *Conselho Superior Militar* to issue the Decree for the retirement of F. Ofício no. 169, from the Governors of the Kingdom, Lisbon, 23 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888. Depends from resolution. Keep. Ofício no. 171, from the Governors of the Kingdom, 23 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888. Acknowledge the receipt and say to him that HRH, agreeing to the Recommendation of his Minister in Cadiz supported with the

in the verso of the last folio, the date and the number of the *ofício* that answered the former.<sup>125</sup>

The reverse series of these *ofícios* was, in effect, another series of *ofícios* or *avisos* sent from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to the governors of the Kingdom. The diplomatic features of these documents were similar to the *avisos* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* answering to the *contas* from the governors of the Kingdom.<sup>126</sup> However, the officials of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Lisbon, who accompanied the carrying out of the subjects these documents dealt with, called them *ofícios*<sup>127</sup> and so did the secretary of

---

one from the Governors of the Kingdom ordered to issue the corresponding Decree to retire Patrício Parral (...) and the Letter Patent of appointment of Consul of Agostinho Parral (...) and the latter should deal with this in this Court and enclose his procuration. Ofício no. 172 from the Governors of the Kingdom Lisbon, 26 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE cx. 888.

<sup>125</sup> For instance, 'R. em 24 de Maio em ofício N 1761'. Ofício no. 2427 from the Governors of the Kingdom to the King, 24 January 1820, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 912.

<sup>126</sup> See the following transcription of one of these *ofícios*: 'Exmo e Rmo Sor. Subirão à Augusta Presença de El Rey Meu Senhor os Offícios dos Governadores do Reino, debaixo dos numeros indicados na Relação inclusa assignada por Camillo Martins Lage official-Maior destas Secretarias de Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros e da Guerra, com as consultas mencionadas na mesma Relação as quais voltão resolvidas por Sua Magestade em 20 do corrente mez; a fim de que os mesmos Governadores as remettão ao Conselho de Guerra para ali se lhes dar o seo devido cumprimento; Tendo o mesmo Augusto Senhor Mandado lavrar os competentes Decretos, em consequencia da Sua Real Resolução nas consultas que vierão com os officios 1503, 1567 e 1568, os quaes baixarão ao Conselho Supremo Militar, para se lhes lavrarem as Patentes e serem remettidas aos governadores do Reino na forma do costume. Deos Guarde a V. Exª...' Ofício no. 1094 from the Marquis of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 25 April 1816, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 3, no. 1.

<sup>127</sup> See, for instance, separate note on ofício no. 1645, from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, 22 September 1819, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 262, 6. This designation was compatible with the juridical definition of *aviso* by Sousa: '*Ordem Regia expedida no nome do Soberano por Officio do Secretario de Estado da Repartição com a assinatura deste*' (Royal Order issued in the name of the sovereign by ofício from the secretary of state of the office with the latter's signature). 'Aviso' in José Caetano Pereira e Sousa, *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*. Besides, the same documents were also designated *despachos* in other type of documents created by the aforementioned *Secretaria de Estado*. See *Registos de despachos para os Governadores do Reino*, 1815-1819, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 5, no. 1. These were produced certainly to control the administrative flow of these *avisos* or *ofícios* or *despachos* received from the secretary of state in Rio de Janeiro. They were constituted by squires where, under the date and name of the ship arrived from Brazil it was recorded the number of the '*despacho*', its content and administrative decision made on (acknowledge; answer that; declare that...). In theory, in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, *despacho* was the designation given to the documents from the secretary of state or someone who replaced him to the Portuguese diplomatic representatives. In reverse, the documents sent by the Portuguese diplomatic representatives to the secretary of state were called *ofícios*. In practice the terms '*despacho*' and '*ofício*' were sometimes applied to both documents. We have verified this during the period studied. See also Luís Teixeira Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros: subsídios para o estudo

state who sent them. These *ofícios* were around 1800 in number. They began to be produced on 2 January 1809 and initially they were not numbered.<sup>128</sup> The last *ofício* to be numbered, and registered in Rio de Janeiro, the *ofício* number 1767, dated from 3 June 1820, but a few more were produced till the arrival in Brazil of the news of the replacement of the governors of the Kingdom in the sequence of the 1820 Revolution.<sup>129</sup>

---

da história da diplomacia portuguesa' in Eduardo Brazão (ed.), *Estudos Históricos*, [Lisbon]: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, [1984], p. 187.

<sup>128</sup> The numbering of document at its creation though usual was not general. In 1811 the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* Count of Linhares, communicated to several Portuguese representatives as well as to the governors of the Kingdom that the *ofícios* he would send to them would be numbered and that they should acknowledge them by their number, in order to detect possible missing of documents and to achieve a regular correspondence. Register of *ofício* from Count of Linhares to D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 27 July 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 567, f. 16v-17r. In the case of the *ofícios* sent to the governors of the Kingdom it seems that the first numbered was the *ofício* from the Count of Linhares to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 12 August 1811, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 4.

<sup>129</sup> These *ofícios* are not in the fonds *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in the IAN/TT as one would expect. A part of the bundles transferred from the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* to the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* in 1950 was undone and the documents separated and catalogued in a kind of systematic file, which does not help to view the main series to which they belonged. But at the *Arquivo Histórico Militar* in Lisbon, is kept correspondence from the *secretários de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to the governors of the Kingdom, including these *ofícios*. The series were often dismantled. These *ofícios*, as well as the other records, were arranged apparently under the same 1ª Divisão (1st Division), regarding the campaigns in Metropolitan Portugal and Europe, but under different *Secções* (sections) following regulations of the Archive dated of 1921 and 1924. See *O Arquivo Histórico Militar Lisboa*, 2nd ed. revised and augmented, Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Militar, 1992, pp. 37-41 and <http://www.exercito.pt/ahm/saber.htm>. In this case they were divided at least by the 14ª Secção, *Campanhas da Guerra Peninsular*, 1807-1814 (Campaigns of the Peninsular War, 1807-1814) and by the 16ª Secção, *Comando do Marechal Beresford*, 1814-1820 (Command of the Marshall Beresford, 1814-1820). The retrieval of these *ofícios* through the systematic card files is not immediate, as they were sometimes differently indexed and classified. According to terms in the files (here titles or names of the secretaries of state) but in some cases also checking the records and completing the information, see the following records. *Linhares, Conde de, Correspondência para os Governadores do Reino*, 1811, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 2, no. 32; *Correspondência para o Patriarca Eleito de Lisboa*, 1809-1811, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 262, no. 1; March-April 1811, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 9; May 1811, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 2; June 1811, cx. 272, no. 3; December 1811, cx. 272, no. 5; 1811, cx. 272, no. 6. *Aguiar, Marquês de, Correspondência para Governadores do Reino*, January-July 1815, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 2, no. 1; July-December 1815, cx. 2, no. 2; January-July 1816, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 3, no. 1; July-December 1816, cx. 3, no. 2; *Correspondência para Marquês Monteiro-Mór*, 20 June 1815, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 3, no. 3. *Portugal, Tomaz António de Vilanova, Correspondência para D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz*, 1817-1820, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 262, 6; AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 165, 21. There are also several quires created in Lisbon where the *ofícios* were registered according to the arrival of the ship that transported them and comprising the number of the *ofício* or *despacho* as it was written there, the summary and the administrative decision on. These were indexed by *Governo no exílio. Governo do Rio de Janeiro. Registos de despachos para Governadores do Reino*. 1815-1819. AHM, 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 5, no. 1. In parallel, at the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon, there are twelve quires of extracts of these *ofícios* entitled '*remetidos do Brasil*'

The numbering was continuous, independently of the replacement of the secretaries of state.<sup>130</sup> The *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* also sent *avisos* to the governors of the Kingdom with enclosed *requerimentos* for them to report on, through the corresponding *tribunais*, just as it was worked out in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*.<sup>131</sup>

The use of *aviso* or *ofício* from the secretaries of state in Brazil to the governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries was based upon administrative tradition. Here, it seems that the *avisos* communicated specific orders to be executed through a vertical administrative chain, from the top (the sovereign and the secretary of state). While the *ofícios* comprised a more diversified range of matters, implying also accomplishment of actions.

Once the main communication from the governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries to the Prince Regent was established by *contas* and *ofícios*, through the secretaries of state, there were other channels of official or semi-official correspondence between both governments. The secretaries of the government in Lisbon and the

---

(sent from Brazil) or '*Ofícios da America*'. The extract summarized the contents and, besides the number, it referred the via. Some royal letters, enclosed with the *ofícios*, were also extracted. These quires were created in Lisbon and kept by D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra, and are now at the private papers of the Family Lencastre Bastos, BN, ALB, Núcleo Av. de Roma, pac. 96, 138. There are also, in Rio de Janeiro, a register of secret *ofícios* from the Count of Linhares and from the Count of Galveias to the governors of the Kingdom (and to other authorities) 1808-1815, AHI, estante 343, prateleira 4, vol. 3, and a separate book of copies of a few of the *ofícios*, 1812-1821, with some of their annexes, AHI, lata 187, mç. 3, pasta 4.

<sup>130</sup> In the case of the *despachos* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to the Portuguese diplomatic representatives, and the *ofícios* from the latter to the secretary of state, when the representative changed, their numbering was re-started. Regarding the Legation of Portugal in London, the *despachos* were numbered continuously till no. 244, of 5 May 1815, in spite of the replacement of the Count of Linhares by the Count of Galveias and the latter by the Marquis of Aguiar. When Cipriano Ribeiro Freire replaced D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho as diplomatic representative, it was reinitiated the numbering of the *despachos* from the secretary of state as well of the *ofícios* to him. Register Book of *Despachos* to the Legation of London, 1814-1821, IAN/TT, MN, liv. 568, especially f. 14v, 16v, 17r, 19r-20r; ofício no. 1 from Marquis of Aguiar to Cipriano Ribeiro Freire, 14 June 1815, and ofício no. 1 from Count da Barca to Count of Palmela, 30 December 1816, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 522, f. 35r-35v, f. 305.

<sup>131</sup> These *avisos* are kept at the *Arquivo Histórico Militar*, mixed with the *ofícios* from the secretary of state to the governors of the Kingdom. Though they possess numbers these do not appear to have been given at their creation. One of the frequent numbers is the number of the *ofício* from the governors of the Kingdom by which they reported on the contents of the *aviso*. See, for instance, reference to the *aviso* from Count of Linhares, 7 November 1810, Ofício no. 172 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 26 de Março de 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888.

secretaries of state in Rio de Janeiro corresponded with each other and some of them regularly.<sup>132</sup>

The Patriarch Elect, who presided over the meetings of the governors of the Kingdom during a period of several years, sent separately several official documents to the government in Rio de Janeiro, especially to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* or *do Reino e ministro assistente*, to be presented to the Prince Regent.<sup>133</sup> Some of these documents were probably created under the exercise of the function of

---

<sup>132</sup> This correspondence is easily documented from the *secretário dos Negócios da Marinha* to the correspondent secretary of state in Brazil. See several *ofícios* from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to the Count das Galveias, dated either of Lisbon or of the Palace of Government, 1814, BCM-AH, Documentos Avulsos, cx. 1283, 1, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos and *ofícios* from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to Azevedo, dated of the Palace of Government, 1814, BCM-AH, Documentos Avulsos, cx. 841, *Ofícios diversos*. See also *ofício* from Forjaz to the Count of Anadia, Palace of the Government, 17 May 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac.1, 9, and a set of *ofícios*, ANRJ, NP, cx. 705, pac. 2. Forjaz also wrote occasional private letters to the Count of Galveias, his cousin. See Forjaz to Galveas, 3 August 1811, BN, AAL, pacote 94, no. 131, referred to by Francisco de la Fuente, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: His Early Career and Role in the Mobilization and Defence of Portugal during the Peninsular War, 1807-1814', p. 159, n. 134. In the Foreign Affairs and in the War Affairs there was also this kind of flow of documents. See, for instance: *ofício* from Forjaz to the Marquis of Aguiar, Lisbon, 31 May 1815, ANRJ, NP, cx. 616, pac. 2, 82; *ofício* from Forjaz to Marquis of Aguiar, Lisbon, 6 January 1817, ANRJ, NP, cx. 616, pac. 1, 53; 2<sup>a</sup> via of *ofício* from Forjaz to Vilanova Portugal, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 August 1818, ANRJ, NP, cx. 616, pac. 1, 3. See, among others searched in the manuscript files of the Arquivo Histórico Militar: Correspondence from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to Count of Galveias, 1813, AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divisão, 14<sup>a</sup> Secção, cx. 49, no. 1; correspondence from Conde of Linhares to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, 1811, AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divisão, 14<sup>a</sup> Secção, cx. 272, 7; cx. 155, 7; cx. 155, no. 42; minutes of correspondence from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to Tomaz António Vilanova Portugal, 1819, AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divisão, 16<sup>a</sup> Secção, Comando do Marechal Beresford, cx. 14, no. 26; correspondence from Tomaz António Vilanova Portugal to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, 1817-1820, AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divisão, 14<sup>a</sup> Secção, cx. 262, 6; cx. 165, 21. See also *ofício* from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to Tomaz António Vilanova Portugal, Lisbon, 20 November 1819, MNE, cx. 42, mç. 6 (74). The governor of the Kingdom Principal Sousa also wrote some private letters to his brother *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, then Count of Linhares. Letter from José to his brother, Lisbon 13 August 1811, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 3, 120. Concerning the Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, according to Vítor da Fonseca, of the Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, at the Collection *Negócios de Portugal* there are *ofícios* from the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* to the respective secretary of state. It is not yet possible to consult them. But other references corroborate the existence of direct correspondence between them, though not necessarily systematic. For instance, Salter de Mendonça, *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*, presented to the governors of the Kingdom the *aviso* of 17 October from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, about the procedure against the free masons. Register of conta no. 35, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 5 February 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 72r-74v. See connected *ofícios* from João de Salter de Mendonça to the Count of Aguiar, 1809, 1811, ANRJ, NP, cx. 722, pac. 3. See *ofício* from Salter de Mendonça to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 21 August 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 709, pac. 1,43.

<sup>133</sup> They are mainly in the ANRJ, in the collection *Negócios de Portugal*, but not constituting a series.

presidency.<sup>134</sup> Once, he alleged that the other governors were busy with other matters.<sup>135</sup> But it seems that he wrote whenever a conflict erupted and the parties involved or one of them stood firm in their positions. The strategy for the defence of Portugal in 1810 was one of the issues that generated such a flow of documents.<sup>136</sup> Other governors of the Kingdom, such as the Marquis of Borba or the Count of Peniche also sent official correspondence to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*.<sup>137</sup> The head officials of other *repartições* in Portugal on some occasions wrote officially to the secretaries of state too, although they generally ended up by submitting related documents to the government in Lisbon.<sup>138</sup>

The series of around eighty semi-official and private letters from Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, written between August 1810 and August 1817, sustained another channel of communication between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>139</sup> Sousa expressed to the monarch his opinions in memoranda, and from time to time he intervened in favour of people who had submitted petitions, even if his votes on them had been sent officially and

---

<sup>134</sup> Such as the representation to the Prince Regent laying down the votes from Principal Sousa, Mendonça and Forjaz about the working of the government, and submitting his dismissal. Lisbon, 2 September 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2, 29.

<sup>135</sup> When he sent a list annotated of the people who distinguished themselves in the Restoration of the Kingdom, in Porto, where he was Bishop. Ofício from the Bishop Patriarch Elect to the Count Aguiar, Lisbon, 8 August 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,26.

<sup>136</sup> One of the documents was the letter from the Bishop Patriarch Elect to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 20 February 1810, sent through the Conde de Aguiar, and reacting to Wellington's strategy. ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,27. See also ofício from the Patriarch Elect to the Count Aguiar, Lisbon, 7 December 1810, and enclosed copy of vote from Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, Lisbon, 1 September 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,52. Another situation involving the competences of Nogueira over finances originated the ofício from Patriarch Elect to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 31 October 1811, and enclosed letter from Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira to the Prince Regent, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2, 37.

<sup>137</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 705, pac. 1.

<sup>138</sup> Ofício from the Junta da Administração da Companhia Geral do Alto Douro to Count of Aguiar, Porto, Junta, 30 June 1809, enclosed documents and envelope, ANRJ, NP, cx. 679, pac. 2, 22. Register of conta no. 35 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 5 February 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 72r.

<sup>139</sup> See the secret letter books from Principal Sousa to HRH, vol. 1, 8 August 1810–20 September 1813, and vol. 2, 1 October 1813–7 August 1817. They are kept at the *Arquivo da Família Linhares* (AFL) and their microfilm is at the *Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* (FUP) in the *Centro de Estudos Históricos e de Cartografia Antiga* (CEHCA), Lisbon. See AFL, CEHCA, FUP, R-9, 1, 1, vol. 1. There is a on going project of digitising the collection of microfilms of the FUP. A few drafts of these letters, dated of 1815, are in the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, IHGB, DL 394.6. Some originals were kept in the archive of the Foreign Affairs. See letters from Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent D. João, 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 12, mç. 6. Other originals, kept probably by the monarch, are now in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* in the private collection *Gabinete de D. João VI*. See, for instance: Recommendation from Principal Sousa on the balance of the *Terreiro*, 1815, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 7, 454; Letter from Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 11 March 1816, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 8, 460.

his *empenhos* (recommendations) discussed with the other governors of the Kingdom. He also sent information about the war, enclosing copies of private letters that he had received from military men like General Lecor, as well as writing to the secretaries of state. He wrote especially to his brother, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, in a private<sup>140</sup> or semi-official way, as some of these letters were shown to the Prince Regent.<sup>141</sup> But he also addressed letters to the successor of his brother.<sup>142</sup>

Finally, in parallel with the key flow of records between the governors of the Kingdom and the government in Rio de Janeiro, there was another official flow, albeit tenuous, between the Lisbon government and the authorities of Pará, regarding judicial matters.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> Letter from Principal Sousa to Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, 9 May 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 752, pac. 1.

<sup>141</sup> Letter from José [Principal Sousa] to his brother [Conde de Linhares], Lisbon, 13 August 1811, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 3, 120.

<sup>142</sup> See, for instance, two letters to the Count of Galveias, on military affairs, 1813, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 6 no. 34.

<sup>143</sup> During 1810, the governor of Pará sent the records of a court case in the occupied Guyana sentencing an Englishman to death, to the secretary of the Realm Affairs in Lisbon, because communication with Rio de Janeiro was less frequent. This was then sent to Rio through the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. After pardon was granted, the corresponding secretary of state transmitted to his colleague *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, the order of issuing the competent decree by the *Desembargo do Paço* in Lisbon, which was then communicated by the latter to the governors of the Kingdom. Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 16 February de 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, p. 241. In 1818 the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* requested to the governors of the Kingdom to issue the documents required to examine (*pôr a concurso*) and to proceed to *consultas* regarding four places of *desembargador* of the Relação of Maranhão. Aviso from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of the Real Fazenda de Santa Cruz, 1 April 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, p. 198.

## 5.2 Transport and time of circulation of records

The *contas* and the two series of *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*, or the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra e dos Negócios da Marinha*, as well as the other official correspondence from the government in Lisbon were sent to the seat of the government in Rio de Janeiro through the *Correio Geral* (General Mail)<sup>144</sup> in connection with the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha*.<sup>145</sup>

The commanders of the departing ships of the Crown had to inform the *Correio Geral* of their ports of call and to notify them, on the eve of the departure, at what time the bags were to be fetched. Sometimes they did not provide such information<sup>146</sup> or did not collect the correspondence.<sup>147</sup> The papers of the Royal Service, as this correspondence was often called, were taken from the several departments to the *Correio Geral*<sup>148</sup> or to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha*. The *mestres* (skippers), captains or commanders of the ships received the correspondence from senior officials of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha* either in Lisbon, in the Palace of the Government, or in Belém and in *N<sup>a</sup>. Senhora da Ajuda*, where the departments were housed, or even aboard the ships. Receipts were issued attesting that the mail was collected. The receipts listed briefly the correspondence, mentioning the addressees who, in general, were the heads of the *secretarias de Estado* in Rio de Janeiro and sometimes their senior officials, the name of the official of the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha* who

---

<sup>144</sup> The *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* inspected this department, following the alvará of 16 March 1797. During Junot's government, the French Herman supervised the *Correio Geral* either as president of the *Erário Régio* or as *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*. But after the expulsion, the department returned to the Foreign Affairs inspection. Thus, D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz was the inspector of the *Correio Geral* from September 1808 till September 1820 (except while Cipriano Ribeiro Freire was *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros*). See copy of petition from Gregório Gomes da Silva to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, [ca. October 1808] BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163.

<sup>145</sup> This *Secretaria de Estado*, which in Brazil comprised the *Domínios Ultramarinos*, was in charge of making ready the ships used as *Correios Marítimos* (Maritime Mails) with Brazil and the Islands of Madeira and Azores. See printed alvará from the Prince Regent, Palace of Queluz, 20 January 1798, IAN/TT, SP 2272.

<sup>146</sup> Ofício from Miguel Pereira Forjaz to Baron of Arruda, Palace of Government, 25 January 1810, BCM-AH, Documentação avulsa, Correio Marítimo, cx. 185.

<sup>147</sup> Though they were advised previously. Register of conta no. 132, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 7 December 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 30v-32r.

<sup>148</sup> Receipts were signed both by the employee who received the correspondence and by the employee of the department sending it. See, for instance, receipt of delivery of papers of the *Real Serviço*, from the Conselho Ultramarino to the Court, 28 September 1809, to be sent by the Brig 'Serpente', AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 245, no. 73.



made the delivery and the name of who received this and the corresponding date. Several receipts mentioned specifically the number and the via of the *conta* from the governors of the Kingdom, and were returned to and kept in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Lisbon.<sup>149</sup> Others were kept in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha*, also in Lisbon.<sup>150</sup>

The official correspondence was transported to Brazil in bundles and bags labelled with the designation of each *secretaria de Estado*.<sup>151</sup> Sometimes officials carried correspondence by hand, apparently due to its importance or secrecy.<sup>152</sup> On exceptional occasions ships sailed expressly to carry mail.<sup>153</sup>

It seems that the majority of the ships that transported this mail was Portuguese, belonging to the Crown or to merchants. In general, they sailed directly between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. Sometimes they called at Bahia<sup>154</sup> and later on regularly at Bahia and

---

<sup>149</sup> See many receipts in IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242.

<sup>150</sup> See BCM-AH, cx. 1283, 2, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, 1815-1819. There are more receipts regarding the official mail transported not only to Rio de Janeiro but also, separately, to Madeira and Azores and to Cabo Verde. See BCM-AH, Cod. 2318, 6-III-4-2.

<sup>151</sup> Session 26 January 1816, BN, COD 6851, p. 233. See also, for instance, register of *conta* no. 186, Lisbon, 12 de September 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 103v-106r. The bags were made of *durante*, a wool tissue, that constituted a regular expenses item at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha* in Lisbon. See several expenses documents, 1809-1814, especially 1811, BCM-AH, Documentos Avulsos, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, cx. 1283, 1.

<sup>152</sup> The *contas* no. 11, 24 May 1809 and no. 12, 31 May 1809, regarding the opinion of the governors of the Kingdom about the first royal instructions after the expulsion of Junot, were transported by the hand of the *guarda-roupa* (chamberlain) of the Prince Regent, Bernardo de Sousa Lobato, by the Ship 'Imperador da América' on 7 June. Register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 26v-38r. The Portuguese representative in Cadiz prepared urgent papers to be taken by his secretary, to Rio de Janeiro. Extract Sousa e Holstein to Forjaz, Cadiz, 10 de Janeiro 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 134, f. 29v. Manuel Rodrigues Gameiro, official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* transported as an express the bundle of correspondence of the Portuguese Legation in London together with the General Treaty of Vienna and the correspondence from the plenipotentiaries in the Congress. Extract of *ofício* from Cipriano Riberio Freire to D. Miguel Forjaz, London, 16 August 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 132.

<sup>153</sup> At the end of 1809, the Portuguese diplomat to Cadiz, D. Pedro de Sousa e Holstein, wrote to D. Miguel Forjaz in Lisbon in order that a brig or other sailing ship was ready the following March, to send news to Brazil. Extract from Sousa e Holstein to Forjaz, 29 December 1809, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 134, f. 13v. The Corvette 'Aurora' sailed from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, exclusively to carry mail received from the Portuguese envoy in Madrid. Copy of letter from João António Salter de Mendonça to Marquis of Campo Maior, Beresford, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 20 April 1815, enclosed with *conta* no. 341, from the governors of the Kingdom, 22 April 1815, ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 3,7.

<sup>154</sup> Draft of *ofício* from João António Salter de Mendonça to Count da Ponte, governor of Bahia, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 24 December 1808, and receipt of deliver of the *ofício* and enclosed official letters, from the *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha* to Jacinto José dos Reis, skipper of the Ship 'Espírito Santo', also known as 'Carrasco', Lisbon, 25

Pernambuco, besides Madeira on the outward route. After arriving at Lisbon, the ships stayed for a while, apparently six days in 1820,<sup>155</sup> to be repaired and supplied.<sup>156</sup> Exceptionally they returned without waiting for the governors of the Kingdom to answer the correspondence from Rio de Janeiro.<sup>157</sup> At least for a period, a sailing ship was supposed to sail monthly with dispatches from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent.<sup>158</sup> The dates of departure from Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon were, in 1820, settled to be every forty days, beginning on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January.<sup>159</sup> The British extraordinary envoy at Lisbon, Charles Stuart, also sent at least a part of his dispatches to his counterpart in Rio de Janeiro, Strangford, through the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha*.<sup>160</sup> Sometimes British<sup>161</sup> and more rarely American ships,<sup>162</sup> transported official correspondence between Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon and vice-versa.<sup>163</sup>

---

December 1808, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242. Receipt from the *Secretaria de Estado da Marinha* acknowledging the reception of one via of the *ofício* to the Count da Ponte, governor and captain general of Bahia, 25 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242.

<sup>155</sup> *Almanach de Lisboa Para o Anno de MDCCCXX*, Lisbon: Na Offic. de J. F. M. de Campos, p. 325.

<sup>156</sup> See several documents and especially *ofícios* from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to the head officer of the Arsenal, BCM-AH, cx. 185, Documentos Avulsos, Correio Marítimo.

<sup>157</sup> In August 1819, the Maritime Mail 'Treze de Maio' had to return soon to Brazil, by royal orders, and the *secretário da Marinha* just wrote acknowledging the receipt of the *ofícios* that he had carried from Rio. *Ofício* from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to the Count dos Arcos, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 20 August 1819, BCM-AH, Documentos Avulsos, Correio Marítimo, cx. 185.

<sup>158</sup> In August 1810, the governors of the Kingdom communicated to the British Admiral Berkeley the order from the Prince Regent on this issue. *Ofício* no. 84, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 13 August 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 887.

<sup>159</sup> *Almanach de Lisboa Para o Anno de MDCCCXX*, Lisbon: Na Offic. de J. F. M. de Campos, p. 325.

<sup>160</sup> Extract of note from Stuart to Forjaz, 29 July 1812, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 220v e 223v.

<sup>161</sup> The conta no. 9, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 7 April 1809, was carried by an English frigate, register IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 22r. The *ofícios* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* dated 10, 17 and 25 May 1810, were also transported by an English frigate from Rio de Janeiro. *Ofício* no. 84 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 13 August 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 887. The conta no. 522, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, Lisbon, Palace of Government, 21 March 1818, acknowledged the receipt of *avisos* from Brazil transported by an English packet from England. Register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 201-202.

<sup>162</sup> On 10 March 1810, the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* thanked Thomas Sunter, minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America in Rio de Janeiro, for the participation of the departure of an American ship by which the government sent dispatches. Index of Livro de Funções de Corte, no. 4, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 22, (3), f. 105.

<sup>163</sup> Regarding the year 1812, and the maritime mail from Brazil that entered Lisbon the distribution was the following: 1 American (from a total of 535 American ships), 3 British (from a total of 585 British ships) and 96 Portuguese (from a total of 282 Portuguese ships). In the reverse direction they were distributed as follows: 10/542 British ships and 60/218 Portuguese ships. 'Mappa das Naçoens e dos Portos de que vierão os navios que Entrarão em o Porto de Lisboa, em o Anno de 1812', BCM-AH, cx. 245, Entradas e Saídas de Navios nos Portos de: Lisboa, 1812.

A system of packets was established between Brazil and Great Britain, in the sequence of diplomatic negotiations<sup>164</sup> and agreements. On 14 September 1808, in Rio de Janeiro, plenipotentiaries of both countries signed articles regarding this.<sup>165</sup> These articles were replaced by a convention on February 1810.<sup>166</sup> The packets sailed monthly between Falmouth and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>167</sup> On their outward route, they called at Lisbon occasionally, at Madeira and at Bahia (on the voyages originating at Falmouth in the months September to February) in spite of the Portuguese recurrent opposition.<sup>168</sup> On their homeward route the packets touched at Bahia (on the voyages commenced at Falmouth from March to August).<sup>169</sup> In 1817, the route was slightly revised and Pernambuco was added as a port of call.<sup>170</sup> According to Howat, in 1812 ‘the estimated length of voyage for the round trip from Falmouth to Rio and back was 18 weeks’.<sup>171</sup> As far as the official mail was concerned, the Portuguese authorities used the British packets especially for some correspondence with the Portuguese diplomatic representative in London, and through him, with other Portuguese diplomats in Europe.<sup>172</sup> But now and

---

<sup>164</sup> See, for instance, ‘Sketch of a plan for Packet to be established between England and Rio de Janeiro, or the nearest port to His Royal Highness’s future Residence...’, PRO, FO 63/64, f. 34r-35, and following documents.

<sup>165</sup> Signed by Conde de Linhares and Strangford, Portuguese and English, MNE, pub. by Julio Firmino Judice Biker, *Suplemento à coleção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao presente*, vol. 16, pp. 250-255.

<sup>166</sup> Convention between the Prince Regent D. João and George III King of Great Britain about the establishment of packets, signed by Conde de Linhares and Strangford, Rio de Janeiro, 19 February 1810, Portuguese and English, MNE, pub. by Castro, *Collecção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao presente*, vol. 4, pp. 416-423.

<sup>167</sup> J. N. T. Howat, *South American packets: the British packet service to Brazil, the River Plate, the West Coast (via the Strait of Magellan) and the Falkland Islands, 1808-1880*, New York: Postal History Society in Association with William Sessions, 1984, mainly chapter 1 and 2, pp. 1-25.

<sup>168</sup> According to Strangford, British representative in Rio de Janeiro, the Portuguese Prince Regent never failed to press him ‘with exceeding vehemence’ on some points among which the circumstance of the packet’s touching at Bahia and the delay and inconvenience to the public service. Strangford always silenced this point. Strangford to Marquis Wellesley, 1 November 1810, PRO, FO 63/86, f.130r-131v.

<sup>169</sup> The Portuguese ministers were strongly opposed to the packets touching at Madeira on their homeward route, as the British planned. According to Strangford, this was due to nautical reasons. The Brazilian ships ‘with cargoes, passengers or dispatches’ for the Island went to Lisbon and thence transmitting their shipment to Madeira. Dispatch no. 13, Strangford to George Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 14 September 1808, PRO, FO 63/59, f. 245-258v.

<sup>170</sup> On the outward route the Brazil packet also stayed in Santa Cruz, Tenerife, but just for three hours. Howat, *South American packets: The British packet service to Brazil...*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>171</sup> Howat, *South American packets: The British packet service to Brazil...*, p. 4.

<sup>172</sup> The 1810 Convention made provision for exemptions from the payment of postage in favour of the Portuguese envoy at London (and of the Prince Regents’ naval and military forces should they

then the packets transported Portuguese governmental correspondence, sometimes for alleged safety reasons.<sup>173</sup>

The risk of crossing the Atlantic was often mentioned<sup>174</sup> and was real due to the attacks from pirates and privateers, besides the storms and shipwreck. There was loss of correspondence, which caused delays.<sup>175</sup> The sequence of the correspondence was kept, as most of the main documents circulated in several *vias*, but the enclosed documents had to be replaced.<sup>176</sup>

The time of circulation of records or administrative time<sup>177</sup> between the government in Rio de Janeiro and the governors of the Kingdom and secretaries in Lisbon

---

be employed in his dominions). The mode of carrying the exemptions was made to depend upon the General Post Office in England. Besides the Convention, see dispatch no. 13, Strangford to George Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 14 September 1808, PRO, FO 63/59, f. 245-258v.

<sup>173</sup> On 1817, for instance, the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* requested the British chargé d'affaires in Lisbon, E. M. Ward that the Brazilian packet outward went through Lisbon to receive mail for safety reasons, as the direct communication between Rio and Lisbon was insecure. Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 2 October 1817, PRO, FO 63/205, f. 211r-211v. Marrocos also mentioned the arrival to Rio de Janeiro, in the beginning of April 1812, of the English packet from England and calling at Lisbon, Madeira and Bahia, transporting lots of letters. Five years later he referred to the arrival, on 16 July, of the English packet, calling at Lisbon and with despatches from the government and Mailbags. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 3 April 1812 and 20 July 1820, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 69 and p. 424.

<sup>174</sup> Royal Decree, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 28 September 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, pp. 63-64.

<sup>175</sup> Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 17 October 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 75-77.

<sup>176</sup> This was the case of *ofícios* from the Portuguese representative in London probably to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* that were sent via Lisbon and were lost with the bag of the Ship 'Princesa Carlota' in 1810. Extract of *ofício* from D. Domingos Sousa Coutinho to Forjaz, London, 15 January 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 132. The same happened with the royal letters, *alvarás* and other papers signed by the Prince Regent transported, on their way back to Lisbon, by the Ship 'Oceano' seized by French privateers, in 1812. Register of aviso from Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 12 January 1813, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 381, p. 161. A similar situation occurred with the papers transported from Rio to Lisbon by the Ship 'Grão-Pará', captured by an American privateer in 1817, and with documents lost with the Ship 'Conde das Galveias' in 1814. Register of conta no. 481, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 2 August 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 28-29. The *ofício* lost with the bag of the Ship 'Princesa Carlota' had to be '*reformado*' (restored). Extract of *ofício* from D. Domingos Sousa Coutinho to Forjaz, London, 15 January 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 132.

<sup>177</sup> The expression administrative time was adapted from Georges Durand via Heloísa Belotto regarding the time duration of a decision-making process. Durand defined it as the time that elapses from the issue of a royal order to its acknowledgement by the subjects or delegate authorities to whom is addressed. See Heloísa Liberalli Belotto, 'Diplomática luso-brasileira do século XVIII: tipologia dos documentos ascendentes e descendentes' *Páginas a&b*, 3 (1999) 19-30, especially pp. 21-22, n. 9. Arno Wehling referred also a '*tempo administrativo*' postponing decisions and harming the efficiency of the government machinery in the colonial Brazil, before 1807. He pointed out that the physical distance between Lisbon, then the main political and administrative centre, and the littoral Brazilian cities, and between these and the interior, transformed into months or years the time of the decisions. Arno Wehling, *História administrativa*

depended on the administrative procedures and on the duration and vicissitudes of transport, in the case of the oceanic voyage. This voyage, from Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon, by different kinds of Portuguese ships transporting passengers, merchandise and often mail, appears to have been usually more than two months long.<sup>178</sup> Comprising a degree of variability, it is possible to provide some information on several examples of the time that the Portuguese administration spent, between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, in dealing with different affairs.

Some of the *contas* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, differently dated, were transported together.<sup>179</sup> Some *contas* were transported on the same day or the day after they were produced but in general they were sent several days after.<sup>180</sup> The second *vias* of the *contas* were also sent

---

*do Brasil*, vol. 6, *Administração Portuguesa no Brasil de Pombal a D. João (1777-1808)*, Brasília: FUNCEP, 1986. p. 302.

<sup>178</sup> See, for instance, sets of *ofícios* from captain José Rebelo Palhares, aide at the Torre de Belém in Lisbon, to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, 1811-1813, BCM-AH, cx. 244-245, Entradas e Saídas de Navios nos Portos de: Lisboa. These *ofícios* reported to the *secretário da Marinha* the entrances and departures of ships from there. Regarding the entrance of the ships, the *ofícios* mentioned the date of arrival, nationality, their names, provenance and days of travelling, the name of the commander or skipper, passengers, cargo and mail when this was transported, distinguishing between bags to the mail and *ofícios* to the government (private and official mail?). See also sets of *ofícios* from Pedro Duarte da Silva to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz on the '*visita do ouro*' to the ships arriving from Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon, 1809, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 245. They are mixed up with documents from other series. For the following years, see following boxes. These documents provide information on the type and name of the ship, days of voyage, commander of the ship or of the fleet, passengers, cargo that was summarised in a document sent to the *Correio* (Post), ports of call, and transport of letters to the *Correio* or *vias* from the government in Rio de Janeiro and often their handing over to the *Secretaria de Estado*. Nogueira, governor of the Kingdom, occasionally referred in his *Memoria*, the arrival of ships from Rio de Janeiro, with mail to the government. For instance on 26 January 1816 the Ship 'Trajano' arrived after almost four months of travel, and the Frigate 'Benjamim' with two and a half months travelling. BN, COD 6851, p. 233.

<sup>179</sup> Conta no. 3, Lisbon, 12 December 1808, no. 4, 24 December 1808 and no. 5, 27 January 1809, by the Ship 'Carrasco', on 27 January, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 9v-10r.

<sup>180</sup> Conta no. 9, 7 April 1809, by an English frigate departed on 8 April, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 22r; conta no. 157, Lisbon, 4 April 1812, by the Ship 'Carolina' on 8 April. Register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 57v-59r; conta no. 68, 9 November 1810, by the Brig 'Gaivota', on 14 November 1810, IAN/TT, liv. 314, f. 132r-135r; conta no. 32, 5 January 1810, by the Ship 'Indiano' on 11 January, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 64r-66r; conta no. 11, 24 May 1809 and conta no. 12, 31 May 1809, by the Ship 'Imperador da América' on 7 June, Register IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 26v-38r; conta no. 35, 5 February 1810, transported on 20 February 1810, Register IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 72r-74v; conta no. 148, 21 February 1812, sent by the Ship 'Santa Cruz' on 29 February; conta no. 164, Lisbon, 26 April 1812, by the Ship 'Imperador da America', on 5 May 1812, register MR, liv. 315, f. 63v-66r; conta no. 553, 28 September de 1818, by the Galley 'Fenix' on 7 October 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 387-396; conta no. 18, 3 August 1809, on 14 August 1809, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 44r-47r; conta no. 552, 26 September 1818, sent by the Galley 'Fenix' on 7 October 1818, Register IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 383-387. A

within variable periods of time, in relation to the first *vias*, from ten days to two and a half months.<sup>181</sup>

The period of time that elapsed from the date of issue of the *conta* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* in Lisbon to the date of issue of the answering *aviso* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Rio de Janeiro, also varied: from less than two months to half an year or even an year. Around three months seems to have been the most frequent period of time. When the *aviso* reported the royal decision on matters dealt with in the *conta* and certified in its annexes, or communicated the return of other enclosed documents after being signed by the monarch, the period of time usually longer. The same happened with the *avisos* communicating the answer to matters involving a greater responsibility, such as political appointments.<sup>182</sup>

---

month was exceptional. Conta no. 440, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 17 September 1816, by the Brig ‘Balão’ on 13 November 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 239-245.

<sup>181</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> via conta no. 164, 26 April 1812, register MR, liv. 315, f. 63v-66r; 2<sup>a</sup> via conta no. 68, 9 November 1810, IAN/TT, liv. 314, f. 132r-135r; 2<sup>a</sup> via conta no. 148, 21 February 1812, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 49r; 2<sup>a</sup> via conta no. 440, 17 September 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 239-245; 2<sup>a</sup> via of conta no. 552, 26 September 1818, MR, liv. 318, pp. 383-387; 2<sup>a</sup> via of conta no. 553, 28 September 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 387-396.

<sup>182</sup> Aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Marquis of Minas, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 3 May 1809 answering to conta no. 6, 10 March 1809, Register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 41-42; avisos dated 7, 9, 10, 14, 15 and 17 de January 1812, answering to contas no. 127, 7 November 1811, 128, 9 de November de 1811, 129, 9 November 1811, 130, 14 November de 1811, 132, 19 November 1811, and 136, 28 November de 1811, register of conta no. 157, 4 April 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 57v-59r; aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Marquis das Minas, 12 January 1809, answering to *conta* no. 1, 18 October 1808, Register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, p. 40; royal letter from the Prince Regent to the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 30 August 1809 and aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, 1 September 1809, answering to conta no. 11, 24 May 1809, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 53-60, 71-75; aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 18 October 1809, answering to conta no. 17, 14 July 1809, Register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 80-84; aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 18 August 1810, answering to conta 48, 7 May 1810, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 166-168. aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 3 February 1811, answering to conta no. 69, 10 November 1810, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 220-222. Two avisos, 3 December 1811, answering to conta no. 122, 3 October 1811, and 125, October 1811, register of conta no. 157, 4 April 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 57v-59r; aviso from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 3 February 1820, acknowledging the conta no. 617, 30 October 1819, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 383, pp. 132-133. The period of three months was also usual in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha*: the ofício from the *secretário dos Negócios da Marinha*, dated Lisbon, 2 March 1814, was answered on 14 June 1814 in Rio de Janeiro, ofício from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to Count das Galveias, Lisbon, 2 March 1814, BCM-AH, Documentos Avulsos, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos, cx. 1283, 1. The aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 16 January 1810, communicated the royal decision on the *consultas* enclosed with the delayed first

It is risky to establish an average period of time from the moment that the governors of the Kingdom wrote a *conta* or *ofício* to the Prince Regent, on a subject or on petitions, to the time they acknowledged the respective royal decision, again by a *conta* or *ofício* to the Prince Regent. This period of time could range from about five months to two years. In order to have a specific idea, some cases were followed closely. It seems that five to six months was a frequent period.<sup>183</sup> However, the process of decision-making in Rio de Janeiro, with the creation or completion of documents often extended this period of time at least to seven or eight months,<sup>184</sup> or even more.<sup>185</sup> This happened

---

via of conta no. 15, 26 June 1809 and that were not enclosed with the second via, arrived and answered before, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 102-103.

<sup>183</sup> On 6 May 1811, the governors of the Kingdom reported to the Prince Regent the acknowledgement of nine *avisos* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* by which they became aware that the *contas* no. 70 to 75, dated 10, 12, 27 and 29 November, and 6 and 14 December 1810 had been submitted to the Prince Regent. Register of conta no. 92, 6 May 1811, IAN/TT, liv. 314, f. 180r-182r. On 12 September 1812, the governors of the Kingdom acknowledged the *avisos de informe* of 2 June 1812 that answered conta no. 156, 16 March 1812. Register of conta no. 186, Lisbon, 12 de September 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 103v-106r. On 21 October 1815, the governors of the Kingdom acknowledged the *aviso* of 21 July 1815 that answered conta no. 341, 22 April 1815. Register of conta no. 368, 21 October 1815, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, f. 204r-206r. Two *avisos*, 30 December 1811, answering *contas* no. 122, 3 October 1811 and 125, 8 October 1811, and *avisos* dated 7, 9, 10, 14, 15 and 17 de January 1812, answering *contas* no. 127, 7 November 1811, 128 and no. 129, 9 November 1811, no. 130, 14 November 1811, no. 132, 19 November 1811, and no. 136, 28 November de 1811. Register of conta no. 157, Lisbon, 4 April 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 57v-59r.

<sup>184</sup> Register of conta no. 281, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 24 March 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, f. 20r-21r; register of conta no. 317, 24 November 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316 f. 94r-98r; register of conta no. 394, 13 February 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 51-56; register of *aviso* from the Marquis of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 20 June 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, pp. 10-12; register of conta no. 522, 21 March 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 201-202. Similar periods of time elapsed involving the Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha. In the end of May 1809, the *secretário dos Negócios da Marinha e da Guerra* in Lisbon wrote an *ofício* to the *secretário de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos* in Rio, regarding doubts on the competencies of the *Conselho Ultramarino*, raised in the second week of May. After three months, the secretary of state answered communicating the decision of the Prince Regent that in turn was communicated by the *secretário dos Negócios da Marinha e da Guerra* to the *Conselho Ultramarino* by the *aviso* of 29 December 1809. *Ofício* from Count of Anadia to Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 24 August 1809, with note, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, caixas não catalogadas, cx. 245, no. 2.

<sup>185</sup> The official resolution on the dismissal of Cipriano Ribeiro Freire from the Foreign Affairs and the Real Erário in Lisbon took around a year and a half to be settled through the correspondence between the governors of the Kingdom and the Prince Regent and the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Rio de Janeiro. Three months for the governors to answer negatively by the conta no. 48, dated 7 May 1810, to the royal order dated 13 January 1810, refusing the dismissal of Cipriano Ribeiro Freire and his replacement by Forjaz and by the Count of Redondo. Another three months elapsed for the Prince Regent to answer to the governors more to their contentment and appointing Freire to President of the *Junta do Comércio*. Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 18 August 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 166-168. This affair closed only almost six months after, with the sending to the Prince Regent of the conta no. 69, dated 10 November 1810, participating the execution of the last royal orders

with routine matters, involving the succession of several documents, in the domain of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* as well as in the domain of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*.<sup>186</sup> In the case of appointments to official posts in Portugal, and to obviate this slowness, people often held their offices *ad interim*, as soon as the governors of the Kingdom decided favourably, under the condition of presenting the final document signed by the sovereign in due time. This occurred especially with appointments of military men and decisive civil local authorities attending to the war needs.<sup>187</sup>

---

and asking about the continuity of Forjaz in the War and Foreign Affairs and with the favourable reply, by the *aviso* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* Count of Aguiar that the governors of the Kingdom received probably in May 1811. Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 3 February 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 220-222. More time and more documents were involved in the handling of the request from Sebastião Martins Mestre of a *tença* (pension) regarding his military services during the Restoration in the Algarve, and initiated by a *representação* or *requerimento* from the Headquarter of Chaves (Northeast Portugal), dated 30 May 1809. This was followed by an *ofício* from Field Marshall Lopes de Sousa to the secretary of state of the Foreign and War Affairs in Rio, from Almada (on the left bank of the River Tagus, facing Lisbon), dated 6 October 1809, sending documents with regard to the services done by Mestre under his orders. On 9 March 1810, in Rio de Janeiro, the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* issued an *aviso* to the governors of the Kingdom on this matter. In parallel, he received an *ofício* from the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* from the Court, dated 25 June 1810, returning the documents enclosed to the *requerimento* from Mestre, to whom the sovereign had meanwhile conceded a pension and the habit of the Order of Christ. In Portugal, the Bishop and Governor *ad interim* of Algarve produced an *informação* from Faro dated 22 October 1810, on his services, which was certainly requested by the governors of the Kingdom. Finally, on 19 January 1811, the governors of the Kingdom produced an *ofício* interposing with recommendation that arrived in Rio two or three months later. The answer from the governors of the Kingdom to the secretary of state took ten months but the whole procedure around two years. *Ofício* no. 140, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 19 January 1811, and documents enclosed, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888. When the carrying out of the affairs involved authorities outside of Lisbon they naturally took longer. The roads were bad and the mail system as a state service dated of 1799 and worked badly. See S. G. P. Ward, *Wellington's headquarters: a study of the administrative problems in the Peninsula 1809-1814*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957, p. 103 and 123; A. H. de Oliveira Marques, (ed.), *Portugal e a instauração do Liberalismo*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2002, pp. 72-73 and 139-140. Several times letters went astray, as Villiers blamed regarding to correspondence from Beresford. Extract of *ofício* from Villiers to Forjaz, 15 January 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 29r.

<sup>186</sup> *Ofício* no. 68, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 16 May 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 886; *ofício* no. 70, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 23 May 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 886; *ofício* no. 166, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 18 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888; *ofício* no. 168 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 22 March 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 888.

<sup>187</sup> The Prince Regent allowed this by the royal letter of instructions to the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 2 January 1809, register, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 1-32.



The long periods of time that the official answers took, aggravated by the Atlantic travel, forced the petitioners to address the officials directly. This not only increased the administrative work it created even more records.<sup>188</sup>

---

<sup>188</sup> In the sequence of a letter from a petitioner, D. Miguel sent an *ofício* to Salter de Mendonça, in order to know if his *requerimento* had arrived from Rio de Janeiro to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. A week later Salter answered that the *requerimento* had come and the government had made an *informação* on 11 February 1817. *Ofício* from D. Miguel Forjaz to Salter de Mendonça, Calçada da Ajuda, 8 July 1817, and note on, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 430. In parallel, the British *chargé d’Affairs* in Lisbon wrote to Forjaz requesting him to know if the royal decision on the *consulta* of the *Conselho da Fazenda* sent to Rio de Janeiro, through the *Repartição* of the Kingdom Affairs, by *ofício* of 8 October 1816, had arrived. The *consulta* was about the rights to the remains of the shipwreck of the English Ship ‘Harriot’, in Algarve. On 21 August 1817, Forjaz wrote accordingly to Salter de Mendonça who twelve days later answered that the *consulta* with the royal resolution had not yet arrived. *Ofício* from D. Miguel Forjaz to Salter de Mendonça, Calçada da Ajuda, 21 August 1817, and note on, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 430.

### 5.3 Record-keeping systems

In this chapter we are going to look at the archival systems used by both the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, paying particular attention to the groups of documents produced between November 1807 and September 1820 in Lisbon or April 1821 in Rio de Janeiro. More relevance will be given to the systems that functioned in Lisbon, although and whenever possible the form in which the documents emanating from those *secretarias de Estado* were organised in Rio de Janeiro will be mentioned. Aspects of the organisation of the documents created by the *Conselho de Estado* and documents referenced as documents from the *Real Gabinete* will be also studied.

The documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Lisbon underwent a new system of classification and organisation at the time of the Restoration of Portuguese sovereignty in September 1808.

Pedro de Alcantara Pereira Rolim, porter and bookkeeper to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, was the man in charge of renewing the system.<sup>189</sup> In his capacity as porter, Rolim kept a close eye on the incoming documents, particularly the petitions, as well as the respective administrative procedures.<sup>190</sup> On 20 September 1808,

---

<sup>189</sup> Pedro de Alcântara Pereira Rolim (as nowadays it is spelt) deserves to be studied not least due to the archival work that he carried out within this *Secretaria de Estado*. He held these posts in 1807, before the departure of the Prince Regent to Rio de Janeiro. At the time, he lived in Alcolena. *Almanach de Lisboa*, 1807, p. 96. Alcolena was placed in the Alto da Ajuda where the *secretarias de Estado* worked. In 1812 and in 1814, his address was the Palace of the Regency. *Almanach de Lisboa*, 1812, p. 42, 1814, p. 42. But in 1817 and 1820, his address was Rua da Fé no. 11, not much far from the Palace. *Almanach de Lisboa*, 1817, p. 43, 1820, p. 180. In 1816 he requested the post of *oficial ordinário* (official) for him and, for his son Tomás dos Santos Pereira Rolim, the post of *oficial supranumerário* (official supernumerary) of the same *Secretaria de Estado*. Register of conta no. 445, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 28 November 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 264-265. This was refused alleging the excessive number of officials of the *Secretarias de Estado* and that Rolim was already being paid enough. Aviso from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of the Rio de Janeiro, 27 November 1817, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, pp. 134-135. A year later, another relative of his, Joaquim Isidoro Pereira Rolim, requested the post of '*escrivão dos Direitos Reais da Porta de Santa Apolónia*', a Customs scrivener. Abstract of conta no. 565, from the governors of the Kingdom to the King, 23 December 1818, *Elenco...*, p. 419. In 1820 his son Tomás dos Santos Rolim was his assistant at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. *Almanach de Lisboa*, 1820, p. 180.

<sup>190</sup> See 'Papéis expedidos' / 'Livros de Porta', 1807-1821, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 1796-1815. In these documents the names of the petitioners or their representatives were recorded by alphabetic order, daily, following the corresponding decision. This was used most probably to provide information to the petitioners and also to control the service. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 616, capilha ano 1810-1822. Rolim, when requested, returned to the petitioners the enclosed documents to their refused

the day after the first meeting of the members of the Portuguese Regency, led by the British Army, Rolim was about to rearrange the space and furniture at the Palace of Government, headquarters for the government.<sup>191</sup> But most importantly, Rolim was organising the documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* preparing the organisation of those which were going to be produced and received. As a by-product of this task, a manuscript was produced with the title: '*Sistêma Que regula a divisão e colocação dos Papeis do Archivo desta Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino, organizado na Epoca da Restauração da Monarquia no anno de 1808*',<sup>192</sup> This manuscript contains about 78 folios without numbers. In the '*Expozição*' to this manuscript, Rolim explained its context and purpose. It was a 'New Epoch' in which the 'running of the Affairs' controlled by the 'Legitimate Government' was initiated. The 'papers' that supported this activity (or Ministry) would start a 'new Archive' in a 'methodical order'. This arrangement would serve as a 'rule for the future' and would form the base of the future archive. Rolim afterwards proposed to organise the documents following a class system, corresponding to the various affairs of the *Secretaria de Estado*, with divisions, according to the subjects. He emphasised also the possibility of increasing the categories and divisions.<sup>193</sup> The documents to be organised according to this system were the papers, the documents by contrast to the register books; these were to be the object of another instrument of control of documents, compiled by Rolim and consisting of a catalogue dated from 1812.<sup>194</sup> The papers and the books of register, corresponded to the first level of organisation of the documents of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*.

---

*requerimentos*. See receipts signed by Rolim, mç. 495, cx. 616, capilha ano 1810-1822 or notes by Rolim on *requerimentos*, 1820, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 892.

<sup>191</sup> Register of aviso from João A. Salter de Mendonça to João Diogo de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa, Lisbon, 20 September 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 38r.

<sup>192</sup> 'System that regulates the division and placement of the Papers of the Archive of this *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, arranged during the Epoch of the Restoration of the Monarchy in the year 1808' IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560 This was published, excluding the index, as an appendix, by José Subtil, 'A formulação das hipóteses e a observação em História: O caso da História Política e Institucional Moderna: com um anexo sobre o sistema de arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino em 1808, transcrição do original' *Anais: série história*, 3-4 (1996-1997), 155-188.

<sup>193</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 2-3.

<sup>194</sup> 'Catalogo Dos Livros de Registo desta Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino, ordenado por Systema que regula a sua colocação e arrecadação. 1 de Julho de 1812.', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561. Translating: 'Catalogue of the Register Books of this Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino, arranged by System that regulates its placement and keeping. 1 July 1812'.

Rolim established in his System, eighteen categories to organise the documents, which in general, corresponded to the affairs of the *Secretaria de Estado* as Rolim himself admitted.<sup>195</sup> In practice, not all classes referred to capacities or duties of the *Secretaria de Estado*, albeit these being implicitly included. Some of the denominations of categories referred to types of documents such as III *Consultas* from *tribunais*, IX *Contas* and *informações* or XVIII *Petições*: these last two also included other types of documents. Other classes designated a certain type of authorities or institutions, as for instance, the cases belonging to IV *Magistrados e outros empregos com autoridade privativa na Administração Pública*, or V *Repartições publicas*, and VI *Companhias*. Other categories referred still to administrative actions as in X *Despachos com portarias extraídas* or XI *Despachos para se extraírem portarias*, and XII *Serviços decretados e consultados*. The grouping of the classes, or at least the grouping of the initial four, followed some criteria of valorisation according to the subjects or attributions that appeared in the respective documents.<sup>196</sup>

The divisions were concerned with the jurisdictions (I *Negócios Eclesiásticos* were divided into *Patriarcado*, *Arcebispado*, *Bispado*, *Colegiadas*<sup>197</sup> ...) the authorities (II *Serviço e expediente do Paço e de tudo o que pertence à Casa Real* was divided into *capelão-mor*, *mordomo-mor*, *estribeiro-mor*) and institutions (III *Consultas dos tribunais* were divided among the various *tribunais*; V *Repartições públicas* were divided among the various departments). They also concerned administrative acts, type of documents and type of institutions, at times combined in the same class, (VII *Papéis diferentes*) and concerned type and competence or duties carried out by the author of the documents (IX *Contas e informações* were divided into IX.1 *Contas e informações dos magistrados com*

---

<sup>195</sup> They were the following: I *Negócios Eclesiásticos*, II *Serviço e Expediente do Paço e de tudo quanto pertence à Casa Real*, III *Consultas dos Tribunais*, IV *Magistrados e outros empregos com autoridade privativa na Administração Pública*, V *Repartições Publicas*, VI *Companhias encarregadas da Administração de diferentes ramos do comércio nacional*, VII *Papéis diferentes*, VIII *Negócios Públicos do Estado*, IX *Contas e informações*, X *Despachos com portarias extraídas*, XI *Despachos para se extraírem portarias*, XII *Serviços decretados e consultados*, XIII *Papéis de serviços fiscalizados e não decretados*, XIV *Papéis de serviços que foram decretados*, XV *Papéis do mês*, XVI *Papéis do foro judicial*, XVII *Papéis do expediente ordinário*, XVIII *Petições*.

<sup>196</sup> The class *Negócios Eclesiásticos* was the first because, according to Rolim, in a Christian Monarchy the ecclesiastic condition must be venerated and the Portuguese sovereigns always cared for the sacred character of the religious ministers. The second class, *Serviço do Paço e da Casa Real* was the first of the civil order, because the service immediate to the sovereign was the most important. 'Classificação do sistema' in 'Sistêma...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 4 r.

<sup>197</sup> Patriarchate, archiepiscopate, bishopric, collegiates...

*autoridade constituída no foro civil criminal e de arrecadação da Fazenda em Lisboa*,<sup>198</sup>

IX.2 *Contas e informações de pessoas empregadas nos diferentes ramos da administração pública em Lisboa*,<sup>199</sup> IX.3 *Contas e informações dos consules*).

The documents belonging to the divisions, were, at times, organised chronologically (*X Despachos com portarias extraídas*) or chronologically and in alphabetical order (*XIV Papéis de serviços que foram decretados*). When subdivisions existed, the organisational criteria were equally diverse: institutional, geographical, type of documents, type of activity, administrative act.<sup>200</sup>

Rolim improved the System by frequent annotations. He explained the remit of the class,<sup>201</sup> division or subdivision, while characterising the respective documents,<sup>202</sup> above all when including documents that did not seem to be covered by the nomenclature, as for instance, *Capelas Reais* (Royal Chapels) including the *Casa de Bragança* and the *Casa do Infantado*<sup>203</sup> or *Administração das Alfândegas de Lisboa* (Administration of the Lisbon Customs), including the customs levied within the Kingdom of Portugal as well as the Lisbon and Porto customs affairs.<sup>204</sup> He alluded to facts explaining the creation and sequence of certain documents,<sup>205</sup> or the cessations of others.<sup>206</sup> He provided legislative references concerning posts,<sup>207</sup> and institutions, including almost all of the tribunals,<sup>208</sup> as well as almost all of the public departments.<sup>209</sup> In certain cases he also indicated the order by which the documents were organised.<sup>210</sup> Furthermore, Rolim compiled complementary

---

<sup>198</sup> *Contas and informações* from magistrates with authority in criminal tribunals and collecting for the Exchequer in Lisbon.

<sup>199</sup> *Contas and informações* from persons employed in the various branches of the Civil Service in Lisbon.

<sup>200</sup> Subtil simplified this taxonomy, as he called it, especially as what concerned the divisions and subdivisions. He based the class on government areas, all the divisions on organic criteria and the subdivisions on '*unidades processuais*' (file units?). Subtil, 'A formulação das hipóteses e a observação em História...', p. 3.

<sup>201</sup> See 'Classeificação do Sistema' in 'Sistêma Que regula...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 4r-7r.

<sup>202</sup> Class XI and XI.5. *Petições de hora*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 38r and f. 27v.

<sup>203</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 10r.

<sup>204</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 25r.

<sup>205</sup> I.2. *Arcebispos e bispados do Reino e Ilhas Adjacentes e do Ultramar*, and XVIII.3. *Petições e mais papéis de franceses*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 9v and f. 45r.

<sup>206</sup> III.4. *Junta dos Três Estados* IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 20r.

<sup>207</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 12r, 13r, 13 v, 14r, 24r-v.

<sup>208</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 15r-18v.

<sup>209</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 25r-28r and f. 29r.

<sup>210</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 25r-28r and f. 29r.

lists that described documents of a class,<sup>211</sup> division<sup>212</sup> or subdivision,<sup>213</sup> attributing a reference number to the different archival items.

As far as the register books of the *Secretaria de Estado* are concerned, the catalogue of 1812 separated them into two classes. Class I included the books of general register and class II, the auxiliary books. The books of general register were distributed between 16 numbers to which corresponded designations related to types of documents, administrative acts and others reflecting the activity recorded. Rolim, contrary to what he had done in the System, did not mark these subclasses as divisions. He occasionally used the term class.<sup>214</sup> However within number 14 *Roma*, Rolim considered three divisions.<sup>215</sup> The class pertaining to auxiliary books was organised in four divisions: I *Serviço da Corte*, II *Tribunais*, III *Repartições subalternas* IV *Disposições extraordinárias*.<sup>216</sup> These auxiliary registers were still subdivided into numbers to which corresponded designations based on different criteria, namely, institutions, departments or responsibilities, administrative acts, functions, themes and geography. Each book was numbered.

The catalogue comprised at the end, a list of the register books rescued from the fire that followed the Earthquake of 1755, and which were kept in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. Rolim presented a short list of books of register compiled after the Earthquake but which were lost. On the other hand, and as in the System, the catalogue of the books of register included a systematic table of contents. Rolim also

---

<sup>211</sup> See 'Lista Dos Papeis que comprehendem os Negocios Publicos do Estado. Pertencem à Classe VIII', ms., 67 f., IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2562. Paulo Cascalheira, when arranging the records of the *Ministério dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e da Justiça* at the IAN/TT acknowledged us this document. This list described records produced from 27 November 1807 to 30 May 1818.

<sup>212</sup> See references made by Rolim, regarding Class I, Division 12. *Negocios Eclesiásticos em Geral*; Class VII, Division 1. *Decretos e outras Ordens Régias cuja execução compete somente à Secretaria de Estado*; Class XVI, Divisions 1. *Autos* 2. *Devassas* 3. *Processos e Summarios* 4, IAN/TT, liv. 2560, f. 11v., f. 30r and f. 43r.

<sup>213</sup> See 'Assento das ordens de Sua Alteza Real expedidas da Corte do Rio de Janeiro ao Governo destes Reinos. Providencias extraordinarias. Principia no anno de 1809', 2 January 1809-10 December 1819, ms., 100 f. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242. This is a detailed chronological list of royal extraordinary orders from the Court in Rio de Janeiro to the governors of the Kingdom, documents that belonged to Class VII Division 2 Subdivision 1. This list refers the type of document (*aviso*, royal letter, decree) and its contents and sometimes comprises annotations regarding its register.

<sup>214</sup> These 16 numbers were the following: 1. *Cartas, Alvarás e Patentes* 2. *Decretos* 3. *Avisos* 4. *Decretos ou Decretamentos de Serviços* 5. *Portarias* 6. *Cartas do Reino* 7. *Nomeações de Ministros para os Tribunaes* 8. *Bachareis*, 9. *Pautas* 10. *Universidade* 11. *Comendas* 12. *Grãs-Cruzes*, 13. *Decimas*, 14. *Roma* 15. *Folhas* 16. *Não providos*.

<sup>215</sup> I *Graças de Roma*, II *Roma e Nunciatura*, III *Roma: apresentação de benefícios*.

<sup>216</sup> I Court Service, II Departments, III Subordinate departments, IV Extraordinary dispositions.

improved it with annotations on the type and content of the registered documents,<sup>217</sup> with various legislative references,<sup>218</sup> as mention of administrative procedures,<sup>219</sup> and forwarding to other register books.<sup>220</sup> Both these finding aids were subsequently annotated with observations related to the transfer of various documents to offices that inherited part of the jurisdiction of this *Secretaria de Estado*, a case of the *Secretaria de Estado Negócios Eclesiásticos e da Justiça*, (Ecclesiastical and Justice Affairs), created on 28 August 1821. These finding aids were used to organise the documents produced and received by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* since its foundation in 1736 until around 1833 and that survived the Earthquake of 1755.<sup>221</sup>

Through these finding aids and the records themselves, it is possible to grasp the way in which they were organised at the time, and the new series of documents that were being produced at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Lisbon. As far as the books of general register are concerned, basically there was no interruption in the distinctive series, though there was at times, interruption of registers. As a demonstration we shall refer to two paradigmatic cases. The register of letters, *alvarás* and patents during this period, included the respective series initiated in 1736, when the *Secretaria de Estado* was created - although it registers previously dated documents. Between August 1807 and 4 October 1808 there were no registers, coinciding with the period of the French invasion.<sup>222</sup> But from October 1808, the registers continued until 1822, even after the Revolution of 1820 and the return of the King to Portugal. The series finished only in 1876. Also the general register of sent *avisos* forms a continuous series from 1756 until 1833. The books related to the period under study were included in this series.<sup>223</sup> In this particular case, the registers continued even during the period of Junot's government.

---

<sup>217</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 15r, 16r-17, 18r, 19r, 20r, 22r, 25r, 26r, 27r, 29r, 34r, 35r, 36r, 37r, 38r, 39r, 40r, 41r, 42r, 43r, 44r, 47r, 50r, 51r, 52r, 53r, 56r, 58r, 59r, 60r, 61r, 62r, 64r, 65r-66r, 67r, 68r, 72r.

<sup>218</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 27r, 29r, 54r, 55r, 56r, 57r, 58r, 63r, 64r.

<sup>219</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 21r.

<sup>220</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 24r.

<sup>221</sup> This was the final date of several of the series of books of register appointed in the *Catalogo...* See, among others, the series of books of the *Conselho Ultramarino Erário Régio*, *Junta da Administração do Tabaco*, *Intendente Geral da Polícia* and *Biblioteca Pública*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 51r, 53r, 60r, 73r, 81r.

<sup>222</sup> IAN/TT,MR, liv. 1138, f. 43v-45r.

<sup>223</sup> 1806-1821, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 38-liv. 57 and indexes, liv. 625-liv. 644. These alphabets were smaller books, not numbered at the time, that were placed inside the register books of *avisos*.

Rolim's classification as well as the number of the book and the inclusive dates of the registers was placed on the spines of the books.<sup>224</sup>

As far as the class of auxiliary books is concerned we have a similar situation. This deals with the case of the register of *consultas* of the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço*, classified by Rolim in Division II *Tribunais*, 1 *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço*. This classification was also placed in the spines of the books.<sup>225</sup> There was also continuity during the French occupation and during Junot's direct and subsequent government,<sup>226</sup> with one exception. This was the case of the books classified as Division IV *Disposições extraordinárias* 1 *Regência*, which started in 1807 and with a final date of 1820: unfortunately they could not be located.

In compensation, the books of register of the *contas* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* and its successors after the Revolution of September 1820, addressed to the Prince Regent and later on to the King,<sup>227</sup> were not considered in the classification, either as general register books or auxiliary books. The King's orders to the governors of the Kingdom and *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*<sup>228</sup> were also not included in this classification. As they formed new series, corresponding to a new document circuit also attached to a new government organ, they were part of an archive that temporarily functioned close by the governors of the Kingdom, in the Government Palace. They were, nevertheless, integrated into the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in a period after the cessation of the functions of the governors of the Kingdom and of those that succeeded them, in a provisional regime, following the Revolution of 1820.

As for the documents that did not comply with a register format, the Rolim's papers, more new series were created which the system of classification reflected. This happened with the documents that formed part of the following classes: in Class VII

---

<sup>224</sup> For instance, 'Avisos. N<sup>o</sup> 3. Classe 1<sup>a</sup>. 1810 até 1811' written in block letters on glued paper labels, and 37 written in ink. IAN/TT, MR, liv. 41.

<sup>225</sup> See, for instance, 'Meza do Desembargo do Paço. N<sup>o</sup> 1. Classe 2<sup>a</sup>. 1805 ate 1809.' Written in block letters on glued paper labels, and 21 written in ink, corresponding to the number of the volume. IAN/TT, MR, liv. 262. The volumes corresponding to the whole period are the following: 1805-1822, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 262-268. See also the corresponding indexes, IAN/TT, liv. 741-747.

<sup>226</sup> IAN/TT, MR, liv. 262, f. 203r-238v and following.

<sup>227</sup> 'Registo das Cartas que os Governadores do Reino de Portugal escrevem para o Rio de Janeiro ao Principe Regente Nosso Senhor / ao Rei Nosso Senhor', no. 1-7, 18 October 1808-September 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314-320, followed by 'Livro 8<sup>o</sup> Da Correspondencia do Governo de Portugal com a Côte do Rio de Janeiro', 25 September 1820-12 May 1821, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 321.

<sup>228</sup> 'Registo das Ordens de S.A.R. O Principe Regente Nosso Senhor / S.M. O Rei para os Governadores do Reino...', 2 January 1809-25 August 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380-383.



*Papéis diferentes*, Division 2 *Ordens da Corte do Rio de Janeiro*, subdivided in 1 *Avisos e outras ordens relativas a providências e deliberações extraordinárias*<sup>229</sup> and in 2 *Avisos com remessas de requerimentos de partes*;<sup>230</sup> Class VII *Papéis diferentes*, Division 3 *Ofícios e cartas de ministros do corpo diplomático e de outras diferentes pessoas*, subdivided by sender;<sup>231</sup> Class VIII *Negócios Públicos do Estado*;<sup>232</sup> Class IX *Contas e informações*, Division 2, Subdivision 3 *Contas e informações das Juntas Provisionais de Governo erectas pelos povos na Restauração do Reino*;<sup>233</sup> Class XVIII *Petições*, Subdivision 3 *Petições e mais papéis de franceses*, organised in 6 subdivisions.<sup>234</sup> Some series started in November 1807, another in July 1808, when the *Juntas* against the French first appeared, others in September 1808, after the Restoration of Portuguese sovereignty and the majority in 1809, further to the establishment of regular document

---

<sup>229</sup> *Avisos* and other orders regarding extraordinary dispositions and deliberations. Part of these documents are inside a contemporary folder entitled 'Ordens da Corte do Rio de Janeiro. Negócios diversos relativos ao Governo do Rio de Janeiro. 1809-1820' and another part placed individually into folders, sometimes two or three via together, with an abstract and annotations about the administrative and archival procedure, made by Rolim and similar to the 'Assento das ordens de Sua Alteza Real expedidas da Corte do Rio de Janeiro ao Governo destes Reinos. Providencias extraordinarias.' that described these documents, but not so complete. The documents seem to have been arranged chronologically. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242, cx. 325-326. This large mç. 242 comprises also drafts and minutes of *contas* from the governors of the Kingdom to D. João and documents dated 1821 and 1822 concerning Brazil after the return of the King D. João to Portugal and headed D. Pedro Emperor... from Brazil. The bundle is not yet arranged and described. See also 1809-1821, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 235-239.

<sup>230</sup> *Avisos* with remittances of petitions from parts. 1809-1821, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 221-234. This series comprises mainly the *avisos*. The *requerimentos* were included within another series.

<sup>231</sup> 1. Do Secretário do Governo encarregado dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Guerra e Marinha, 1809-1815, 1816-1820, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 429-430; 2. Do Marechal Beresford, Comandante das Tropas Portuguesas, 1808-1814, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 21; 3. Do Marechal General Duque da Vitória, Lord Wellington, 1810-1812, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, cx. 477, macete 22; 4. Dos Generais, Estado Maior e mais empregados nas Forças Britânicas em Portugal; 5. Dos Ministros Estrangeiros, Ofícios de Mr. Villiers, ministro de Inglaterra, 1809-1810 and Ofícios de Mr. Stuart, ministro de Inglaterra, 1810-1811, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356; 6. De Magistrados e outras Pessoas da Administração Pública Civil e Militar, incluindo o Corpo Diplomático Nacional, Ofícios do Conde do Funchal, ministro de Portugal em Inglaterra, 1810-1814, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356; 7. De Pessoas particulares em objectos do Serviço.

<sup>232</sup> Public Affairs of State. The following records belonged to this class: 'Diarios das Deliberações da Regencia. De 27 de Novembro de 1807, até 30 de Janeiro de 1808', IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356, macete 6; Exposições de Pedro de Mello Breyner, sendo Governador do Porto,... 1807, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 355. See also 'Lista Dos Papeis que comprehendem os Negocios Publicos do Estado', November 1807-May 1818, IAN/TT, MNEJ.

<sup>233</sup> *Contas* and *informações* of the Provisional Juntas of Government, erected by the peoples in the Restoration of the Kingdom. 1808-1808, IAN/TT, mç. 593.

<sup>234</sup> Petitions and more French papers. 1. Numero de Franceses existentes em cada hum dos Bairros de Lisboa; 2. Papéis apreendidos a Franceses; 3. Contas e Informações diferentes relativas a Franceses; 4. Requerimentos de Franceses resolutos, 1809-1811; 5. Requerimentos de Franceses não resolutos, 1809-1810, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 445; 6. Papeis do confiscado Ayres de Saldanha, que foi Conde da Ega, that included four lists of the papers, and other documents, ca. 1813, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 445.

flow between Lisbon and Rio. None of them continued beyond 1820 or 1821. But the majority of the documents produced between November 1807 and September 1820 or April 1821, were included in classes composed of series or sub-series with an initial date prior to November 1807. For example, Class XI *Despachos para se extrairer portarias* comprised the documents produced in that period, namely the petitions presented in Lisbon that initiated the respective administrative procedure and gave rise to a file.<sup>235</sup>

At the time, this classification was frequently written either on the documents themselves,<sup>236</sup> or on the folder that covered the sets or sub-series organised by Rolim.<sup>237</sup> It is difficult to know when the classification was applied but judging from the possible dates between which Rolim was in charge, and at least until 1818,<sup>238</sup> it does not appear to have been much longer after the final despatch of the documents in the *Secretaria de Estado*, at the time that they were going to be kept. Furthermore, Rolim produced accompanying instructions and controlled the circulation of documents, at least in some cases. There are still notes made by him and placed in the *ofícios* from the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, recording either that the answer document was issued<sup>239</sup> or that the *ofícios* were kept.<sup>240</sup> Several of the enclosed documents to these *ofícios* were kept together, others were separated and classified in a different way, due to a distinct administrative procedure.<sup>241</sup>

---

<sup>235</sup> See, for instance, *requerimento* from Pedro Alexandre Cavroe, writer at the *Mnemosine Constitucional*, [1820] or *requerimento* from Pedro António Camarino, [1817], IAN/TT, MR, mç. 892.

<sup>236</sup> Rolim classified many *ofícios* from the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* at the class level by Rolim, (VII) in pen in the f. 2v. See, for instance, 1816, and the *ofícios* from April 1817 onwards, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 430.

<sup>237</sup> Class VII in the *Ofícios e cartas do Marechal Beresford, Marquês de Campo Maior, 1808-1814* and *Ofícios e cartas do Marechal Duque de Vitória, Lord Wellington, 1810-1812*, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356; Class XVIII, *Papeis do confiscado Ayres de Saldanha, que foi Conde da Ega*, four lists of the papers, ca. 1813, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 445. In several documents that sometimes composed cases begun by petitions from clerks of the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, it was recorded in pen 'Classe 5ª Repartições Públicas, Div. 10, Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo'. Besides, they were covered with folders and, sometimes, an abstract of their contents preceded them. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, *capilha* ano 1810-1822.

<sup>238</sup> 'Lista Dos Papeis que comprehendem os Negocios Publicos do Estado', 1807-1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2562.

<sup>239</sup> See, for instance, *ofício* from D. Miguel Forjaz to Salter de Mendonça, Calçada d'Ajuda, 15 February 1816, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 430.

<sup>240</sup> Rolim wrote a G initial of 'garde-se' in some of the *ofícios*, 1810, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 429.

<sup>241</sup> The representation dated 19 October 1810, enclosed with the *ofício* from Forjaz to Salter de Mendonça, Belém 14 November 1810, was kept under the 'Contas, Informações das Províncias. Divisão do Porto', most probably Class IX, Div. 6, according to the note stuck the mentioned *ofício*, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 429. The *requerimento* from a Frenchman, with enclosed document, both enclosed with the *ofício* from Forjaz to Salter de Mendonça, Belém, 22 December 1810, was kept separated under the Class XVIII. Div. 3, Subdivision 4. *Requerimentos de Franceses*

The organisation of the documents was done in several ways and the chronological distribution was frequent, although the date to which the documents referred to could vary. In certain cases, the date referred to the production of the document,<sup>242</sup> while in others the date referred to either the resolution of the matter dealt with in the document or to the issuing of other documents regarding that resolution, in which case the date was entered into a note in the document.<sup>243</sup> Other documents were grouped by alphabetical order of Christian names.<sup>244</sup> In certain situations the criteria were combined.<sup>245</sup> At times it could include a geographical organisation at a previous level.<sup>246</sup>

As far as filing was concerned, part of the documents of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* were kept in numbered folders.<sup>247</sup> The registers as Rolim's classification specifies, were generally bound in books, frequently in parchment over cardboard folders. The retrieval of information was probably done in a combination of classification and the number of storage unit, written in Roman and/or Arabic numbers. However, the exact location of the Archive of the *Secretaria de Estado* it is not known. It is possible that some of the document series produced by the governors of the Kingdom were kept, at least temporarily at the Government Palace. But the bulk was packed up at the place where the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* was installed at *Calçada da Ajuda*; in the event of the Peninsular War, the houses of this *secretaria de Estado* were used as a sick-ward for English officers convalescing, and therefore it was necessary to clear them rapidly. The books and papers were transported to the *Pátio das Vacas*,<sup>248</sup> also

---

rezolutos, 1809-1811, or 5. Requerimentos de Franceses não rezolutos, 1809-1810. See IAN/TT, MR, mç. 445.

<sup>242</sup> 'Avisos, e outras Ordens relativas a Providencias, e Deliberações Extraordinarias', 'Sistêma...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 30r and IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242; documents classified as 'Negocios Publicos do Estado', Sistêma..., IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 33r, see these documents and corresponding list, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 356. See also 'Sistêma...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 32r.

<sup>243</sup> 'Sistêma...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 36r, 42r. The registers of the *consultas* from the *Desembargo do Paço* follow the date of the decision by the governors of the Kingdom or by the sovereign. IAN/TT, MR, liv. 262.

<sup>244</sup> 'Sistêma...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 37v, 39r, 40r.

<sup>245</sup> 'Avisos com remessas de Requerimentos de Partes', 'Sistêma...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 30r, and IAN/TT, MR, mç. 221-234. See also 'Sistêma...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 41r.

<sup>246</sup> For instance, the *contas* and *informações* from the territorial ministers and Câmaras, were separated by province and within this were arranged by *comarca*, a judicial district. 'Sistêma...', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 35r.

<sup>247</sup> See 'Lista dos papeis que comprehendem os Negocios Publicos do Estado'. Pertencem à Classe VIII', IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2562.

<sup>248</sup> This palace, mentioned as '*Antigo Palácio das Secretarias de Estado*' was shown at the 13, *Calçada da Ajuda* in a later plan of the Royal Palace of Ajuda and surroundings. *Planta do Real Palácio da Ajuda e das suas cercanias*, Lit. da Imprensa Nacional, Emygdio grav. 1869, IAN/TT, Arquivo da Casa Real, Almoxarifado da Ajuda, 251.

known as Jardim da Rainha.<sup>249</sup> For several years at least, this as well as other *secretarias de Estado* freed by the English, were being refurbished to allow books and papers to be returned to their proper order.<sup>250</sup>

The organisation of the documents in the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Brazil (*Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* and subsequently *do Reino do Brasil*), is not very well known. Firstly, no reference exists to systems of classification or lists of documents of the time. Also the documents belonging to this *secretaria de Estado* that remained in Brazil after the return of D. João VI, mainly the documents that were not registers and those that were related to the Affairs of the Kingdom in Portugal, were in part divided up and are not always identified by its provenance, and therefore, its access is laborious.<sup>251</sup>

As far as the registers are concerned, generally from 1808 or 1809 onwards, new series in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* were started, although the registers started in Lisbon were discontinued. The same happened to the registers of *tribunais* recreated in Rio de Janeiro, with the exception of some series belonging to the *Real Erário*.<sup>252</sup> The majority of the series of registers, excluding the ones resulting from central government duties specific to Portugal,<sup>253</sup> were continued after the return of the king, D. Pedro's regency and the independence of Brazil, without even the book being changed.<sup>254</sup> These new series were similar to the ones existing in the Kingdom and started prior to the Court's departure. To a certain extent these were parallel series, corresponding

---

<sup>249</sup> Register of ofício from João Diogo de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz. IAN/TT, MFF liv. 2979, f. 66r-66v.

<sup>250</sup> Register of conta no. 401, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Palace of Government, 28 March 1816, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 317, pp. 80-84.

<sup>251</sup> We are speaking specifically of the records gathered in the collection known as *Negócios de Portugal*, in the ANRJ.

<sup>252</sup> See 'Registro de cartas e provisões régias do Real Erário e do Conselho da Fazenda para a Junta da Real Fazenda da Capitania de S. Paulo', ANRJ, 1769-1822, cod. 447, vol. 1-6. This happened also with original documents: 'Provisões do Presidente do Real Erário para a Junta da Arrecadação e Administração da Real Fazenda da Capitania de S. Paulo', 1807-1821, ANRJ, cod. 448, vol. 13-27. See 'Relação de códices da antiga Secção de Documentação Histórica', Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1962, unpublished typescript, 1962, pp. 100-101.

<sup>253</sup> This was the case of the *Registo de avisos e portarias* para várias autoridades de Portugal, 1809-1822, ANRJ, cod. 251, vol. 1-12, or the *Registo de decretos e cartas régias* para Lisboa, 1809-1821, ANRJ, cod. 252, vol. 1-4.

<sup>254</sup> *Registo de leis, alvarás e cartas*, 1808-1867, ANRJ, cod. 528, vol. 1-10 and indexes, vol. 13-20, or IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000. See the register of documents issued by D. Pedro as regent of Brazil, ANRJ, cod. 528, vol. 3, f. 157r onwards, and as emperor of Brazil, f. 172v onwards. *Registo de casamentos e baptizados de membros da família real e imperial*, 9 May 1809-25 March 1845, ANRJ, cod. 263. The last register of a document regarding a sacrament concerning member of the Portuguese royal family was made in the f. 93. After several blank folios, it was registered the marriage of D. Pedro II, emperor of Brazil, in the f. 127r

to similar functions but carried out in two different geographical areas and levels of decision making. At times, some of the registered documents at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*, generally by copy, were also registered in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Lisbon. Besides, while the register books produced in the Kingdom were organised according to Rolim's classification, there is nothing to suggest that in the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*, there existed a similar system of classification.<sup>255</sup> Probably the documents were divided between registers and other documents and organised chronologically and/or alphabetically. Apparently, once the *contas* from the governors of the Kingdom and from the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* were carried out, they were organised by their respective number, with second *vias* being added to them, unless they stayed in the monarch's Cabinet. The *contas* were packed in folders identified with the number of the *conta* and the year, to which the date of the answer was added. Frequently, the annexes were kept together, referenced by the number of the *conta*, also inside folders and preceded by lists of annexes sent from Lisbon.<sup>256</sup>

In addition, it can be seen that the designation of many registers distinguished the documents produced within the remit of the duties of the *Secretaria de Estado* concerning the Kingdom and the Affairs of Portugal,<sup>257</sup> from the documents created within the remit

---

<sup>255</sup> See the following series, though there are more. In Rio de Janeiro, Registo de leis, alvarás e cartas, 1808-1867, ANRJ, cod. 528, vol. 1-3 and index vol. 13, or IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000, and in Lisbon, Registo de cartas, alvarás e patentes, 1805-1822, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 1138 and index liv. 1139, that was classified by Rolim as a *livro de registo geral* in his *Catalogo...*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561. In Rio de Janeiro, Roma e Nunciatura: registo de cartas, ordens régias, avisos para o papa e diversas autoridades eclesiásticas, 1809-1817, IAN/TT, ANRJ, cod. 271, and in Lisbon, as mentioned by Rolim, Roma e Nunciatura, 1807-, vol. 3 also a *livro de registo geral*, *Catalogo...*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 28, not identified nowadays. This latter register might be in the fonds *Ministério dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e da Justiça*, in arrangement in the IAN/TT. In Rio de Janeiro, *Pautas do Reino*, 1813-1817, ANRJ, cod. 267, and in Lisbon, *Pautas*, 1799-1810, 1810-1824, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 388-389, also classified as a *livro de registo geral* by Rolim, *Catalogo...*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 23r. In these books were recorded lists of officials who were elected to the *Câmaras*. In Rio de Janeiro, Registo de avisos e portarias para várias autoridades de Portugal, 1809-1822, ANRJ, cod. 251, vol. 1-12, and in Lisbon, Avisos, 1806-1822, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 38-62, also a *livro de registo geral* according to Rolim, *Catalogo*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 17r-17v. In Rio de Janeiro, Registo de casamentos e baptismos de membros da família real e imperial, 9 May 1809-25 March 1845, ANRJ, cod. 263, and in Lisbon, Matrimónios Reais, 1785-1886, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 1207, and Funcões de baptismos, 1763-, nowadays not identified, both classified by Rolim as *livros auxiliares*, *Catalogo*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561 f. 40r and f. 41r. In Rio de Janeiro, Mordomia-mór, Ordens, 1808-1831, ANRJ, cod. 266, and in Lisbon, as referred by Rolim, Mordomia-mór, liv. 1, 1765-, not identified nowadays, also classified as *livro auxiliar*, *Catalogo...*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 36r.

<sup>256</sup> See, for instance, ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 1.

<sup>257</sup> The expression *Negócios de Portugal* was used at the time meaning the carrying out of the affairs concerning Portugal. Dispatch no. 8, Lord Strangford to G. Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 8

of the Brazil Affairs and the duties exercised by various *tribunais* recreated in Brazil. In this way, groups or series were being compiled with more manageable dimensions, which facilitated the retrieval of information directly through the documents.

The documents of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* presented a different organisation, proceeding from the duties and specific activities of this *Secretaria de Estado*. With reference to the organisation of the central archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Lisbon during the stay of the monarch in Brazil, we based ourselves on the documents of the *Secretaria de Estado*, including the so-called '*Inventario do Archivo do Ministerio dos Negocios Estrangeiros*' executed essentially in 1828.<sup>258</sup> The previous finding aid of the documents of the Foreign Affairs dates from before 1716, which predates the creation of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in 1736.<sup>259</sup> It should be mentioned that in 1876, there was not yet any up-to-date finding aid of the documents belonging to the then *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*. The Commission appointed by the minister for Foreign Affairs to organise the Ministry's Archive and Library, could only find two models of the inventory: since then one of them has disappeared.<sup>260</sup>

Although we are ignorant of the author of this inventory, we know that it contained the documents of the archives of Foreign Affairs dating mainly from the period between the Earthquake in 1755 and 1828. Yet, it included some documents prior to 1755

---

October 1808, FO 63/60, f. 61r-61v. This does not mean that in the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Brazil there was a class of records entitled *Negócios de Portugal*. The existence of a collection named as such in the Arquivo Nacional in Rio de Janeiro might suggest that. But the origin of the collection is not exactly established. It is known that the collection was formed in an undefined date at the Arquivo Nacional, created in 1838 and depending on the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Império* that succeeded to the colonial *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. The records were transferred from their successor, *Ministério do Império*, to the then called *Arquivo Público do Império*, at an unknown date. Afterwards there were additions and withdrawals but the bulk of the records had the provenance mentioned. Besides, the fact that the *Negócios Estrangeiros* were added to the *Secretaria dos Negócios do Reino* between 2 May 1822 and 13 November 1823, might explain why in the collection *Negócios de Portugal*, mainly in the boxes, there are several records that belonged to the colonial *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*.

<sup>258</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192.

<sup>259</sup> '*Inventario dos Livros, Cartas dos Principes e Ministros Assistentes nas Côrtes estrangeiras, Assentos do Conselho d'Estado e de Juntas o qual se fez no anno de 1716*', (Inventory of the Books, Letters from the Princes and Ministers Residents in the foreign Courts, Records of the Council of State and of Juntas, which was made in the year 1716) IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 191. This comprised the records produced until 1736. See also Sampaio, '*O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...*', pp.173-174.

<sup>260</sup> Luís Teixeira Sampaio, '*O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...*', p. 178.

and others produced up to 1833-1834,<sup>261</sup> as well referencing documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* that in the meanwhile had been transferred from Rio de Janeiro. Some lists of documents that were missing from the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, among which were some that had stayed in Brazil, appear to belong to the date of execution of this inventory.<sup>262</sup> The inventory has 309 numbered folios, including some blank ones and a systematic index that excludes the books of register.<sup>263</sup>

There is a classification of the records in this inventory although not in a form expressed in numbers, as was the case of Rolim's System and Catalogue relatively to the records of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. At a first level, the documents were divided in registers and other documents. The inventory was started in order to classify the latter. The great majority of these documents was organised by country, town or state.<sup>264</sup> It was followed by classes of different nature that corresponded mainly to functional needs, namely, *Intendência Geral da Polícia da Corte e Reino*, *Ministério*, *Ministério do Reino*, *Ministério da Justiça*, *Ministério da Fazenda*, *Ministério da Guerra*, *Ministério da Marinha*. But with the exception of the class of *Ministério*, the others contained documents produced only from 1821 onwards. Other classes of documents followed: *Papéis vários em geral*, *Cartas de Príncipes*, *Cartas a Suas*

---

<sup>261</sup> Probably the inventory became more necessary, after February 1828, when the absolutist Prince D. Miguel, held power in Portugal, following the regency of his sister the Infant D. Isabel Maria following political and military conflict between absolutists and liberals. In 1833, the eldest son of D. João VI, who had abdicated of the Brazilian throne and assumed the regency of Portugal in the name of his daughter D. Maria and in defence of a liberal government, disembarked in Lisbon and in May 1834 D. Miguel surrender himself and was expatriated. Maria de Lourdes Rosa, 'Cronologia' in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1993, vol. 8, pp. 329-330.

<sup>262</sup> 'Relação dos officios que faltam no Archivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros, da correspondencia dos Ministros de Portugal noutros Paizes', IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 23 (15). This list comprised the missing *ofícios* from the ministers of Portugal abroad, in general from 1764 to 1828. Often it was mentioned the address Rio de Janeiro or Lisbon. It was also referred that several of the *ofícios* from the Marquis of Marialva in Paris addressed to Rio de Janeiro stayed there.

<sup>263</sup> The index comprehended words that forwarded to other words. For instance: *Mogador*, see *Estados Berberes*; *Grã Bretanha*, see *Inglaterra*; *Tangêr*, see *Estados Berberes*.

<sup>264</sup> They were the following, according to the order by which they appear in the inventory: Spain, Barbary, Naples, Rome, Modena, Liguria, Livorno, Tuscany, Sardinia, Genoa, Austria, Switzerland, Hanover, Mecklenburg, France, Netherlands, Hanseatic Cities, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, England, United States, Brazil (since 1822), Sierra Leone.

*Majestades dirigidas por diversos, Folhas de despesas das Legações Portuguesas, Papéis do Correio Geral e outros, Tratados.*<sup>265</sup>

The first most important classes of geographical and functional nature were subdivided into organic and functional areas, in greater or lesser number, according to the documents produced, reflecting also the degree of the relationship between Portugal and other countries. Under the large classes such as *Inglaterra*, the documents were organised in the following manner: *Legação Portuguesa, Consules Portugueses, Legação Inglesa* and *Despachos para a Legação Portuguesa* and also *Papéis vários*.<sup>266</sup> The entry for *Legação Portuguesa* contained the *ofícios*, letters and other documents sent by the Portuguese representative to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*. These documents were organised by year and sender who, besides the diplomatic representative could be the secretary or other office holder of the legation. On the inventory was also indicated the number of *ofícios* and letters from each sender and in each year. The documents sent to Lisbon between 1808 and 1821 were intercalated, year by year, with the documents sent to Rio de Janeiro, that in the meanwhile were transferred on the king's return. Under the entry for *Consules Portugueses*, the organisation was chronological, detailing each consul and the correspondence for the *Secretaria de Estado*. The city where the consul carried out his duties was referred to in the observations. The entry for *Legação Inglesa*, included mainly the notes, *ofícios* and other documents sent by the English representatives to the *Secretaria de Estado*, organised according to the same criteria. The documents sent by these representatives in Rio de Janeiro and in Lisbon formed a similar series grouped in chronological order, intercalated.<sup>267</sup> The notes were organised by month and placed in bundles, but a few were put together according to their subject.<sup>268</sup> The entry *Despachos para a Legação Portuguesa* integrated originals and

---

<sup>265</sup> Various papers in general, Letters from Princes, Letters addressed to His Majesties by different people, Sheets of expenses from the Portuguese Legations, Papers from General Mail and others, Treaties.

<sup>266</sup> Portuguese Legation, Portuguese Consuls, English Legation, and Dispatches to the Portuguese Legation, Miscellaneous papers. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 175v-208v.

<sup>267</sup> In the observations concerning these records it was indicated, sometimes in a different letter, Rio de Janeiro or *Lisboa*. Under the class *França* it was also referred the King as addressee of some of the letters. IAN/TT, liv. 192, f. 91-92.

<sup>268</sup> Extracto de notas dos ministros ingleses para D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, 1808-1816, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, especially observations, f. 79r. The notes from Canning to Forjaz regarding the expedition of Portuguese troops against Napoleon following his escape, dated 1, 16 and 27 May and 14 June 1815 were put together under the latter. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 287v. Attending also to the subject, other types of documents were occasionally united to notes. A letter from the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* and an *informação* from the *desembargador* Campos were put together with the note from Canning to Forjaz on the blames from merchants against the



minutes of dispatches, generally from the secretary of state to the diplomatic representative.<sup>269</sup> The class for *Papéis Vários* included documents grouped by subject or other type of objective, with inclusive dates and presenting some form of chronological order.<sup>270</sup> In the class for *Espanha*, there was an entry for *Caixas Extraordinárias* and another *Correspondência da Legação Portuguesa* which contained register books from earlier periods, preceding the creation of the *Secretaria de Estado* and that were stored in the case together with the remaining registers.<sup>271</sup>

From the subsequent classes containing documents produced up until 1821, *Ministério* is referred to in the first place. It integrated different documents assembled by subject and dated from 1752 to 1817. Among them there were: the manifesto declaring war on France, and votes from the councillors of State from 1808; the recommendations of the councillors of State on the royal letters addressed to the clergy, nobility and people of the Kingdoms of Portugal and Algarves, to the governor bishop and deputies of the Provisional Junta of Oporto with the mentioned royal Letters of 1808; representations and letters from ministers of Foreign and War Affairs to the monarch, copies of letters some of which were reserved, from the monarch to the same ministers; letters and other documents from ministers of other portfolios to the monarch; foreigners' correspondence, among whom ministers of Foreign and War Affairs; correspondence from different sources to the Queen D. Maria I, D. João VI, D. Miguel and D. Carlota Joaquina; *informações* from the *intendente geral da Polícia*.<sup>272</sup> This group of documents was organised by year.

---

*desembargador conservador* (judge) of the British Nation in Portugal. Extract of note from Canning to Forjaz, 1 de Junho 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 287r.

<sup>269</sup> In 1828 these records comprised only until 1789. The records produced since 1789 were still in the legation and it was also written, in the observations, that the following documents were registered in books. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 200r.

<sup>270</sup> For instance, copies of *ofícios* and *contas* related to the diamonds contract, 1753; bundle of papers on the questions with England in Macao, until 1814; bundles of private letters.

<sup>271</sup> Extraordinary Boxes and Correspondence from the Portuguese Legation. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 34r.

<sup>272</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 232r-250r. Several of these records were mentioned by Sampaio, according to the arrangement that the records of the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* had in 1825, under two different classes 'Correspondências avulsas não compreendidas nas Colecções da caixas' (Loose correspondences not comprised in the Collections of the boxes) and 'Processos Diversos' (Diverse Files) prior to 1832. See Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...', pp. 249-255. They are now described in the systematic file in the IAN/TT, fich. 87-96, corresponding to the first 46 bundles of the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, transferred to the IAN/TT in 1950. However, as the records were catalogued separately and out of the context of their production and successive arrangements their retrieval is often difficult.

All the documents arranged in the classes discussed above, were packed in cases, with two orders of numeration: one, from a class to another and the other general, both indicated in the inventory. This was followed by the class named *Papéis vários em geral*, dated from 1756 to 1781 and from 1821 to 1823, some of which were referenced as being of little or no importance and others which were only there temporarily, as for example in the case of decrees, orders and other documents of the Council of State, dated from 1821-1823:<sup>273</sup> these were summarised and organised by year. These documents were packed in a box, inside bundles or small packets organised in alphabetical order.

The next class, *Cartas de príncipes*, contained the letters from the monarchs and princes and other personalities (dukes, popes, president of the United States of America), letters with protocol texts, organised by the 'Kingdom' from which they were sent, and organised by order of the sender and in small chronological groups, with the inclusive dates indicated.<sup>274</sup> The class of *Cartas a Sua Majestade* sent by various people concerned a smaller group of letters of a different nature and were not organised by Kingdom<sup>275</sup> The next class, *Folhas de despesa das Legações Portuguesas*, comprised sheets of expenses and other documents from accountancy, organised by legation and in small groups, according to the type of document or the subject organised chronologically and intercalated.<sup>276</sup> The *Papéis do Correio Geral e outros* formed the next class, which grouped granted and rejected *requerimentos* within the jurisdiction of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* over the General Mail, as well as various letters, the majority from after 1821. The last class referenced before the registers in this inventory, was that of the *Tratados*.<sup>277</sup> It consisted of treaties concluded between Portugal and other countries<sup>278</sup> and, separately, projected treaties. Within each country they were organised by year. The documents belonging to these five classes were packed in numbered bundles, except the treaties, and placed inside the drawers of four cabinets, also numbered and alphabetized which were kept in the *casa do porteiro* (this is probably the room

---

<sup>273</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 250v.

<sup>274</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 255r-263v.

<sup>275</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 264r.

<sup>276</sup> *Conta corrente da Legação em Londres com o Real Erário, recibos de Londres, contas gerais de Londres and Pensões, Negócio de Pradier*, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 269r-270r

<sup>277</sup> Around 55 treaties and other records as well as 8 original ratifications were transferred to the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, consequent to the claiming of the Viscount of Santarém, keeper of the Archive, from 25 September 1824. *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, 16 June 1826, officio from Viscount of Santarém to José Joaquim de Almeida e Araújo Correia de Lacerda, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 617, [capilha: ano 1826].

<sup>278</sup> Austria, Sardinia, Sweden, Rome, Netherlands, Tripoli, Tunis, Alger, Prussia, Switzerland, Naples, Brazil, France, England, Spain, Russia.

where the *porteiro* (porter) of the *Secretaria de Estado*, worked). Subsequently, some of these documents were moved and, in the case of the great majority of the *Papéis do Correio Geral e outros*, destroyed by the *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*.

Curiously, the *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and from the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* were not referenced in this inventory, although subsequently they were integrated into the archive of the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*.<sup>279</sup>

From around 1828, the *Livros de registo* formed the second largest division of documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* represented in this inventory. Almost all of the documents consisted of registers by copy, or summaries of documents proceeding from the *Secretaria de Estado*. They were subdivided according to offices held, types of registered documents and addressees, as well as countries or towns.<sup>280</sup>

At times, the series of registered documents produced by the governors of the Kingdom and by the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* were indicated by means of a very clear entry.<sup>281</sup> Those registers could also be integrated into generic entries, to form a single series, although the respective volume had its own number.<sup>282</sup> In

---

<sup>279</sup> These *ofícios*, as well as some of their annexes, are still kept in bundles wrapped with red, blue and white braided ribbon. Several of the annexes are covered with the original folders. IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885-912, especially cx. 887. Some of the *requerimentos* that were enclosed with these *ofícios* were kept separated. See 1814-1830, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 334. In 1925, Sampaio mentioned these *ofícios* in the series named '*Correspondência das Caixas*' (Correspondence of the boxes) prior to 1833, *Governadores do Reino*, 1809-1820. Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...', p. 241.

<sup>280</sup> They were the following: *Livros de Registo de Funções da Corte*; *Correspondência dos Governadores do Reino com os Ministros Estrangeiros em Lisboa*; *Notas, ofícios, etc. para os Ministros e Cônsules Estrangeiros em Lisboa*; *Cartas a Príncipes*; *Cartas a Cardeais*; *Plenos Poderes*; *Consulados*; *Cartas Patentes de Cônsules*; *Decretos*; *Despachos para as Legações Portuguesas*; *Ofícios da Regência do Reino para as Legações Portuguesas*; *Despachos para as Legações Portuguesas*, subdivided by country; *Ofícios vários para países estrangeiros*; *Circulares*; *Portarias e Ofícios Vários e Avisos*; *Ofícios para a Administração do Correio*; *Passaportes*; *Livros de Registo diversos*.

<sup>281</sup> *Correspondência dos Governadores do Reino, com os Ministros Estrangeiros em Lisboa*, 3 November 1808–25 January 1822, IAN/TT, liv. 192, f. 291r, and corresponding records, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 285-291; *Ofícios da Regência do Reino para as Legações Portuguesas*, 26 July 1809-6 April 1819, IAN/TT, liv. 192, f. 294v-295r and corresponding records IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 115-118; *Ofícios dos Governadores do Reino para a Legação de Portugal em Espanha*, 1809-1819, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 295r.

<sup>282</sup> Under the *Registos dos Despachos para a Legação Portuguesa em França*, 1776, 1802-1825, it was included a book of registers of dispatches from the governors of the Kingdom, 1814-1822, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 295v, and corresponding records, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 614.

some cases, the registers of the documents created by the governors of the Kingdom formed a different group, which, referred to as series in the inventory, did not differentiate the senders. Particular references were made in the form of annotations, to the register of documents created by the governors of the Kingdom.<sup>283</sup> These series were parallel to the series created or continued in Rio de Janeiro; and many of them were meanwhile transferred to Lisbon and integrated into the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado*.<sup>284</sup>

The archives of the legations during this period, even the most important ones, appeared to have a simple arrangement, since the number of documents was much less than the one belonging to the *Secretaria de Estado*. Probably the large classification that existed was the one that divided the registers of other documents. Having as guideline a designated inventory of the papers and books that were returned to Paris on 31<sup>st</sup> March 1824, albeit only a list, it is possible to reconstitute the groups or series of documents that the respective Portuguese legation contained.<sup>285</sup> The documents were dated mainly from 1814 onwards, although some extended from 1802 to 1807. Part of them concerned the correspondence received by the legation from other legations and from the Portuguese consuls in France, from the governors of the Kingdom and from the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro. It also concerned the correspondence from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Lisbon, before November 1807 and also the correspondence received from the French government. These documents were organised in designated collections, differentiated by the type of documents (*ofícios, despachos, notas*) and by the sender or addressee. At times, the

---

<sup>283</sup> Following the reference to the *Registos dos Despachos para a Legação de Portugal em Hamburgo, 1818-*, whose book was created in Rio de Janeiro, it was annotated that the *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom to the Legation in Hamburg, from April 1815 to September 1820, were registered in a book, without number, entitled *Naples, Turin, etc.* IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 299r-v. This book, dated 1810-1820, comprised the register of the *ofícios* to the legations in the mentioned cities and in S. Petersburg. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 612.

<sup>284</sup> Under the *Registos dos Despachos para a Legação de Portugal em Londres, 1774-1827*, the books of register were divided in three series. IAN/TT, liv. 192, f. 297v. The second series, 1802-1821, comprised four books of register that began in Lisbon and were continued in Rio de Janeiro and, in 1821, were transferred to Lisbon. See IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 565-568. The third series comprised, in 1827, four books, 1809-1827, that began in Lisbon, with the register of *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* the Portuguese representative in London (IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 569-570) and went on, after the 1820 Revolution, with the register of the dispatches from the head officer of the *Secretaria de Estado* and afterwards from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* always in Lisbon (IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 571-572).

<sup>285</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 43, mç. 18 (1-9).

annexes of the *ofícios* constituted also a separate 'collection'. Such documents integrated numbered books, contrary to those in the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado* in Lisbon and Rio, where the incoming correspondence was stored in bundles and boxes. It was customary for the legation to keep registers of the outgoing correspondence, generally in the shape of copy books organised into numbered volumes and differentiated in the same way. The only existing registers of the incoming correspondence were those that contained the notes from the French government, probably because some were forwarded in the original or in copy as annexes to the *ofícios* from the Portuguese diplomatic representative to the secretary of state. The expenses undertaken by the legation, generated confirming documents, as well as registers, one of which was specifically related to the postage of mail. There were also copybooks related to the issuing of passports. The documents of the Portuguese Legation in Paris, contained also groups of documents organised by theme, as for instance the ones concerning the meetings of commissioners for the settlement of complaints against France from 1816-1819, or those concerning the foundation of a Swiss colony in Brazil in 1819.<sup>286</sup> Besides, the archive of

---

<sup>286</sup> Coleção de ofícios das legações portuguesas, 1815-1821, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 646; Protocolles des Séances des Commissaires Etrangers réunis à Paris, 1816 à 1818 e Tables sommaires des Protocoles 1816 à 1818 IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 662-668; Protocolos da Comissão Portuguesa de 1818 a 1819, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 708; Coleção dos ofícios dos cônsules, 1814-1820, IAN/TT, liv. 651-653; Coleção dos ofícios do Governo de Lisboa, 1814-1820, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 91-92; Registo dos ofícios para o Governo de Lisboa, 1814-1818, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 685; Coleção dos Despachos para o Marquês de Marialva, 1816-1820, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 695-696; Coleção dos Despachos para o Sr. Brito, 1814-1818, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 683; Registo dos ofícios do Sr. Brito 1814-1818, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 686-687; Coleção de Despachos e Papeis relativos à Missão do Sr. Souza, 1802-1804, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 141; Coleção de Despachos relativos à Missão do Sr. Lima, 1804-1807, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 142; Coleção das Notas recebidas, 1814-1820, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 657-658; Registo das Notas recebidas, 1814-1818; Registo das Notas recebidas, 1819 em diante; Coleção dos anexos dos ofícios, 1814-1818, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 688; Mapas do Rateio dos setecentos milhões de francos, 1816-1821; Livro de Despesa; Coleção das peças relativas à primeira Colônia Suíça, 1819, Livro dos Portes de Correio; Ofícios da Corte de Portugal para a Legação; Ofícios da legação para a Corte de Portugal; Notas, Ofícios e Cartas para as Autoridades do país e Estrangeiros, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 660; Ofícios, Notas e Cartas escritas à Legação por todas as Autoridades para S. Majestade por via de Embaixadores, ou outros Agentes: assim como suas respostas, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 655; Passaportes, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 701-702; Passaportes referendados, IAN/TT, liv. 700; Copiador dos Ofícios do Consulado Geral de Portugal em Paris; Relação dos Emolumentos recebidos no sobredito Consulado pelos documentos legalizados; Registo da Chancelaria do Consulado Geral de Portugal em Paris; Despesas da Secretaria da Legação, 1814-1818, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 143; Cartas Patentes de cônsules; Cinco Actos de Ratificação do Tratado Geral de 9 de Junho de 1815 para serem trocados por outros dos Soberanos da Rússia, Grã Bretanha, França, Prússia e Suécia.

the Legation during this period contained the documents of the General Consulate of Portugal in Paris.<sup>287</sup>

Little information was obtained on the subject of the officials and the location of the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e Guerra*. In September or October of 1808 there were two porters and bookkeepers, Santos António Ramay, resident in Belém and João Emídio de Barcelos, resident in Alcolena, both qualified as archivists by the *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado*, Gregório Gomes da Silva, and the supernumerary official who helped them, António José Ramay, resident in Belém.<sup>288</sup> In 1817 João Raimundo de Barcelos, resident in Alcolena, joined the others as junior porter and bookkeeper. Santos António Ramay changed address and was now living in Calçada do Galvão, in Ajuda, not very far from his previous residence.<sup>289</sup> As happened with the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, the recruitment of relatives was customary.

In September or October of 1808, there were three archives of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e Guerra*, which according to Gregório Gomes da Silva, was undesirable. One of the archives was in addition kept at the house of a 'private person', the Palace of Pombal.<sup>290</sup> In this palace was still kept the rest of the furniture from the *Secretaria de Estado*, including a fairly large cabinet, as well as the library that Gomes da Silva referred to at the beginning of the existence of the *Secretaria de Estado*, with master books of extinct regiments and other books, apparently more closely related to War Affairs. The *oficial maior* considered it would be impracticable to move everything to the Palace of the Regency where the *Secretaria de Estado* functioned, and in his own words, reduced to a 'simple and poor house' without the dignity pertaining an official department. He also noted that the Archive (probably the main part of that Archive) was in the former *Secretaria de Estado*, next to the residence of the official maior, in

---

<sup>287</sup> Besides the records mentioned in the previous note, there were six folders with papers belonging to the general consulate in Paris.

<sup>288</sup> List of the officials of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, made by the *oficial maior*. BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163.

<sup>289</sup> *Almanach de Lisboa*, 1817, pp. 48-49.

<sup>290</sup> This was most probably the Carvalhos' Palace inherited by Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782) and King D. José's distinguished minister combining several portfolios including the Foreign and War Affairs (1750-1777). The palace, one of his residences, was placed in the then called *Rua Formosa*, in the *Freguesia de Nossa Senhora das Mercês* (a parish) in Lisbon, near the today's *Rua da Academia das Ciências*. See João Cruz, 'Carvalhos, Palácio dos' in Francisco Santana and Eduardo Sucena (ed.), *Dicionário da História de Lisboa*, Lisbon: Carlos Quintas & Associados-Consultores, 1994, pp. 218-220.

Belém,<sup>291</sup> that is, probably in the already mentioned Palace of the *Pátio das Vacas*.<sup>292</sup> In spite of the merging of Foreign with War Affairs and the predominance of questions related to the war until at least 1814,<sup>293</sup> it is most probable that the archives were separated.

This was clearly the case in Brazil. José da Silva Arêas, *oficial maior* from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro summarised the situation in 1821 in relation to the archives of the Foreign and War Affairs, when D. João VI returned to Portugal. Besides leaving a description of the documents of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* that were going to be sent to Lisbon in 1821,<sup>294</sup> he described the 'old method' used in the 'arrangement of the papers' of each one of the archives.<sup>295</sup> José da Silva Arêas (1789-1863), born in Lisbon, was not mentioned as being employed in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro in 1811, but in 1816 he was there while carrying out his duties as an official. He kept this position in the following year while residing in Madeira.<sup>296</sup>

---

<sup>291</sup> Petition not signed from Gregório Gomes da Silva to Forjaz, [October-September 1808], BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163.

<sup>292</sup> Forjaz the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* carried out business not only in the Palace of the Government but also in Belém, and occasionally far away, in Sete Rios, and from 1816 onwards, often in the Calçada da Ajuda, where this palace was placed. See IAN/TT, MR, cx. 429-430.

<sup>293</sup> The *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, dealt with many military matters.

<sup>294</sup> 'Relação dos ofícios, notas, tratados, livros e mais papéis que existiam no Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra no Rio de Janeiro, e que ora se remetem para Lisboa em 10 caixões pelo navio----de que é Mestre ---- em de----- de 1821 a saber' IHGB, DL, 264.18, pub. in José da Silva Arêas, *Relação e Métodos de arranjo de documentos: série "instrumentos de trabalho"*, Rio: Ministério de Justiça, Arquivo Nacional, 1973, pp. 19-40.

<sup>295</sup> 'Método antigo seguido desde 1808 até 1821 no Arranjo do arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra. Negócios da Guerra' and 'Método antigo seguido de 1808 até 1821 no Arranjo dos Papéis do Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra. Negócios Estrangeiros', IHGB, DL 164.30, pub. in Arêas, *Relação e Métodos de arranjo de documentos: série "instrumentos de trabalho"*, pp. 1-4 and pp. 5-7. He also left a paper concerning the arrangement of the records of the War Affairs from 1821 onwards. See 'Método que se seguiu no Arranjo dos Papéis do Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra de 1821 em diante', pp. 7-18. These documents belonged to the private papers of the Councillor José Carlos de Almeida Arêas, (1825-1892), son of José da Silva Arêas, and who became baron and viscount of Ourém, and was jurist, historian and diplomat. They are now in Rio de Janeiro, in the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.

<sup>296</sup> 'Almanaque do Rio de Janeiro para o ano de 1816' in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol. 268 (July-September 1965), p. 191; appointment published in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 228 (25 September 1816), IHGB, lata 152, doc. 27; 'Almanaque do Rio de Janeiro para o ano de 1817' in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol. 270 (January-March 1966), p. 231.

The arrangement of the documents of the Foreign Affairs in Rio de Janeiro between April 1808 and April 1821 was simple and similar to the one in Lisbon. A large part of the archive had been transported to Brazil and its series were continued there. Following Arêas' arrangement we can see how the documents were separated in the first place, between those that were registers and those that were not. The latter were arranged under classes of a different nature. The most used classification was the 'classificação pelas Cortes', that is, by the countries with which Portugal was developing diplomatic relations. In this way were classified the *ofícios* from diplomats and Portuguese consuls abroad, as well as the diplomats' notes and foreign consuls. These documents were packed in separated bundles with the indication of the respective Court and the year they belonged to. At least, and as far as the notes were concerned, they were stacked by themes into bundles with various notes from the sender or sundry others, when the complexity of the subject justified it. The correspondence with the governors of the Kingdom and the secretaries of the government formed a separate class with its documents also chronologically organised and packed in bundles. Next, Arêas considered the class of *Cartas de Príncipes*, subdivided into *Cartas de Gabinete*,<sup>297</sup> *Cartas Régias*, *Bulas do Papa*, *Cartas dos Cardeais*, *Credenciais e Recredenciais*,<sup>298</sup> ordered chronologically and packed into small packets and those into bundles.<sup>299</sup> The *Tratados* formed another class and the *Ofícios* sent by different authorities was yet another one. The registers of outgoing documents, made up the large class of *Livros de Registo* and were subdivided into the following: *Cartas de Príncipes*, *Funções de Corte*, *Cartas de Cardeais*, *Nomeações de Diplomatas e Cônsules*, *Ofícios para cada um dos 'empregados' nas diferentes Cortes*, each one with its own book, *Plenos Poderes*,

---

<sup>297</sup> Sampaio presented some of the features of these protocol letters comparing them to the more solemn *cartas de chancelaria* (chancery letters). He also explained that the Portuguese credentials had the form either of *cartas de gabinete* or of *cartas de chancelaria*, but it was difficult to appoint the specific context of usage of each one. Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...', pp. 181-182.

<sup>298</sup> Letters of Princes, subdivided into Letters of Cabinet, Royal Letters, Popal Bulls, Cardinals' letters, Credentials, and Recredentials. Roper described similar types of records in the British Foreign Office writing about the royal letters. Michael Roper, *The records of the Foreign Office 1782-1968*, Kew: PRO Publications, 2002, p. 106.

<sup>299</sup> In the list of the records of this *Secretaria de Estado* to be sent to Lisbon in 1821, also kept by Prêças, the documents classified *Cartas de Príncipes* (excluding the *Cartas dos Cardeais*, separated) were divided by sender, not by type of document. 'Relação dos ofícios, notas, tratados, livros e mais papéis...', pp. 35-36. These subdivisions are similar to those by Kingdom made in the Inventory dated ca. 1828.



*Passaportes*.<sup>300</sup> This type of arrangement of the documents was in its essence compatible with the one of the inventory of 1828.

Next, we can see how the documents of D. João's Cabinet and the documents of the *Conselho de Estado* were organised in that epoch. In the Prince Regent's and King D. João VI's Cabinet there were so-called current and semi current archives, concerning the documents that came from various government's and authorities' bodies and were acknowledge and dealt with by the monarch. In principle, such documents were sent subsequently to the '*estações competentes*' (departments and offices), to be organised. But the documents that remained in the Cabinet for a longer period of time required a classification, albeit a simple one, and had to be listed. Some documents were private although having been drawn out during official duties. Years after the removal of the Court to Rio de Janeiro, João Brusco, one of D. João's private valets<sup>301</sup> organised such documents, apparently in a short period of time, and in secret circumstances.<sup>302</sup> In the letter of presentation of the work to the monarch, Brusco noted that inside two corner cabinets, were kept a considerable number of old *ofícios* from governors (of Brazil?) and from other employees, to be reviewed before being transferred from the Cabinet. In those same corner cabinets there was space for maps, leaflets and printed works. As far as the group of documents from the Cabinet is concerned, Brusco seems to have considered only two large classes: *Guerra* and *Erário*. Within these classes, he divided the documents amongst 24 numbers: War, I-XV and *Erário*, XVI-XXIV. Under each number there was one or more groups of documents having in common the same sender,<sup>303</sup> the type of document and/or the subject.<sup>304</sup> Besides these two groups, João Brusco listed non-

---

<sup>300</sup> Letters of Princes, Functions of the Court, Cardinal's Letters, Nominations of Diplomats and Consuls, *Ofícios* to each one of the 'employees' in the different Courts, Full Powers, Passports.

<sup>301</sup> 'Almanaque do Rio de Janeiro para o ano de 1817' pub. in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol. 270 (January-March 1966), p. 238.

<sup>302</sup> Letter from João Brusco to the Prince Regent, and enclosed list of the papers kept in the cupboard of the Cabinet (*Relação dos papéis que estão arrumados nos armários do Gabinete*) n.d., Real Gabinete, col. of the Author, pub. by Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. 210-213.

<sup>303</sup> I. Correspondência do General Lannes quando esteve por Ministro em Lisboa; VII. Cartas de Lord Wellington, cartas do Almirante Berkley para SAR, cartas do Almirante Sidney para SAR, cartas do Almirante Sidney para o Conde de Linhares; XVII. Papéis de Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal. (I. Correspondence from General Lannes when he was Minister in Lisbon; VII. Letters from Lord Wellington, letters from Admiral Berkley to HRH, letters from Admiral Sidney to HRH, letters from Admiral Sidney to the Count of Linhares; XVII. Papers of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal).

<sup>304</sup> V. Representações e cartas do Conde das Galveias, sendo ministro da Guerra interino, sobre diversos assuntos; VIII. Papéis relativos à tomada de Caiena; XVI. Orçamentos de Manuel Jacinto escrivão do Erário, depois das conferências que SAR ordenou se fizessem (V. Representations and

numbered documents, stored in the third cabinet. Some of these documents were qualified as secret.<sup>305</sup> Others were considered to be of little interest. These documents were not allocated to *Guerra* and *Erário*, as we can see by their respective description. They comprised Kingdom or Brazil Affairs, Foreign Affairs and Navy Affairs. Brusco only referred the date of one of the documents, namely, Customs Revenue for the year 1811. However, from the description of the other documents it is possible to date them from the middle of 1812.

The archive that operated in D. João's Cabinet, contained documents that from time to time were being selected and kept in the archives of the *secretarias de Estado*<sup>306</sup> or other government departments. It is not known if some of these documents became indefinitely the monarch's or the royal family's property, stored in the cabinet itself or with the manuscripts near the Royal Library. But it is known that until D. João VI's death, on the 10<sup>th</sup> March 1826, there were documents kept in his Cabinet, the great majority of which had been issued between April 1808 and April 1821 and received by the Cabinet in Rio de Janeiro in November 1825. According to information given by the 6<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Lavradio, D. José Maria Espirito Santo de Almeida Correia de Sá Portugal (1874-1945), to the scholar Ângelo Pereira, one of his ancestors, Francisco de Almeida Portugal, Count of Lavradio (1797-1870) had borrowed from the Infanta D. Isabel Maria, daughter of D. João VI and Regent of Portugal between March 1826 and February 1828, the documents from the '*Real Gabinete de D. João VI*', since he was planning to publish a study of the king. The Infanta probably handed over the documents as a gift, since the Count of Lavradio, if we accept Ângelo Pereira's account, had 'catalogued them as if they were his property'.<sup>307</sup> The Count of Lavradio had been a very influential minister during the agitated period of D. Isabel Maria's regency and he possessed one of the best collections of old manuscripts including original letters from Portuguese Kings, Queens, and Infantes. These manuscripts had not been entered for the auction organised by Francisco

---

letters from the Count of Conde das Galveias, being ad interim minister of War, about several matters; VIII. Papers regarding the takeover of Cayenne; XVI. Budgets from Manuel Jacinto notary of the Treasury, after the conferences ordered by HRH).

<sup>305</sup> Two secret papers from António Salter de Mendonça, *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* that reported to the monarch on several secret matters, including Masonry.

<sup>306</sup> Regarding the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* see, for instance, 2nd via of reserved *ofício* no. 15 from Count of Palmela, António Saldanha da Gama and Joaquim Lobo da Silveira, plenipotentiaries of Portugal at the Vienna Congress to the Marquis of Aguiar, Vienna, 10 March 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 947, 4. This *ofício* was about the returning of Olivença to Portugal, by Spain. In its folder it was written, probably during the forties of the last century that the *ofício* belonged to the *Real Gabinete* of D. João VI.

<sup>307</sup> Ângelo Pereira, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. XI-XII.

Artur da Silva that took place in Lisbon in May 1875.<sup>308</sup> The archive also known as the Lavradio-Rio Maior's Archive, in the possession of the 6<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Lavradio,<sup>309</sup> integrated the documents from D. João VI's Cabinet together with a relevant set of documents resulting from the duties of viceroy of Brazil of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Lavradio, D. Luís de Almeida Soares Portugal Alarcão Eça de Melo (1717-1790). This archive was offered for sale to the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* in 1925 without success. However, as a result of a debt it was again offered for sale in 1947, this time to the Ministry of External Affairs of Brazil through the Embassy in Lisbon. After protracted negotiations, it was sold in 1952 to the Brazilian industrialist and scholar of History, Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, and ending up in the Archive of Cosme Velho.<sup>310</sup> Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, still in that same year of 1952, published a list of these documents of the Real Gabinete, as well as documents belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Lavradio, organised by officials of the embassy of Brazil in Lisbon.<sup>311</sup> Ângelo Pereira acquired the remainder of the collection, including documents of the Real Gabinete: they were still in his possession.<sup>312</sup> In 1984 Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça published as a contribution to the study of the independence of Brazil and its causes, the detailed catalogue of around 1300 items from D. João's Cabinet that were in his possession, as well as facsimiles and transcriptions of some of them.<sup>313</sup> In 1995, the *Academia Brasileira de Letras* donated these documents to the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*.<sup>314</sup>

---

<sup>308</sup> Ângelo Pereira, *João VI: príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, p. XI, n. 1.

<sup>309</sup> The mentioned 6<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Lavradio married in 1901 with Maria da Piedade de Saldanha Oliveira e Sousa (1877-1940), daughter of D. Bárbara Maria Tavares Proença and of D. José Luís de Saldanha Oliveira Sousa from the family of the Counts of Rio Maior.

<sup>310</sup> Livro de Registro Diário, 3 January 1952, ANRJ, Arquivo Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça.

<sup>311</sup> 'Documentos do Arquivo do 2º Marquês do Lavradio, 3º vice-rei do Brasil' and 'Reinado de D. João VI: relação dos documentos que pertenceram ao Real Gabinete do Soberano' *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol. 215 (April-June 1952), pp. 80-102.

<sup>312</sup> José Honório Rodrigues, *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. rev. and updated, S. Paulo: Ed. Nacional, 1982, p. 216 and especially Dauril Alden, *Royal government in colonial Brazil with special reference to the administration of the Marquis of Lavradio, Vice-roy, 1769-1779*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968, pp. 516-519.

<sup>313</sup> Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *D. João VI e o Império no Brasil: a independência e a Missão Rio Maior*, Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Reprográfica Xerox, 1984.

<sup>314</sup> See 'Gabinete de D. João VI' in *Guia de fundos do Arquivo Nacional: separata: fundos com data-limite inicial anterior a 1822*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça, Arquivo Nacional, Brasil, September 1996, printout from database, or *Guia de fundos do Arquivo Nacional: <http://www.arquivonacional.gov.br>*. The records were very well kept and though their numbering was not complete it was possible to have access to them. The catalogue edited by Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça is useful for the major part of the records and the numbering will be based on the numbering that existed before.

Analysing this set of documents from D. João VI's Cabinet, it was clear that none of them contained a numbered register that corresponded to a system of classification, as for example, the one prepared by João Brusco. Nevertheless, many documents, mainly from the last years of the Court's stay in Brazil, had references added by D. João VI himself, used to retrieve information contained in those same documents. There were different ways to achieve this purpose as for example, by cross-referring the subject to the sender and/or addressee, or using dates and types of documents: '*Trata dos Negócios de Lisboa em 26 de Janeiro de 1821*', '*Papel do Barão do Rio Seco sobre os Bilhetes da Alfândega*', '*Carta para o Imperador sobre Balki*', '*De José Anselmo. Recebida em Dezembro de 1819*'. What is not in doubt is that D. João VI's Cabinet contained an archive that varied according to the nature of the public affairs being discharged and was important to the government. It contained documents related to the matters that were being considered by the King, at times routine, although they could require greater consideration from the absolute monarch, as for instance, nominations for public office. It also contained more sensitive documents and subject to a greater reserve in communication, among which the votes and opinions of the councillors of State, the *ofícios* on the judicial proceeding against the rebels of Pernambuco and police information, especially from the *intendente geral da Polícia* and from the spy diplomat, José Anselmo Correia Henriques. The great majority of the documents proceeded from the *secretarias de Estado*, above all from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. It included *contas* and *ofícios* in first, but mainly, second and even third via from the governors of the Kingdom and from the secretaries and the respective annexes, as well as diplomatic notes from representatives of foreign countries in Rio de Janeiro, particularly from England and the Holy See. There were also *ofícios* from Portuguese diplomatic representatives, as well as *ofícios* from Portuguese authorities in Madeira, Azores, S. Tomé, Goa and Macao. It also included representations and letters from the secretaries of State, especially from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, from the *intendente geral da Polícia*, from the *governador de armas da Corte e Capitania do Rio de Janeiro*, to the king, and *ofícios* from other authorities in Brazil.

The documents emanating from the *Conselho de Estado* did not produce an archive as such. The documents resulting from meetings of the *Conselho de Estado* or from the individual activity of its members, particularly during the period of 1807-1822, were kept mainly in the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e*

*da Guerra* and also in the archive in transit of D. João VI, where some of them stayed, given the circumstances of the respective custodial history.<sup>315</sup> Even before the creation of this *Secretaria de Estado* in 1736, the *assentos*, that is, the decisions and votes taken by the *Conselho de Estado* were kept jointly with the documents of Foreign Affairs.<sup>316</sup> The opinions given either in the meetings of the *Conselho de Estado* or individually by the councillors of State outside formal meetings, as well as other documents concerning the *Conselho de Estado*, accompanied the dispersion of the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* between Portugal and Brazil. Today, they can be found mainly in the collection *Negócios de Portugal* in the Arquivo Nacional in Rio de Janeiro,<sup>317</sup> in the fonds of the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo in Lisbon<sup>318</sup> and, in very small number, in the *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty*, also in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>319</sup>

In the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* was kept, at least one register book of *avisos*, issued by the respective secretary of state, convening the members to the sessions of the *Conselho de Estado*.<sup>320</sup> That book was kept in Lisbon and the registers were not entered between 1804 and 1820, despite various meetings of the *Conselho de Estado* having taken place, before the departure of the Court to Brazil in November 1807. Apparently, there was not a similar register in the *Secretaria de Estado*

---

<sup>315</sup> Recommendations from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, 7-8 January 1821, transcribing also the recommendation from the Count of Arcos, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 690; letter from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, 26 January 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 693; letter from Tomás António de Vilanova de Portugal to D. João VI, 17 February 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 696; Recommendation from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, [end 1816], ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 774.

<sup>316</sup> 'Inventário dos Livros, Cartas dos Príncipes e Ministros Assistentes nas Côrtes estrangeiras, Assentos do Conselho d'Estado e de Juntas o qual se fez no anno de 1716, continued till 1736', IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 191.

<sup>317</sup> Vote from the Count Regedor [Pombeiro], Lisbon, 6 August 1800, ANRJ, NP, cx. 720, pac. 3; letter from D. João to Luís Pinto de Sousa and answer, 25 August 1800, ANRJ, NP, cx. 728 B; recommendations from the Conselho de Estado, 1796, 1798, n.d, originals and transcriptions. ANRJ, NP, cx. 713; recommendations and votes from the Conselho de Estado, 1794, 1795, 1800-1805, 1796, 1798, n.d, originals and transcriptions, ANRJ, NP, cx. 714; abstract of the votes taken in the session of the Conselho de Estado, on 1 June 1801, made by the Count Vilaverde, ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B. There are more documents of the Conselho de Estado in this collection. Some were displaced meanwhile and the references do not correspond anymore. It was the case of the recommendations and votes of the Conselho de Estado, 21 August- 24 November 1807, ANRJ, NP, cx. 714.

<sup>318</sup> See, for instance, recommendations on the Royal Manifesto regarding France, April 1808, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 53, mç. 1.

<sup>319</sup> Aviso from D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to D. João de Almeida e Castro, 13 April 1808, AHI, lata 170, mç. 3, pasta 3; vote from the Count of Arcos to D. João VI, 1 July 1818, AHI, lata 170, mç. 6, pasta 4.

<sup>320</sup> 4 July 1796–15 July 1833, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 158.

*dos Negócios do Reino* in Rio de Janeiro. Besides, it was the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* who sent *avisos* to the councillors of state, asking for their opinion on the Manifesto of the Portuguese monarch concerning France. According to Rolim's classification, this register, entitled *Conselho de Estado*, was part of Class II, Livros Auxiliares, Division I, Serviço do Paço. Once again, according to Rolim's classification, the '*assentos*' were not registered and were kept in a 'very particular and secret' way and place not identified.<sup>321</sup>

Given the fact that there was not an archive of the *Conselho de Estado*, and that its relative documents were dispersed, the consultation of archives or private collections becomes a must. The archive that belonged to D. António de Almeida Araújo, Count of Barca (1754-1817),<sup>322</sup> is the most important, although as far as it was possible to find out, the documents relative to the *Conselho de Estado*, belong to the period immediately preceding the departure of the King to Rio de Janeiro, when Araújo carried out his duties of *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*.<sup>323</sup> Other documents

---

<sup>321</sup> Rolim, *Catalogo dos Livros...*, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 2561, f. 33r-34r.

<sup>322</sup> The papers of the Count da Barca, born in the *Casa de Sá*, near Ponte de Lima in the North of Portugal, are kept in the *Arquivo Distrital de Braga* in the University of Minho, and are now entitled papers of the *Casa de Sá*. Though well known by researchers on the Count da Barca, the papers are still being re-arranged. These papers were known as *Manuscritos do Conde da Barca or Barca-Oliveira*, as a doctor, Manoel de Oliveira, bought them. After his death, they were sold to the *Biblioteca Pública de Braga* that nowadays keeps only the library of the Count da Barca, excluding the books that he had in Rio de Janeiro and that were sold in 1822 to the *Biblioteca Pública do Rio de Janeiro*, after *Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil*. See José V. Capela, 'António Araújo Azevedo e o Brasil: a importância do arquivo de António Araújo Azevedo 1 Conde da Barca para a história do Brasil no fim do período colonial' *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 43, no. 94/95 (107/108) (1991/1992), pp. 13-25. Capela mentioned a finding aid of the papers, made by Nuno Daupias d'Alcochete, which was in the Arquivo Distrital de Braga and remains unknown: Arquivo Distrital de Braga/U.M., 'Inventário do fundo de Manuscritos do Conde da Barca'.

<sup>323</sup> José Baptista Barreiros published 111 letters and other records belonging to these papers, among which there were five related to the *Conselho de Estado*, including copies of recommendations, dated between 16 August and mid October 1807. See letters no. 48, 53, 93, 94 and 105, José Baptista Barreiros, *Correspondência inédita entre o Conde da Barca e José Egídio Álvares de Almeida, secretário particular de El-Rei Dom João VI*, Braga: Delegação Bracarense da Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1962, sep. *Revista Militar*, pp. 95, 97-98, 126-128, 128-131, 136-137. In Brazil, Petrópolis, Arquivo da Casa Imperial there are a few letters from Araújo to Almeida, from September 1807 and the meetings of the *Conselho de Estado* that were studied by Enéas Martins Filho, *O Conselho de Estado Português e a transmigração da família real em 1807*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça; Arquivo Nacional, 1968, p. 31. See also recommendations from António Araújo de Azevedo to the Prince Regent, Rio de Janeiro, 11 November 1808, and Rio de Janeiro 26 December 1808, ADB, Fundo Barca-Oliveira, cx. 18, published by José V. Capela, *Política, administração, economia e finanças públicas (1750-1820)*, Braga: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Minho, 1993, (Textos para o ensino da história de Portugal), pp. 69-77 and 78-81.

derived from private archives of councillors of state from the period between 1807 and 1822 are dispersed among private collections.<sup>324</sup>

---

<sup>324</sup> Two examples: recommendations from D. Rodrigo de Sousa given in the sessions of the Conselho de Estado in Mafra, on 18 August 1807 and in Ajuda on 29 September 1807, belonging to the Arquivo Drummond and published by A. J. de Mello Moraes, *Corografia do Império do Brasil*, vol. 1, according to Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 129, n. 100; aviso from the Count of Linhares to the Count of Galveias, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 20 December 1808 and draft of recommendation from D. João Almeida Melo e Castro, [Count of Galveias] to the Prince Regent, 23 December 1808, IHGB, DL 105.17.

## 5.4 Public and private records

Within the scope of official duties resulting from the responsibilities of the *secretarias de Estado* and of the governors of the Kingdom and secretaries, many documents were produced whose nature was private, semi-official or not obviously public.<sup>325</sup> Although there were no written rules for their use, it is possible to pinpoint the context in which they were used. Besides, some of those documents or their copies and registers, remained in the archives of public organisations that either received or sent them, while others were part of private archives. The difference in their trajectory was due often and in this case to the selection of documents based on tradition (frequently at random) allied to one or other written indication, emanating from public authorities.

When making a petition to the sovereign, including the nomination for a post in public administration, it was customary to seek patronage from an influent person. Both petition and recommendation were frequently done in writing. The distance of the Court

---

<sup>325</sup> According to the *Dictionary of archival terminology*, private records are ‘records (...) of non-governmental agencies, institutions and organisations and/or of non-governmental provenance.’ In the Portuguese version of the Dictionary the private nature appears linked to the archives (*arquivo privado, arquivo público*) and not to the document (*documento*). In turn official record, also following the *Dictionary of archival terminology*, is ‘A record in law having the legally recognised and judicially enforceable quality of establishing some fact’ and its Portuguese equivalent is *documento oficial* defined as document issued or recognised by a public office. See *Dicionário de terminologia arquivística*. In Portugal it is not usual to characterise records as semi-official. But it is being used the expression ‘*documentos de função*’ (office files) when describing documents in private papers, with the meaning given in the *Dictionary of archival terminology, i.e.*, ‘(2) Documents or copies thereof papers and/or publications kept by or for official for their private or personal use, relating directly or indirectly to their official duties. Also called convenience/personal file (US); semi-official records (UK).’ On this matter, Luciana Duranti states that, from a diplomatic point of view, a private document is a document ‘created by a private person, or under his direction or in his name’ and that a document is public when ‘created by a public person, or under his direction or in his name’. Luciana Duranti, *Diplomatics: new uses for an old science*, Lanham, Maryland and London: Sacrecrow Press Inc., 1998, p. 102. But she points out that ‘from an archival point of view, documents are public when they are created or received by a public office’, though they ‘can be private as to provenance.’ This opinion is nowadays dominant in the practice of the Portuguese archivists. Duranti adds that ‘the status of transmission of the document’ may be confusing when defining ‘its public or private nature’. Therefore, according to Duranti, if a public officer copies public documents for his own private purpose, and includes them within his own fonds, they are public and not private, as one would be tempted to consider. This happens because the author is public and the document is created due to the will of a public entity and not due to the will of the person who copies it. Furthermore, ‘within most juridical systems, the legal system expressly considers to be public as provenance and ownership the informational content of documents created within the public sphere’. Duranti disagrees with the third category of documents designated by the Italian diplomatist Alessandro Pratesi as ‘semi-public documents’ and defined as ‘issued by private persons by command of and in the forms established by public persons’. For her, these are also public documents. Luciana Duranti, *Diplomatics: new uses for an old science*, p. 103.



from the subjects resident in Portugal seemed to have been a contributing factor to the production of these documents.<sup>326</sup> Thus, besides the usual official documents, at times, and in order to reinforce the petition, the petitioner himself or the patron sent letters to the head officer through whom the initial petition was submitted to the monarch.<sup>327</sup>

These letters are on the borderline of private documents and even the ones issued by public officers are not recognised as being empowered to do so. They are not *ofícios* or *informações* resulting from the positions they occupy. Nevertheless, these letters were kept in the archive of the public institutions headed by people who received them. At times, they were kept together with related documents in an organised unit, and in this way, they are part of public archives.<sup>328</sup>

Private documents were frequently used in the performance of duties of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* as it happened within the British Foreign Office.<sup>329</sup> These documents have varied contexts at times relating to a protocol. This is the case with the letter sent by Pedro Sousa e Holstein, representative of Portugal in Cadiz, to Miguel Pereira Forjaz, congratulating him on his nomination as

---

<sup>326</sup> When Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio asked to the Count of Aguiar for support to his petition, alleged that he was not sure that Aguiar had received the petition. Besides, he apologized for this, stating that he used to present his needs in person to the sovereign. Letter of Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 14 December 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,18.

<sup>327</sup> We have checked this in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* and in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, but it was a general practice. See, for instance: letter of Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 14 December 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,18; letter from João António Salter de Mendonça to the Count of Aguiar, requesting for his favour to be appointed keeper of the Royal Archive of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, 24 July 1813, and minute of answer from the Count of Aguiar, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, pac. 1, 14; letter from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to the Marquis of Aguiar, in favour of Caetano José Peixoto, whose petition was to be submitted to the sovereign by a conta from the governors of the Kingdom, Lisbon, 14 de Abril de 1816, ANRJ, NP, cx. 686, pac. 2,1; letter from the Count of Peniche to Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, in favour of José Carlos Xavier da Silva, whose petition was submitted to the Prince Regent by the conta from the governors of the Kingdom no. 556, Lisbon, 26 February 1818, ANRJ, cx. 702, pac. 1, 113, f. 13r.

<sup>328</sup> Archives legally defined as public. See 'Public records/archives' in *Dictionary of archival terminology = Dictionnaire de terminologie archivistique: english and french with equivalents in dutch, german, italian, russian and Spanish*, ed. Peter Walne, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. München [etc.]: K. G. Saur, 1988, p. 135.

<sup>329</sup> Among the correspondence from Charles Stuart, British minister to Lisbon, from 1810 to 1814, to William Hamilton, Esq., and Marquis Wellesley there are some letters classified 'Private' in the f. 1r, and not numbered in the same way the dispatches were. See PRO, FO 63/92, f. 271r and others. Ray Jones referred as duties of the private secretary of the secretary of state 'to take charge of the private correspondence of the secretary of state and to make copies of all his letters on private and confidential matters'. 'Introduction: The Foreign Office 1782-1848' in *The nineteenth-century Foreign Office: an administrative history*, London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1971, p. 15.

secretary of Foreign Affairs and Forjaz's reply.<sup>330</sup> Another case in point is the private letter sent by George Canning to the secretary of Foreign Affairs announcing his arrival in Lisbon to take his post as British minister.<sup>331</sup> Only one week after his arrival, he sent Forjaz a letter with his official greetings.<sup>332</sup> To arrange meetings between Canning and Forjaz the same protocol rules were used in their private correspondence.<sup>333</sup> Even in different circumstances the intention was to maintain in reserve the content of the correspondence. This is what happened when Forjaz sent a letter clarifying the circumstances of his resignation (which in the event did not take place) to Stuart, Canning's predecessor.<sup>334</sup> The private letters also acted as delaying tactics before the official document was sent, while making a first approach. This was the case of the private letter sent by D. José de Sousa, diplomatic representative in London in response to the first circular letter he received from Hermano Braancamp, caretaker of Foreign Affairs during the government created after the 1820 Revolution. In that letter, D. José de Sousa declined to establish communications with the Provisional Junta of the new regime, before receiving instructions from the government and the king in Rio de Janeiro. The private nature of the letter was a diplomatic gesture to keep the options open, for while not recognising the government in Lisbon it did not preclude the possibility of doing so in the future.<sup>335</sup> At times, family ties facilitated the production of private correspondence, which was then included in official documents in the course of public duties, exercised by the sender or the receiver.<sup>336</sup> Even when they were not placed in archives of public offices, some of these private papers were extracted and used by those offices.

Private letters exchanged between people carrying out public duties in Portuguese administration and government presented some features that distinguished them from official documents. Some letters were classified as private, usually with a mark at the top of the folio 1r: the dimensions were generally smaller. But the formulae used in the

---

<sup>330</sup> Extract of the letters from Sousa e Holstein to Forjaz, 18 and 24 November 1809 IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 134, f. 12r.

<sup>331</sup> Extract of letter from Canning to Forjaz, 2 December 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 273r.

<sup>332</sup> Extract of letter from Canning to Forjaz, 10 December 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 273r.

<sup>333</sup> Extract of letter from Canning to Forjaz, 19 Junho 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 288r.

<sup>334</sup> Extract of note from Stuart to Forjaz, 19 July 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 146v.

<sup>335</sup> AHI, Correspondence from London, 1808-1821, cited by Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil*, p. 640. Nowadays referred as 'Correspondência ostensiva e reservada de D. José Luís de Sousa' August 1820-April 1821, AHI, estante 338, prateleira 2, vol. 5.

<sup>336</sup> This happened sometimes with the three brothers Sousa Coutinho, D. Rodrigo, D. Domingos and José, Principal Sousa. On more than one occasion D. Rodrigo, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, reported to the monarch the contents of their private letters or submitted them to him. See, for instance, letter from José to his brother, Lisbon, 13 August 1811, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mc. 3, 120.

address and in the final greeting were many times identical to those appearing in official documents,<sup>337</sup> unless there was a certain degree of proximity between the author and the addressee.<sup>338</sup> The closing procedure of the letters was different. They should be closed with a pointed fold, and, at least, when sent by the king to another king, they were sealed with sealing wax, using the small seal of the Royal Coat of Arms.<sup>339</sup>

As far as documents accumulated during the exercise of public duties were concerned, when these ceased, the documents were separated into public and private.<sup>340</sup> Even if this was not a systematic procedure, there was at least the preoccupation on the part of public departments, to safeguard from the point of view of the documents, the administrative continuity and the government executive power. In some circumstances, the selection of public documents was done not only in the cabinets of the heads of departments, but also in domestic areas, where, frequently, public affairs were dispatched. The transfer of the Court to Brazil did not alter those practices also in use in other countries.<sup>341</sup>

---

<sup>337</sup> See, for instance, the following: '*Illm° e Exm° Senhor / Queira V. Exª dar-me as suas ordens e acreditar os sentimentos de respeito com que tenho a honra de ser. De Vª Exª/ mais atento e fiel servidor / Conde de Palmela*'. (*Illustrissimo and Excelentissimo Sir / Your Excellency, please give me your orders and accept the feelings of respect with which I have the honour of being / Of Your Excellency / most attentive and faithful servant / Count of Palmela*). Letter from the Count of Palmela to the Count of Galveias, London, 10 November 1813, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 5, 401.

<sup>338</sup> See, for instance, the following: '*Meu Irmão. Do meu Coração / Estimarei a tua boa saude e que acredites o quanto te amo do Coração. Irmão. E amigo. José*'. (*My Brother. From my Heart / I will appreciate your good health and that you believe how much I love you from Heart. Brother. And Friend. José*). Letter from José [Principal Sousa] to his brother [Count of Linhares], Lisbon, 13 August 1811, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 3, 120.

<sup>339</sup> Minute of letter from Prince Regent D. João to the King of the Two Sicilies, Palace of Queluz, 4 April 1800, and folder, ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B, pac. 2.

<sup>340</sup> There was the risk that the head officials took with them public records, 'a habit' also in England at least until the nineteenth century. See V. H. Galbraith, *An introduction to the use of the Public Records*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1934, pp. 56-57.

<sup>341</sup> Rodrigo Navarro de Andrade, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Vienna, told to his brother an episode, in which he participated, concerning the records of Hudelist, who was holding the Foreign Affairs of Austria during the absence of Prince Metternich. When the former died, his wife gave, on his behalf, to Navarro de Andrade, the keys of the pieces of furniture where his papers and other objects were kept. Though embarrassed due to his foreigner condition, he went, with a servant, to a department of the Chancery where the *vogais* unwrap the keys and sealed them with the seal of the Chancery and with his signet. The cabinets and the drawers with the records were to be opened in the presence of a civil servant in order to attend to the separation of the records and to check if there were any government records. Letter from D. Rodrigo Navarro de Andrade to his brother João Navarro de Andrade, Baron of Sande, Vienna, 12 November 1818, IANTT, MNE, cx. 947, 8.

Already in 1799, following the sacking from office of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* José Seabra da Silva,<sup>342</sup> by the Prince Regent D. João, the question of the documents in his possession arose. Given the seriousness of the situation and the urgency in solving it, it was the Prince Regent himself who gave the necessary instructions to the Marquis de Ponte de Lima, who substituted at interim the secretary of state. D. João recommended the Marquis to take charge without delay of the *Secretaria de Estado* and all the documents belonging to José Seabra da Silva,<sup>343</sup> concerning the King's service. He also reminded him of the need to search Seabra da Silva's house in S. Sebastião, Lisbon, for papers to be kept locked.<sup>344</sup>

When the Court was already in Brazil, the specification of private and public documents arose, after the death and replacement of the Count of Linhares in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. The Count of Galveias, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, interceded with the Prince Regent in order to facilitate the sorting out of private papers that belonged to Linhares.<sup>345</sup> It is still to this day unclear the exact types of records or series that the secretaries of state were allowed to carry with them.<sup>346</sup> D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, later

---

<sup>342</sup> It seems that the conflict between José Seabra da Silva and D. João erupted when the former argued that D. João could assume formally the regency only after consulting the *Cortes*. See M. E. C. F., 'Silva, José Seabra da' in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. 5, pp. 578-579.

<sup>343</sup> José Seabra da Silva, already suspended from his public posts, was dismissed and ordered to move away from the Court. [Lisbon, 1 August 1799], minute of decree from D. João, with notes on the verso, ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B.

<sup>344</sup> Minute of letter from D. João to the Marquis, [August 1799], ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B.

<sup>345</sup> Dispatch from the Count of Galveias to the Count of Linhares, Botafogo, 31 January 1812, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 19, 12, no. 1.

<sup>346</sup> In the papers kept by the Count of Linhares that are in the *Colecção Linhares*, in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, we find a copybook of official orders and copies of official out letters or dispatches as well as some official in letters. See Tereza Coelho Moreno (ed.), *Colecção Linhares (catálogo)*, Lisboa: CNCDP, 2001. But in order to have a more precise idea it would be necessary to trace the dispersal of his papers. Some were sold in the auction of the *Livraria* of the Casa Linhares in 1895 in Lisbon, after the death of the third Count of Linhares, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho Teixeira de Andrade Barbosa, in 1894, and integrated the *Colecção Linhares*. See *Catálogo da...livraria...dos condes de Linhares que sera vendida em leilão...* Lisbon: Imp. de Libanio da Silva, 1895, BN or FUP, R-5, 3, 2. But at least two branches of the Family Sousa Coutinho, in Cascais and in Lisbon, keep private papers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The latter belong to the present Count of Linhares, D. Nuno de Sousa Coutinho, and there is a possibility for them to be bought by the IANTT. See also the 83 (copies) of the letters and billets from D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to João Paulo Bezerra, 1779-1796, from the archives of the Linhares Family in the National Library of Portugal, BN, Reservados, FG 8710, which will be edited by André Mansuy Diniz Silva, complementing his biography of the Count of Linhares in print, to be published by the extinguished *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* (CNCDP). André Mansuy Diniz Silva, 'La correspondance

Count of Feira, *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra e dos Negócios da Marinha*, between September 1808 and September 1809 in Lisbon, kept in his private archive, various registers and copybooks of documents created during the tenure of his official duties.<sup>347</sup>

The archives of the legations of Portugal abroad were particularly subjected to the contingencies of the replacement of their officials. The distant centre of power, aggravated by the stay of the Court in Brazil, posed a threat to the integrity of the archives. Some diplomats kept various documents or even in certain circumstances took possession of the archives when their term of duty ended. However, within the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, it was developed the practice of gathering of official documents, held by those diplomats or their families.

D. Domingos Sousa Coutinho, minister for Portugal in London since 1800, was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Holy See at the end of 1814 and replaced by Cipriano Ribeiro Freire, following his removal by the Prince Regent from the peace negotiations with France. During many months he kept in his possession the archive of the Portuguese mission.<sup>348</sup> In the end he kept various official documents including original despatches from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*.<sup>349</sup>

---

familière de D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho' Arquivos de Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, vol. 41 (2001), pp. 71-81, especially p. 73.

<sup>347</sup> 'Diário das ordens expedidas pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra desde o dia 19 de Setembro até ao fim de Dezembro de 1808', BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 111, 179; 'Diário dos avisos e mais ordens que se expediram pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra. 1812.', BN, ALB, Núcleo do Recolhimento da Encarnação, pac. 37, liv. 43; register of correspondence from the governors of the Kingdom, 1818-1820, BN, ALB, Núcleo do Recolhimento da Encarnação, pac. 24, liv. 12; register of *ofícios de expediente* from Brazil, 2 January 1809 to 17 May 1820, BN, ALB, Núcleo Av. de Roma, pac. 96, 138.

<sup>348</sup> Extract of *ofício*, from Freire to Forjaz, London, 31 May 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 132.

<sup>349</sup> See, for instance, despatch no. 189 from the Marquis of Aguiar to the Count of Funchal, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 2 April 1814, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 17, 1; despatch no. 219 from the Marquis of Aguiar to the Count of Funchal, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 20 October 1814, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 17, 1; 2<sup>a</sup> via of the despatch from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Count of Funchal, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 23 January 1819, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 17, 3, no. 5. See more in Carmen Tereza Coelho Moreno (ed.), *Colecção Linhares (Catálogo)*. In the *Colecção Linhares* (CL) there are several public records belonging to the archives of Portuguese legations headed by D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho. This collection comprises papers of one of the branches of the Sousa Coutinho family, the major part of which D. Domingos accumulated. But the papers of D. Domingos were dispersed among other collections and institutions as follows. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, (BN) Arquivo Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, 1790-1807, 23 of the documents produced when he was diplomatic representative in London and Rome, and bought to Victor Perez, BN, PSS/Cx. 3, and Documentos relativos à Guerra Peninsular, 1801-1819, BN, Col-Guerras peninsular/cx. 1-cx. 4, part also bought to Victor Perez, *Guia preliminar dos fundos de arquivo da Biblioteca Nacional*, ed. Lúcia Azevedo Martins *et al.*, Lisbon: I.B.N.L., 1994, pp. 227-228 and 320-321. Lisbon,

In its turn the archive of the Legation in Rome suffered a true dilapidation not yet completely explained and that went beyond the normal measures of the retrieval of private, semi-official or even official documents, when the public service ceased. Pedro de Melo Breyner, who in 1818 replaced D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Count of Funchal, in that legation, gave us a desolate picture of the situation. He considered it to have been damaging the fact that they never met; this not only prevented them from profiting of the instructions previously sent to D. Domingos, but also to understand the organisation of the archive. It was assumed that Luís Alvares Figueiredo, chargé d'affaires in Rome,<sup>350</sup> and J. Th. Wys, private secretary to the Count would pass the archive on to him with the correspondent inventories.<sup>351</sup> But in the meantime Luís Alvares died, being D. Camilo Luís Rossi who received some documents, a few only, having passed them on to Wys. Breyner ended up by receiving from the hand of Wys, the bulk of the archive, without inventory. Septimio Vassalo gave him other documents with an inventory that he considered useless. This supposed inventory made reference to private letters and papal bulls among other documents, although the description of the documents was in the wrong order. Breyner still tried to get information from the Count of Funchal's private secretary on whether or not Álvares had passed on the inventories and copybooks made during the Count's stay at the Legation. Wys answered that the only existing inventory was the Vassalo's and that Álvares had withdrawn the copybooks (most certainly from the private and official correspondence sent by the Count), but had left blank sheets, in order to have them done afresh, if necessary. Wys agreed to this, and

---

IANTT, records bought to D. José Martinho de Arrochela Pinto de Lancastre Ferrão, most of which regarding D. Domingos and comprising in letters and minutes and other copies of out letters. Some were private, some semi-official. Maria do Carmo Dias Farinha, *Os documentos dos Negócios Estrangeiros na Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, 1990, pp. 163-164; Lisbon, Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências (BAC) 'Correspondência diplomática de várias pessoas entre elas o Marquês de Palmela, para o Conde de Funchal, Embaixador de Portugal em Roma,' 1810-1829, 105 documents, BAC, série azul, ms. 1702, offered by the Marquis of Faria, António de Portugal Faria (1868-1839) diplomat and genealogist, and described with the no. 118 in 'Catálogo dos manuscritos, respeitantes ao Ultramar, da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa' in *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, 18 (1961) 177-261. Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB), Correspondence from D. Domingos António de Sousa Coutinho to Lord Strangford, some confidential, 1805-1820, bought from the papers of Prof. Hélio Viana, IHGB, DL 434.5 to 434.18.

<sup>350</sup> Luís Alvares da Cunha Figueiredo was chargé d'affaires to Rome from 1792 to 1802. Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros: subsídios para o estudo da história da diplomacia portuguesa', p. 231.

<sup>351</sup> Later on he gave to Breyner the missing part of the silverware and some furniture as well. Copy of the letter from the Count of Funchal to Pedro Melo Breyner, Paris, 20 December 1818, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 17, 19, no. 2.

Breyner thought that the second copybooks should be made separately.<sup>352</sup> Although Breyner implicitly thought that his predecessor had been careless with the organisation of the archive of the legation, he considered that the disarray and loss of documents 'had a long precedent'. Someone had informed him that Francisco de Almada<sup>353</sup> had taken the archive with him when the relations between Portugal and the Holy See had broken up between 1760 and 1770. The rupture had taken place when the Society of Jesus was expelled from Portugal and its dominions. However, those documents could not be found in the *Secretaria de Estado* in Lisbon.<sup>354</sup> That gap has not been filled until today.<sup>355</sup>

The archive of the legation in Paris came also under the scrutiny of Portuguese officials in that period. In 1819, part of that archive was the object of re-organisation with a view to separate public from private documents. These were documents accumulated by D. Vicente Sousa Coutinho,<sup>356</sup> envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister, and later on, ambassador of Portugal in Paris between 1763 and 1792. José António dos Santos Branco, official of the *Secretaria de Estado*,<sup>357</sup> following the reception of an *aviso* from the diplomat Brito,<sup>358</sup> was charged with the task of delivering to him the documents belonging to 'the diplomatic service'. But the detailed examination and classification of documents, which had been neglected during D. Vicente's thirty years official duties, was not an easy task.<sup>359</sup> They had to be organised and separated; those that belonged to the

---

<sup>352</sup> Letter from Pedro de Melo Breyner to the Count of Funchal, Rome, 28 August de 1819, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 17, 18.

<sup>353</sup> Francisco de Almada e Mendonça, later Viscount of Vila Nova de Souto de El-Rei, was the Portuguese minister to Rome from 1756 to 1779, with the interruption of the period from 1760 to 1770. Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...', p. 230.

<sup>354</sup> Breyner considered the missing and the disarrangement of the records a disgrace in his career. Letter from Pedro de Melo Breyner to the Count of Funchal, Rome, 12 November 1819, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 17, 18.

<sup>355</sup> See the scarce records of the Legation in Rome described by Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias Farinha, *Os documentos dos Negócios Estrangeiros na Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, 1990, p. 125.

<sup>356</sup> D. Vicente Roque de Sousa Coutinho Monteiro Paim (1726-1792). He died in Paris. 'Paim, D. Vicente...', in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 19.

<sup>357</sup> He was in charge of the Portuguese interests in Paris from 1792 to 1796 and from 1799 to 1801, Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...', pp. 226-227. In 1814, he was official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* referred as absent from Lisbon, most probably in Paris. *Almanach de Lisboa para o anno de MDCCXIV*, p. 46. He died still in 1819. Letter from Gameira (?), Paris, 11 July 1819, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, cx. 5, mç. 11, 569.

<sup>358</sup> Francisco José Maria de Brito was the Portuguese representative in Paris from November 1814 to March 1825, during the absences of the ambassador Marquis of Marialva. Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...', p. 227.

<sup>359</sup> As Branco wrote, these papers '*não se amanhão em trinta dias*' (are not arranged in thirty days time).

Court and those that belonged to D. Vicente's heirs and the Casa de Alva, whose head was a son from D. Vicente de Sousa Coutinho's second marriage.<sup>360</sup> Documents considered useless for those entities were also separated. Furthermore, during the selection of public documents, the ones of greater importance were given priority without any explanation for the use of this judgement. Those documents were the first and by far, the most numerous group to have been retained by the Marquis of Marialva,<sup>361</sup> ambassador in Paris since June 1814.<sup>362</sup> The Marquis of Marialva followed up also the whole process of listing and transfer of documents from one of his predecessors in the leadership of the Legation.<sup>363</sup>

When the Marquis of Marialva died, a few years after the 1820 Revolution and the return of the king to Lisbon, the whole of his documents was sealed, certainly to proceed also with the separation of public and private documents.<sup>364</sup> Meanwhile the government ordered the attachés José Inácio da Cunha Cândido and Francisco d'Alpuim de Meneses to hand in the existing documents in the embassy office, which were not part of that group. Some of these documents had been opened by the attachés after the ambassador's death.<sup>365</sup> Francisco José Maria de Brito succeeded him temporarily in the post and received the documents that had not been sealed. Brito did not fail to notice the absence of official documents: some recent *ofícios* from the Marquis of Palmela and minutes from the correspondence sent by the attachés since the Marquis of Marialva's death up to 9 January.

The handing over of the archives from the Portuguese legations between those responsible it was not always straightforward, as we can see. It happened independently

---

<sup>360</sup> D. Luís Roque de Sousa Coutinho Monteiro Paim (1783-1850) was the third Count of Alva, as his paternal grandmother, D. Maria Antónia de S. Boaventura de Meneses Paim was *Senhora de Alva*. 'Alva' in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 1.

<sup>361</sup> D. Pedro José Joaquim Vito de Meneses Coutinho. 'Marialva' in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 16.

<sup>362</sup> Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Histórico do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros...', p. 227.

<sup>363</sup> See, about all this: letter from Branco to his mother (?), Paris, 7 January 1819, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, cx. 5, mç. 11, 552; letter from Branco to his daughter, Paris 7 January 1819, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, cx. 5, mç. 11, 554.

<sup>364</sup> The Marquis of Marialva was single but since his sister, D. Henriqueta, was Duchess of Lafões and the House of Marialva was afterwards united to the House of the dukes of Lafões. 'Marialva' in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 16.

<sup>365</sup> These records comprised the following: a few despatches from the Marquis of Palmela, secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra, minute of ofício no. 49 to the Marquis of Palmela, letters to the Marquis of Marialva, ofício to the minister of Bavaria and despatches from the Marquis of Palmela to the attachés and drafts of passports. 'Descrição dos papeis existentes na Secretaria da Embaixada de Sua Magestade Fidelíssima em Paris que se não acham submetidos aos selos postos no espolio do Exm<sup>o</sup> Marquez de Marialva', Paris, 3-9 January 1824, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 38, mç. 25, doc. 4-6.



of the transfer of the Court to Brazil, the 1820 Revolution and the return of the monarch to Portugal. In 1822, the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, looked into the problem of the documents that could be kept either by the ceasing minister or his heirs and those that the legation should keep. In a despatch sent to the responsible for the legation in London,<sup>366</sup> Pinheiro Ferreira started by defining the documents, bound in books,<sup>367</sup> which should be not only obligatory in each legation but also each minister should hand in to his successor. Those documents comprised the following: Court *ofícios*, legation *ofícios*, documents containing earnings and expenses, passport-related documents, legation notes to its country government and finally, the notes from this government to the legation. In a less clear way, ministers were allowed to retain the originals of those documents for their usage and resolution. It is not yet clear whether this was a temporary permission in order that the ministers could accompany current public business and whether copies were retained in the archive. Besides, the attached documents to the *ofícios* and notes should be kept in bundles in the archive. The ministers were authorised to take authenticated copies of the documents of their choosing.<sup>368</sup> The orders given by Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira omitted the correspondence between the ministers of the legations<sup>369</sup> and private documents<sup>370</sup> were removed. As in England, that correspondence was probably considered to be private.<sup>371</sup>

Different kinds of finding aids for controlling and retrieving documents and their contents, drawn up at the time, and concerning the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do*

---

<sup>366</sup> Despatch no. 5, from Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira to João Francisco Oliveira [chargé d'affaires in London], Lisbon, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 23 February 1822, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 570, f. 75v-80r.

<sup>367</sup> Contrary to the majority of the original records of the central department, especially the correspondence received from the legations, till at least 1834, which were kept in wooden boxes. The question of how to arrange the records of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, either in boxes or bound was discussed by a committee in 1877 that differently from the British Foreign Office opted for the boxes. Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros...', pp. 196-197.

<sup>368</sup> Roper points out that in the nineteenth century this occurred with the secretaries of state, diplomats and Foreign Office officials. Besides, they could take with them their private correspondence and copies of confidential print. Michael Roper, *The records of the Foreign Office 1782-1968*, p. 59. There was no confidential print in the Portuguese Foreign Affairs records during this period.

<sup>369</sup> In the private papers of the Count of Funchal there are letters from his colleagues of other legations. See, for instance, letter from the Marquis of Marialva to the Count of Funchal, Vienna, 18 March 1817, BNRJ, CL, I-29,14,54 no. 7, and letter from Rodrigo Navarro de Andrade to the Count of Funchal, Vienna, 6 April 1818, BNRJ, CL, I-29,17,18 no. 1.

<sup>370</sup> Pinheiro Ferreira also ordered that the unnecessary records would be removed periodically to the Court. This would be decided based on the reports from the ministers of the legations.

<sup>371</sup> Michael Roper, *The records of the Foreign Office 1782-1968*, p. 158.

*Reino* and the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, do not indicate the private nature of some of those documents. The public character of the archives in question was uppermost, while the private nature of isolate documents would perhaps add nothing important in terms of the description of documents. Effectively, the only existing reference in two of those finding aids carried out in 1808<sup>372</sup> and 1812<sup>373</sup> in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, alluded to the letters of 'private persons in the course of their duty', in the division called 'different papers'.<sup>374</sup> The point made is that the private nature of the letters was mentioned while emphasising that the subject matter related to the royal office or state office, nowadays called civil service. However, the '*Inventario Geral do Archivo da Secretaria d'Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros*', initiated in 1828,<sup>375</sup> only exceptionally classified documents as being private.<sup>376</sup>

The classification of archives and collections of documents in terms of public or private it is linked to their custodial history at times tortuous. As far as the private archives in Portugal are concerned, the absence of a voluntary central register has obstructed, even more, the clarification of that history, as well as the access to documents, and at times, their protection. In order to avoid an even greater dispersion of private archives or possibly their eventual disappearance, various public organisations, including the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, have in various ways, acquired some of them.<sup>377</sup> Nevertheless, the organisation of those archives, series or documents

---

<sup>372</sup> 'Sistêma que regula a divizão e colocação dos Papeis do Archivo desta Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino, organizado na Epoca da Restauração da Monarquia no anno de 1808.' By Pedro de Alcantara Pereira Rollim. Ms. IANTT, MR, liv. 2560.

<sup>373</sup> 'Catalogo dos livros de Registo desta Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino, ordenado por Systêma que regula a sua colocação e arrecadação (...) Rollim. Em o 1º de Julho de 1812.' Ms. IANTT, MR, liv. 2561.

<sup>374</sup> IANTT, MR, liv. 2560, f. 30v.

<sup>375</sup> IANTT, MNE, liv. 192.

<sup>376</sup> For instance, when referring briefly some records of the Portuguese legation in France there is a mention to '*cartas particulares*'. IANTT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 109r. These letters belong certainly to the correspondence of Francisco Mendes de Góis, who was sent to Paris, in 1736, by the King D. João V, to order and buy silverware (the famous Germain silverware, for instance), jewellery and other luxury objects. He received many private letters asking him to buy luxury goods. IANTT, MNE, cx. 927.

<sup>377</sup> Contrary to what was the English tradition and its doctrine of unbroken custody, according to V. H. Galbraith, *An introduction to the use of the Public Records*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 12. Lodolini explains this well, presenting different points of view and practices in the archives of several countries. Following Hilary Jenkison and going further, he emphasises that when private papers or records of a fonds of public office or archive were kept in private hands they should not be inserted or return to an existent fonds. This creates a falsity, juridical, historical and on the point of view of the archives. The unbroken custody it is thus related to the principle of provenance. Elio Lodolini, *Archivística: principios y problemas*, Madrid: Editorial La Muralla, 1993, pp. 218-231, especially 228-231.

was not always treated correctly. At times, since some of the documents belonged originally to the archives of public institutions, the tendency was to integrate them, in our view, wrongly, in their respective fonds. In some cases, documents were integrated without indication of their provenance, alteration of custody and form of acquisition.

## 5.5 Secrecy and records

Some of the documents written and used by the Portuguese central administration while the Court was in Brazil were subjected to procedures of secrecy, which were not uncommon. However, the circumstances of Portugal's occupation and the war against the French allied to the internal political inertia that followed, triggered a fear of political and social changes, leading to a general climate of secrecy which inevitably affected all documentation. These also affected all political and military initiatives taken in Brazil but concerning Europe, particularly those related to the royal project of expansion and border settlement as well as Dona Carlota Joaquina's personal ambitions. Furthermore, restricted access to written information on individual subjects who had fallen foul of the government was maintained. The common practice of production, circulation, conservation or destruction of documents carried out during the Portuguese administration of 1808-20 was strengthened with a view to guarantee the secrecy of certain documents ('blocked communication' as referred to by David Vincent).<sup>378</sup>

One of the symbolical situations of this period was the letter addressed to Napoleon on 24 May 1808 and signed by some of the Portuguese notables, including some aristocrats and which was presented in *Junta dos Três Estados* that was allegedly acting for the Cortes.<sup>379</sup> In this letter the deputies of the Junta expressed the 'votos da Nação' (Nation's wishes) and required a Prince to govern Portugal<sup>380</sup> (this was believed to be Junot's stratagem). One of the advisers of this letter, the Count of Ega, sent it to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior* and from here it was re-directed to *Desembargo do Paço* to be analysed, registered and sent back to the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*.<sup>381</sup> Independently of any interpretation of the underlying intentions and pressures under which this letter was written, it acknowledged Napoleon as the supreme authority, and not the Braganza dynasty. When at the end of September 1808 the

---

<sup>378</sup> David Vincent, *The culture of secrecy: Britain, 1832-1998*, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 6.

<sup>379</sup> Reis, *As Invasões Francesas: as revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, pp. 67-71. Reis refers to more two proposals for a government of Portugal. See also Neill Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, p. 54.

<sup>380</sup> The text was published in *Correio Braziliense*, (November 1814), according to Reis, *As Invasões Francesas: as revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, p. 68, n. 9. This newspaper was published in London by Hipólito José da Costa and often was politically critical of the Portuguese government.

<sup>381</sup> Register of aviso from Francisco António Herman to Manuel Negrão, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*, 11 June 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 11v; register of aviso from Francisco António Herman to Count da Ega, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Interior*, 11 June 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 14r.

governors of the Kingdom assumed the direction of the country in the name of the Prince Regent, Dom João, supported by the English but within a very unstable political climate, this 'infamous paper' became rather uncomfortable. According to *Desembargo do Paço*, it was proposed that the letter should be destroyed in public in the *Praça do Pelourinho*, the symbolic place in Lisbon of Authority and Justice. The governors of the Kingdom feared that the 'memory' of the letter could trigger 'popular sentiment' and sent the *consulta* from the *Desembargo do Paço* to the Prince Regent for a final decision.<sup>382</sup> The monarch, through the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil* took issue with the governors of the Kingdom for having previously consulted with the *Desembargo do Paço* and argued that almost every member had signed the petition. Although the monarch's opinion was that the document deserved to be reduced to cinders, he nevertheless decided to keep it under the 'greatest care and secrecy' at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. He also feared the possibility of alterations in public order and believed it to be necessary to keep the letter as proof to those who 'by the force of circumstances' or by 'strength of spirit', had had the good fortune of not having signed it. For all intentions and purposes, the letter was also a living proof to be used against those who had signed it. The Prince Regent decided also to keep in secret the *conta* of the governors of the Kingdom and attached documents, which discussed the matter in question, and also the *aviso* issued by the *secretário de Estado* communicating the royal decision.<sup>383</sup> All these documents and related documentation then housed in the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* received the same treatment and were requested from its *guarda-mor*.<sup>384</sup> João Moreira da Silva Paisinho, *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, closed and sealed the documents inside a briefcase in the presence of the *secretário dos Negócios do*

---

<sup>382</sup> Register of *conta* no. 3, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 12 December 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 9v-10r. In a non dated and unsigned contemporary document, this proposal was explained as follows: 'The Junta of the Three Estates created by the joint advice of the Ex-Minister Seabra, of Pedro de Mello and Conde d'Ega, and usurping the name of Cortes with Count de Ega at their lead, endeavoured to alienate the affections of the subjects of HRH. The honour of the first nobility of the Kingdom is stained by a forced signature that Junot exacted through a Committee of 12 Persons, which he formed from the said Junta of Three Estates. This paper ought to be burned by the hand of the public Execution...'. Original English version of a letter to be showed to the Prince Regent on the people that compromised with the French, including members of the Council of Regency, HGB, DL 356.3, doc. 2 and 3.

<sup>383</sup> Register of *aviso* from Count of Aguiar to governors of the Kingdom, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 10 July 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 50-52.

<sup>384</sup> Register of *conta* no. 23, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 30 September 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 52v-53r; register of *aviso* from João António Salter de Mendonça, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 40, f. 152v.

*Reino*. He then entrusted the briefcase to the *oficial maior* for its safe-keeping. All this was recorded in a document.<sup>385</sup>

Some administrative matters were given confidential status, although the documents did not always receive that classification. During the Peninsular Wars, the nomination of civil authorities was sometimes subjected to these procedures, particularly in key places in the country. The *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz consulted Marechal Beresford confidentially on the suitability of designated candidates for those posts.<sup>386</sup>

There were various ways of attempting to maintain the secrecy of subjects broached in official records. One instance is exemplified by the orders issued by Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, at the beginning of 1820. Although the Inquisition was by then already in decline, the atmosphere surrounding the government was still one of political suspicion and accordingly the governors of the Kingdom were instructed to follow strict procedures when corresponding with the *inquisidor geral*, lest it was divulged. The subject matter to be dealt with, either pertinent to the post or private, should be submitted in sealed letters to the secretaries of the Lisbon government. Additionally the royal resolutions should be sent to the *secretário de Estado* in identical documents and by the same circuit. Furthermore, the resolutions taken could not be registered in *livros de porta*.<sup>387</sup>

Another way of attempting to maintain secrecy<sup>388</sup> in cases dealt with by the *secretarias de Estado* was the use of private instead of official letters. The *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* in Lisbon was in the habit of using this method when writing to the

---

<sup>385</sup> Register of conta no 25, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 20 de October 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 54v.

<sup>386</sup> It was the case of some of the documents connected with the possible appointment of the *juiz de fora* of Tomar, to Peniche. Oficio from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to João António Salter de Mendonça Belém, 28 de Novembro de 1810, and enclosed oficio from Beresford to Forjaz, Head Quarter of Coimbra, 10 September 1810, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 429.

<sup>387</sup> Aviso from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 10 January 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 383, p. 163. This followed a representation from the inquisitor general on repairs of the Inquisition Palace, including its prison and personal accommodations. The main building was then used as Palace of the Government.

<sup>388</sup> In his approaches to define secrecy, Vincent refers to the 'complex polarity' between secrecy and privacy and to the blurring of their identities. Privacy can be understood as 'the right...to be left alone' and also as 'the right to keep secrets'. See Vincent, *The culture of secrecy...*, pp. 18-20. The latter approach to the notion of privacy, which is closer to the notion of secrecy, makes sense here.

*secretário de Estado* in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>389</sup> Although private, these letters were submitted to the Prince Regent, as were the *ofícios*, and that was the intention. The private nature of these letters did not oblige the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* to share their content with either a third party or to present them to the governors of the Kingdom. The content of one of these letters concerned the denunciation of Freemasons and their imprisonment.<sup>390</sup> This letter was answered by one of the customary *avisos* from the *secretário de Estado* and it advised 'caution, secrecy and disguise', arguing that a public enquiry would be inconvenient, not the least to avoid 'slander' and 'unjust persecution'. However, this *aviso* was initially registered by copy in quires separated from the general register as a means to restrict access to information.<sup>391</sup>

In these quires, other types of documents were also registered, sent by the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to the governors of the Kingdom and to the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*: they all concerned delicate political and social issues. Some of these cases and documents should be briefly mentioned here.<sup>392</sup> One of them concerned the replacement of Cipriano Ribeiro Freire in the *Real Erário* and in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, which the Prince Regent and certain personalities in Brazil wanted to choose. For this reason in an *aviso* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to the Patriarch Elect who presided over the governors of the Kingdom, the Prince Regent authorised them to nominate ad interim the councillor of Finance, Francisco da Horta e Machado for those posts.<sup>393</sup> But almost immediately after, another *aviso* was sent, instructing the Patriarch to maintain the matter secret: it should only be communicated if the right circumstances presented themselves. In the event, this did not take place as predicted.<sup>394</sup> The captain of the Brig in which they were

---

<sup>389</sup> Regarding the records of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* see the general observations made by Luís Teixeira Sampaio, 'O Arquivo Histórico do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros: subsídios para o estudo da história da diplomacia portuguesa', pp. 190-192.

<sup>390</sup> Letter mentioned in register of *aviso* from Count of Aguiar to Salter de Mendonça, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 1r-1v.

<sup>391</sup> Register of *aviso* from Count of Aguiar to Salter de Mendonça, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 1r-1v. Afterwards this same *aviso* was also registered in a book of general registers. See register of *aviso* from Count of Aguiar to Salter de Mendonça, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 60-71.

<sup>392</sup> Copybook of *avisos*, *ofícios*, letters and decrees from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* and to the governors of the Kingdom, 31 August 1809 – 15 June 1820, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11.

<sup>393</sup> Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 17 January 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 2v-3r.

<sup>394</sup> Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 17 January 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 3r. Other people replaced Freire and it appears that the

carried delivered both *avisos* by hand.<sup>395</sup> The decree of dismissal of another governor of the kingdom, which in the event was not applied, deserved also an individual register.<sup>396</sup> The distance between Portugal and Brazil aggravated the delicate nature of the process of nomination for high government and administrative positions. It was necessary to put forward more than one name, which could give offence to some. The different choices were usually kept within a more restricted circle of knowledge and the respective documents kept in secret, at least temporarily.<sup>397</sup> Documents with details of procedures to deal with irregular and scandalous behaviour of high officials of the administration or even denouncing them were also subjected to a certain degree of confidentiality.<sup>398</sup> The register of the authorisation of an act considered as a bad example for the 'conservation of the nobility of the Kingdom' was equally kept secret.<sup>399</sup> The royal decree regarding the settlement of clandestine foreigners entering Brazil in common zones of the border between Portuguese and Spanish colonies, and to avoid the claim of having been handed over to another power was also registered in secret.<sup>400</sup> Finally, the contents of another

---

Patriarch did not communicate the content of these *avisos* in the meetings of the governors of the Kingdom.

<sup>395</sup> Ofício from Patriarch Elect to Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 19 April 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac.1,50.

<sup>396</sup> It was the dismissal of Principal Sousa under pressure by the British ally in Portugal, due to the frequent objections that he raised on the conduct of the war. Register of royal decree, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 29 October 1811, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 3v-4r.

<sup>397</sup> Aires Pinto de Sousa was the first name appointed to captain general of the captaincy of Maranhão and Fernando Romão da Costa de Ataíde Teive the second. But the document regarding the appointment of Teive was to be communicated only when the government acknowledged that Sousa did not hold the post, and the *aviso* reporting all this was again registered separately. Register of *aviso* from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect, 5 September 1817, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 6r.

<sup>398</sup> Francisco Sodré Pereira official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* seems to have criticized the Portuguese King and government in the presence of members of the diplomatic corps in Paris. The King decided that when he returned to Lisbon he should be severely reproached and admonished. Besides, he was not to be granted a passport and the *Intendência Geral da Polícia* should watch him. Register of ofício from the Marquis of Aguiar to the Marquis Monteiro-Mór, Rio de Janeiro, 1 February 1816, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 4v-5r. On 20 April 1816, the Marquis of Borba, governor of the Kingdom, wrote a private letter to his cousin and *secretário de Estado*, Marquis of Aguiar warning him confidentially that José Manuel Barros, *fiel* (treasurer's assistant) of the gold and silver at the *Casa da Moeda* in Lisbon intended to obtain the property of this post but he was suspicious of misconduct. Following this, the Prince Regent ordered these considerations to be taken into account, if he presented a petition, and allowed the Marquis of Borba to dismiss him if convenient. Register of ofício from the Marquis of Aguiar to the Marquis of Borba his cousin, Rio de Janeiro, 21 de Agosto de 1816, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 5v-6r.

<sup>399</sup> This regarded the socially irregular marriage of the Marquis of Sabugosa and Leonor Peregrina. Register of *aviso* of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 2 October 1817, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 6v.

<sup>400</sup> Register of *aviso* of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 2 October 1817, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 6v-7r.



document of this type, determined that the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Portugal in Rome should make endeavours with a view that the *Mestrado* of the Order of Malta and that of the Crown should be combined following the example of the other three military orders or else should become independent from the foreign Grand Master. This was obviously a tricky subject in the relationship with the Holy See.<sup>401</sup>

Official documents relating to specific cases and subjects like the ones mentioned above, were subjected to different procedures to ensure that their content was only revealed to a restricted number of people, although in reality the administration applied the secret classification to a much larger variety of documents. In another context it was noted that the resolutions given to the *consultas* from the *tribunais* were not communicated to the interested parties, even in situations of possible individual damage. Generally, the bulk of the correspondence of the governors of the Kingdom to the secretaries of state was considered secret.<sup>402</sup> It should be remembered that the content of the sessions of the governors of the Kingdom, which was secret, was in great measure contained in that correspondence.<sup>403</sup>

Although not all the sessions contained information as sensitive as the one initially referred in *conta* no. 3, the *contas* of the governors of the Kingdom to the sovereign were carefully controlled. The content of the *contas* or at least some of the details, were kept from foreigners and their transport was avoided either in English ships or those from other countries.<sup>404</sup> Nevertheless all this care did not prevent the content of the documents being known by others for whom they were not intended. Luís dos Santos

---

<sup>401</sup> Register of aviso from Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to Pedro de Melo Breyner, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 14 June 1820, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 9v-10r.

<sup>402</sup> In 1816, Henrique Teixeira de Sampaio a leading merchant and financier who, in connection with the British, financed the war against the French and negotiated another borrowing with the governors of the Kingdom. One of the conditions was that he received a copy or at least an extract of the *ofício* from the governors to the monarch recommending him for a title. The governors of the Kingdom answered that this was not possible because this correspondence was '*secretissima*'. Session of the governors of the Kingdom on 7 December 1816, BN, COD 6851, pp. 270-272

<sup>403</sup> The Patriarch Elect, governor of the Kingdom, referred to the secret nature of these sessions to try to justify the casual and free way he had spoken on the military plan of Wellington concerning the scorched earth policy towards the French in Portugal. Representation from the Patriarch Elect to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 27 January 1811, enclosed with *ofício* from the Patriarch Elect to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 20 February 1811. ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1,27. The Patriarch raised the issue of betrayal of trust among the governors of the Kingdom, as his words had been communicated to Wellington. Following again Vincent (based on George Simmel) trust involves subjective factor and this is one reason for the volatility of secrecy. See Vincent, *The Culture of Secrecy: Britain, 1832-1998*, p. 14.

<sup>404</sup> Register of *conta* no. 18, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 3 August 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 44r-47r, especially f. 44v.

Marrocos who worked in the Palace in Rio de Janeiro was well aware of the way in which the administration functioned and he recounts that the mail bag of *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* was touched by many hands.<sup>405</sup>

The transportation of official records considered to be top secret, needed specific procedures and special envoys delivered them by hand. Besides, when the most secret records were transported by sea, the captains received *cartas de prego* detailing the course that sometimes included ports of call disguising the main destination. Those letters were opened only after the ships were outside the bar of the harbour entrance.<sup>406</sup> Certain documents were hidden during the voyage to avoid falling into enemy hands.<sup>407</sup>

The development of the Napoleonic Wars and of the different systems of alliances led some of the Portuguese legations to adopt ways to maintain the continuity and the secrecy of communication with the Court. Rodrigo Navarro de Andrade, the resident diplomat in St. Petersburg, was aware that in Russia all correspondence was opened. Furthermore, due to the tactical proximity of France, the correspondence with London was retained. Thus, at the end of 1807 and beginning of 1808, the letters dealing with political negotiations were not sent via normal mail but instead he used the mail of the minister of Sweden, through several different bearers amongst whom one was the minister of Sicily and the other the captain of a Portuguese ship. The letters to

---

<sup>405</sup> Register of conta no. 18, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 3 August 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 44r-47r, especially f. 44v.

<sup>406</sup> In April 1815, the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* justified the refusal of the commander of the Corvette *Aurora*, to transport correspondence from Beresford to Brazil, with the fact that the commander had received a *carta de prego* from the government. This letter ordered him to take to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, in secret, important *ofícios* from the Portuguese envoy in Madrid. Copy of letter from João António Salter de Mendonça to Beresford, Palace of the Government, 20 April 1815, enclosed with conta no. 341, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 22 April 1815. ANRJ, NP, cx. 694, pac. 3, 7. A month after, correspondence from the same envoy was sent to Rio de Janeiro in similar conditions, through Lisbon. The *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* sent secretly to the corresponding *secretário de Estado* the copy of a *carta reservada* (reserved letter) from the Portuguese representative in Madrid and, in hand of the secretary of this legation, very important despatches. In order to avoid suspicions, the commander of the Brig 'Lebre' was ordered, by a *carta de prego* from Forjaz, to go to Madeira or other port to obtain supplies, in order to better hide the destination. Letter from D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to the Marquis of Aguiar, 31 May 1815, ANRJ, NP, cx. 616, pac. 2, 82.

<sup>407</sup> Two documents from the governor and *juiz de fora* of Ponta Delgada, Azores, to the government in Brazil, were sewed inside the lining of a prisoner's clothes. Receipt regarding the delivery of documents by Guilherme Ivens to António Rodrigues, captain of the Brig 'Sto. António Firme', Falmouth, 3 May 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 642, pac. 1,11.

D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, minister in London were put inside folders and the answers to Andrade did not contain the sender's address.<sup>408</sup>

The *ofícios*, despatches and letters exchanged amongst the diplomatic representatives of Portugal at the different European courts were frequently classified as secret: *secretíssimo*, *secreto*, *reservado* (top secret, secret, reserved). The same applied to the correspondence of the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Lisbon or the *secretário de Estado Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro. In general terms, this classification seemed to have been given at the time the document was issued and was later on referred to in associated documents like different forms of register. However, written instructions explaining the criteria for the classification of documents do not seem to exist. There are only some cases, which afford a glimpse into the context of the restrictions applied to the information contained in those documents.

Among the correspondence carried out between D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, minister in London and the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, there are many documents classified as top-secret. This was applied to the *ofícios* regarding enquiries of the Portuguese government about the *Correio Braziliense* a newspaper published in England,<sup>409</sup> regarding the British decision of sending a fleet to Rio de Janeiro under the command of Admiral Beresford to accompany the Prince Regent on his return to Portugal - in reality putting him under pressure to do so,<sup>410</sup> or relating to diplomatic negotiations, which the government in Lisbon considered were not its responsibility.<sup>411</sup> D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho applied the same 'top secret' (*secretíssima*) or 'totally confidential' (*toda confidencial*) classification to a semi-official letter to his brother, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Brazil meant for the Prince Regent's eyes only. The letter referred to the protests against the Convention signed by the British and French in Portugal (the so-called Sintra Convention of 30 August 1808) and to the rumours that the British would obtain commercial favours with Brazil, as well as the handing over of some islands in exchange for the restoration of Lisbon. D. Domingos alleged that he was

---

<sup>408</sup> Ofício from Andrade to Coutinho, S. Petersburg, 8/20 December 1807, BNRJ, COD 15, 1, 6, no. 8, pp. 45-48; ofício from Andrade to Coutinho, S. Petersburg, 24 January 1808/5 February 1808, BNRJ, COD 15, 1, 6, no. 11, pp. 57-59; ofício from Andrade to Coutinho, S. Petersburg, 16/28 September 1808, BNRJ, COD 15, 1, 6, no. 39, pp. 173-175.

<sup>409</sup> Extract of ofício from Coutinho to Forjaz, August 1810, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 132.

<sup>410</sup> Extract of ofício no. 69, from Coutinho to Forjaz, 18 de Julho 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 132.

<sup>411</sup> Register of ofício from Forjaz to Coutinho, Palace of the Government, 19 August 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 518.

writing just a letter and not an *ofício* for security reasons and also because he was not yet in possession of reliable information on the terms of the Convention. The letter was sent by hand and entrusted to Admiral D. Pasquale Roiz Hendobrio, emissary of the Government of Galicia and successor of Liniers in Buenos Aires, travelling from London to Plymouth.<sup>412</sup>

Successive *secretários de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro sent secret documents to other authorities in Brazil and abroad, which were copied in separate register books.<sup>413</sup> Various of these documents dealt with the negotiations between the Portuguese Crown and the Spanish neighbouring colonies, namely through the authorities in Buenos Aires,<sup>414</sup> the border movements in Montevideo area and Cayenne, as well as dealing with the preparation of military expeditions within Brazil. Other documents dealt with the circulation of foreign publications, the control of French immigrants' movements, information on candidates to the Royal Guard and cases of public official's corruption in Brazil.<sup>415</sup> There were also documents dealing with military discipline during the Peninsular War in Portugal, financing of the Portuguese Army by Great Britain or the threat of possible changes to the Portuguese political system.<sup>416</sup>

---

<sup>412</sup> Copy of letter from D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho to his brother, London, 25 September 1808, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 16, 46.

<sup>413</sup> Copy book of secret documents from the *secretários de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, Count of Linhares, Count of Galveias and Marquis of Aguiar to several authorities in Brazil and outside, 1808-1816, AHI, estante 343, prateleira 4, vol. 3, IAN/TT, micr. 62, 02. These documents comprised letters, *ofícios*, *avisos*, and circulars.

<sup>414</sup> The first secret document copied in this book and one of the first issued by the new *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, Count of Linhares, was the letter to the *Cabildo* of Buenos Aires, communicating the arrival of the Prince Regent at Rio de Janeiro and offering protection to the *Cabildo* and to the people of Buenos Aires as well as to the *Vice-Reino*, face to the subjection, in Europe, of the Spanish Monarchy to France. Letter from D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to the *Cabildo* of Buenos Aires, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 13 March 1808, AHI, estante 343, prateleira 4, vol. 3, f. 1r-2r, IAN/TT, micr. 62, 02.

<sup>415</sup> This case of corruption concerned an officer of the *secretaria* of the *Conselho Supremo Militar* (High Military Council). The letter reminded the Prince Regent's decree of 20 October 1809, by which he authorized the *Conselho Supremo Militar* to expulse the officers who received more emoluments than they should and who gave illicit preference to legal representatives of the parties, certainly in the carrying out of the *requerimentos*. Linhares to João de Sousa Mendonça, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 13 January 1810, AHI, estante 343, prateleira 4, vol. 3, f. 41r, IAN/TT, micr. 62, 02.

<sup>416</sup> This last document communicated the royal surprise regarding the concern that the Count of Funchal, representative in London, expressed about the idea of *Cortes* contaminating Portugal, by sympathy of what was happening in Sicily. *Ofício* no. 89, Count of Galveias to Count of Funchal, Rio de Janeiro, 22 December 1812, AHI, estante 343, prateleira 4, vol. 3, f. 174v-177r, IAN/TT, micr. 62, 02.

The *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* also used the classification 'reserved'.<sup>417</sup> The *ofícios* with this classification differed from those marked 'ostensible'.<sup>418</sup> In 1821 by royal instruction, a different number was applied to each of these sets of *ofícios*.<sup>419</sup> Within the range of reserved documents there is the *ofício* from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* dated 1821 in which Dom João VI's resolution to send his son Dom Pedro to Portugal, in the aftermath of the Constitutional Revolution was communicated.<sup>420</sup> Some letters sent by Joaquim Severino Gomes chargé d' affaires in Cadiz were also reserved. One of his letters addressed to the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Lisbon deals with the negotiations between the British Ambassador, Henry Wellesley and the Spanish Regency, concerning the military cooperation against the French and the possible Portuguese mediation. It also contains a request for instructions from the governors of the Kingdom. This letter, together with the annexe, should be presented to the governors of the Kingdom and to the Count of Palmela who represented Portugal in Cadiz and a copy of the letter sent to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro. The annexe contained a copy of the extract of the documents of those negotiations, obtained confidentially. To avoid raising suspicions, instead of sending the mail from Cadiz, Gomes sent an emissary to the governor of Vila Real de Santo António and from there it was delivered safely by the Mail.<sup>421</sup>

---

<sup>417</sup> Forjaz thanked the secretary of the Portuguese Legation in London, Rafael da Cruz Guerreiro, for the news sent in '*cartas reservadas*'. Register of letter from Forjaz to Rafael da Cruz Guerreiro, Lisbon, 13 January 1814, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 518. See also, for instance, *ofício* no. 23, *reservado*, 2ª via, from Count of Palmela to Count da Barca, London, 9 May 1817, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, cx. 4, mç. 9, 493.

<sup>418</sup> See sets of correspondence, ostensible and reserved, received by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Rio de Janeiro from the Portuguese Legation in London, 1816-1821, *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 – documentação anterior a 1822*, 2nd ed. revised and augmented, Brasília: FUNAG, 2000, pp. 165-166. The set of correspondence from D. José Luís de Sousa, after Count of Vila Real, London, August 1820-April 1821, comprises second vias of *ofícios* to Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal numbered sequentially, several of which classified either ostensible or reserved. AHI, estante 338, prateleira 2, vol. 5, IAN/TT, micr. 78. See also 'Legação em Cádiz, Correspondência ostensiva do Conde de Palmela para o Conde de Linhares, Conde de Galveias e D. Carlota Joaquina, 1812' and 'Congresso de Viena, Correspondência reservada do Conde de Palmela para o Marquês de Aguiar, António Saldanha da Gama and Joaquim Lobo da Silveira, Novembro 1814-Junho 1815', *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 – documentação anterior a 1822*, p. 166 and p. 168.

<sup>419</sup> *Ofício* no. 2, from Viscount of Torrebelã to the Count of Palmela, Naples, 8 May 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 747.

<sup>420</sup> Extract of *ofício* from the Count of Palmela, to the Legation of Vienna, 6 January 1821, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 23 (8), f. 2v.

<sup>421</sup> Copy of letter from Joaquim Severino Gomes to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, Cadiz, 23 November 1812, and enclosed document, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 15, 43, no. 8.

The use of ciphers was another recognised way to restrict access to certain information. Joaquim Severino Gomes, in separate letter to the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Lisbon, sent a cipher 'to enable him to correspond more openly' since he was convinced that the mail was being tampered with.<sup>422</sup> The decoding of the documents was done by trustworthy officers or even by the *secretário de Estado* himself.<sup>423</sup> Besides, the cipher was also, sometimes, used in private correspondence.<sup>424</sup>

Several Portuguese diplomats posted in Europe used to send their correspondence to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro through the auspices of the *secretário* Forjaz and the Governors of the Kingdom in Lisbon. Much of that correspondence was sent with flying seal to allow the government in Lisbon to be informed of its content. But even when the *ofícios* were not classified as reserved or secret, it was recommended that they were read only by government members, followed immediately by its closure.<sup>425</sup>

The confidential nature of a letter could also equivocally and at first sight, detract from its official nature. This seemed to be the understanding of the British representative in Rio de Janeiro, Strangford, relative to certain letters he sent to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, Count of Linhares with whom he had established a close relationship. Strangford stated that he used 'the form of confidential letter to express the sentiments of the British representative reserving a more official reply after special instructions'.<sup>426</sup> The confidentiality of that document conferred simultaneously

---

<sup>422</sup> Besides he saved money avoiding the sending of individual couriers. Extract of *ofício* from Joaquim Severino Gomes to Forjaz, 14 October 1813, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 134.

<sup>423</sup> In 1803, D. João de Almeida e Castro, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, who in Brazil was *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, sent to the Prince Regent D. João a letter from D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho that was in cipher. Castro justified himself for not having deciphered the letter himself claiming overwork. A trustworthy official of the *Secretaria* deciphered the letter in his presence. Letter from D. João de Almeida e Castro to the Prince Regent, Belas, 27 June [1803], ANRJ, NP, cx. 720, pac. 3.

<sup>424</sup> The diplomat D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho used cipher in the correspondence with members of his family. See Francisco de la Fuente, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: His Early Career and Role in the Mobilization and Defence of Portugal during the Peninsular War, 1807-1814', p. 176. See also the copy of a list of British and Portuguese People and their coded names, of this period, in the Linhares Collection. BNRJ, CL, I-29, 20, 2, no. 114.

<sup>425</sup> This was the case of the *ofício* no. 21, from D. José Luís de Sousa to the Marquis of Aguiar, enclosed with the *ofício* no. 18, from D. José Luís de Sousa to Forjaz, Madrid, 25 February 1815. See extract, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 134. Sousa asked the Marquis of Aguiar for instructions on the possible request on Portuguese military cooperation against Bonaparte.

<sup>426</sup> Dispatch no. 63, Rio de Janeiro, 12 August 1810, Viscount Strangford to the Marquis Wellesley, PRO, FO 63/85 f 141r-142v.

privacy, in the same measure that private documents written while exercising official functions, acquired a confidential nature.

The copybook of the semi-official letters written by Principal Sousa, while acting as governor of the Kingdom, to the Prince Regent, afterwards King D. João, was considered top-secret by its author.<sup>427</sup> Besides, and at least part of the original letters were kept by the monarch.<sup>428</sup> This correspondence covered some subjects and even opinions that were known to the other governors of the Kingdom. Some opinions and proposals concerned the methods of government and some of its members, as for instance Beresford's competence and performance, and the general state of Portugal's administrative institutions, of agriculture, trade and finance. Principal Sousa's aim was to ensure the monarch's full knowledge of his opinion as far as certain questions were concerned. But in other circumstances he decided to hide the content of the documents totally from other members of the government in Lisbon. This happened when, pressed by his colleagues in the government, he examined the French documentation found at Count of Caparica's house that had been the residence of the French consul. He investigated the existence of any documents that might threaten public security. Principal Sousa put aside a document and without the knowledge of the other governors of the Kingdom, handed it to João Diogo de Barros Carvalhosa, a high ranking employee of the Casa Real and in Sousa's own words, the Prince Regent's 'digno Português e Fiel Creado'.

429

Some records were kept away from the indiscreet gaze of government employees. When Marrocos had to write certain documents for the *intendente geral da Polícia* he was summoned by the Prince Regent for a private audience in the *sala de docel* (four poster room) and from there Marrocos had to accompany the *intendente* to the *Engenho Velho* where he did the work. When he collaborated with the *oficial maior* of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in similar tasks, these were completed at the *oficial maior*'s house and not at the Palace.<sup>430</sup>

---

<sup>427</sup> Copiador das 'cartas do Governador do Reino de Portugal para Sua Alteza Real', 2 vol., 9 August 1810 - 20 September 1813, 1 October 1813 - 7 August 1817, AFL, CEHCA, FUP, R-9, 1, 1, vol. 1.

<sup>428</sup> These are now in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* in the private collection *Gabinete de D. João VI*.

<sup>429</sup> Letter from Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 15 May 1811, AFL, Copiador..., CEHCA, FUP, R-9, 1, 1, vol. 1, f. 41r.

<sup>430</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 29 August 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 95.

Despite all the precautions taken, it was feared that those working in the administration might still reveal the content of certain documents. José Anselmo Correia Henriques, the representative of Portugal in Hamburg and in the Hanseatic Towns,<sup>431</sup> requested to the king to write to him in letter form and not in the form of an *ofício*, in order to maintain the secrecy of information. He reminded the King that the *ofícios* after being presented to the king were generally deposited in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, being subjected to the scrutiny of those who worked there. He feared that corruption, greed or 'masonic investigations' could expose the secrets. In his opinion, those secret documents should only be deposited in the *Gabinete Secreto do Rei* (King's Secret Cabinet)<sup>432</sup> where all the king's letters were deposited in any case.<sup>433</sup>

Certain documents were actually kept in places with restricted access. D. João kept sensitive documents close to him, for at least a certain period of time. In fact, that was the case with one of the *ofícios* from the Count of Funchal, which contained a suggestion for his own nomination for the post of *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, on the death of his predecessor, in this case, his own brother.<sup>434</sup> The manuscripts from the *Biblioteca da Coroa* taken to Rio de Janeiro after the withdrawal of Junot's army were kept in a room next to the Prince Regent's apartments, on his express wishes. Keeping the key to the room was indicative of royal trust, and, for this reason, also the cause of palace intrigue. The manuscripts were considered precious and consisted mainly of documents related to the royal-decision making, being therefore temporarily stored in the room next to the Prince Regent's lodgings. It is not surprising then, that the organization and conservation of the Crown manuscripts was considered to be an 'important and secret duty carrying great

---

<sup>431</sup> José Anselmo Correia Henriques (1778-1831) might have been, in 1817 or 1818, in Brazil, the chief of spies of the minister Tomás de Vila-Nova Portugal, regarding mainly the Freemasons. See 'Henriques, José Anselmo Correia' in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, Lisboa; Rio de Janeiro, Editorial Enciclopédia, n. d., vol. 13, p. 96.

<sup>432</sup> Presumably an even more reserved area than the Manuscripts Room.

<sup>433</sup> Letter from José Anselmo to the King D. João VI, Hamburg, 25 October 1819, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 11, 577, f. 1r.

<sup>434</sup> Billet from D. João to D. João [de Almeida, Melo e Castro], Court, 5 August 1812, AHI, lata 169, mç. 3, pasta 7. The mentioned *ofício* seems to be the following document: letter from the Count of Funchal to the Prince Regent, London, 1 June 1812, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, mç. 4, 245.



responsibility'.<sup>435</sup> The official carrying out his duties was supposed to assume an attitude of silence and reserve.<sup>436</sup> In October 1811 the measures taken to protect the manuscripts forbade the acquisition of copies of documents housed in the Manuscripts Room.<sup>437</sup> Also, in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, in Lisbon, there was a 'cupboard for reserved' where various *ofícios* of the Portuguese diplomatic representatives were kept.<sup>438</sup>

Finally, the records kept in the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* in Lisbon were considered reserved and access to them was only allowed with caution. In 1823 the *guarda-mor* of Torre do Tombo alleged that it was forbidden to see or to copy records even inside the Archive. This was in response to a request from Francisco Pereira de Sousa who wanted to complete work in process. Usually, the searches, if authorized, were carried out by an official of the Archive.<sup>439</sup> In any case, the direct authorization of the monarch was necessary for any document to be taken away from the Archive.<sup>440</sup> The position of *guarda-mor* of the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* thus entailed the observance of secrecy towards the content of the records kept there. That demand was referred to by João António Salter de Mendonça when in 1813 he proposed his nomination for that post. Salter de Mendonça was then *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda* in the government of Lisbon. He was also *procurador da Coroa*, a fact that forced him to use the existing records considered to be convenient for the 'protection of the Crown' and 'to keep the secret that they required'. The fact that he occupied this post which required a reserved behaviour regarding official records, was the main argument used for his application.<sup>441</sup>

---

<sup>435</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 24 October 1811, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 37. Luís dos Santos Marrocos accompanied the manuscripts during their transfer from Lisbon and began to arrange them on 10 October 1811.

<sup>436</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 11 January 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 56. See also: Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 3 July 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 92-93; Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 7 January 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 120.

<sup>437</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 11 January 1812, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 56.

<sup>438</sup> This was mentioned in the inventory made in 1828, but it is plausible that it existed before. IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 192, f. 92.

<sup>439</sup> IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 617, [capilha ano: 1823].

<sup>440</sup> Register of letter patent appointing João António Salter de Mendonça to keeper of the Torre do Tombo, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 24 November 1813, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 2, f. 6r-7r, IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000 DDP.

<sup>441</sup> Salter de Mendonça reinforced this argument with the presentation of antecedents. 2<sup>a</sup> via of letter from João António de Salter de Mendonça to the Count of Aguiar, Lisbon, 24 July 1813, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, pac. 1,14. In the end Salter de Mendonça was appointed keeper of the Royal

All these forms of maintaining the secrecy of official records produced between 1808 and 1821 remain to be evaluated accurately. They had been used before and extended beyond the 1820 Constitutional Revolution and the return of the Portuguese Court to Lisbon in 1821. Since the secrecy procedures concerning official records were not based on regulations at the time, their existence was based solely on 'unwritten conventions'.<sup>442</sup> Only analysing the records and the practices of secrecy in the Portuguese administration, as well as outside it, for a longer period, will allow us to contextualize them. Most probably, possible changes in these procedures did not follow the mentioned historical events. The administrative continuity was stronger.

---

Archive of Torre do Tombo. See register of letter patent, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 24 November 1813, ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 2, f. 6r-7r, IAN/TT, micr. 046-2000 DDP.

<sup>442</sup> Vincent, *The culture of secrecy: Britain, 1832-1998*, p. 51.

## 6 The ruptures 1820-1822

### 6.1 The Liberal Revolution

The prolonged stay of the King and his Court in Rio de Janeiro, the resentment of the English presence after the end of the Napoleonic wars and the increasing autonomy of Brazil, developed in Portugal the favourable eroding conditions for a revolutionary change of the absolutist political system. Until the General Peace of 1814, the Enlightenment ideas and doctrines 'enshrined' in the French Revolution in 1789 were not widely welcomed. The popular disturbances derived from the uprisings against the French occupier in 1808 were quietened by the political system in power. The exercise of absolutist power by the monarch, *secretarias de Estado*, councils and juntas, without a Parliament, was not effectively put under check. Contrary to what happened in Spain, following the anti-French uprisings, the idea of assembling the Cortes and proclaiming a Constitution simply did not burst forth.<sup>1</sup>

In 1808, the English presence in Portugal aimed mainly at guaranteeing the independence of the country, within the framework of the struggle against Napoleonic France and the equilibrium of European powers. Portugal benefited politically and militarily from that support although it was never disinterested. The economic compensations were indisputable, namely, the opening of Brazilian ports with direct access by the British to the goods, and the signing of the Navigation and Commercial Treaty in Rio de Janeiro on 19<sup>th</sup> February 1810.<sup>2</sup>

After the General Peace in 1814, it was hoped that Portugal would return to the political and economic situation prior to 1808. The reasons for the stay of the King in Brazil were not well understood and the people were less and less prepared to accept them. At the same time there was the rise of Brazil to the status of a Kingdom, and the refusal by England to review the Treaty of 1810, particularly burdensome for the traders in Lisbon, who lost the ability to re-export their goods, as it was in general detrimental for Portuguese external trade. The British presence, economically hegemonic, militarily

---

<sup>1</sup> See Fátima Bonifácio, 'O século XIX em perspectiva política (1807-1890). I 1807-1834: reacção e revolução' in *Apologia da história política: estudos sobre o século XIX português*, Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 1999, pp. 133-159. On the uprisings see Vasco Pulido Valente, 'O Povo em armas: a revolta nacional de 1808-1809', pp.13-121.

<sup>2</sup> Jorge Borges de Macedo, 'História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de geopolítica', vol. 2, [Lisbon]: 1987, unpublished typescript, p. 489.

effective and with political muscle, became 'intolerable'.<sup>3</sup> The American politics of D. João VI forced Portugal to commit to the sending of troops to Brazil as well as keeping political and armed vigilance with Spain. The financial deficit became untenable and the State had nowhere to raise funds from.

The King's legitimacy was under question, and Portugal as a country felt abandoned. Higher and lower ranking officers as well as soldiers had their pay several months in arrears. There was a latent tension as far as career promotions were concerned, between Portuguese and English officers who were under the command of Beresford. After the Congress of Vienna, 'despite a foreign presence amidst their ranks, the Portuguese army was an institution of national scale, provided with internal means of co-ordination and force that were lacking in any other State organism'.<sup>4</sup> The non-collaborationist absolutist and constitutional elites defended the need to have the British soldiers removed from Portugal and get some sort of political normalisation going with the return of the King.<sup>5</sup> The historian Oliveira Marques refers to the influence exerted by the political exiles, returned from London and Paris, in helping the spread of liberal concepts, through the press, although this was almost always censored in Portugal. In any case, the spread of these ideas was relatively small.<sup>6</sup>

The Conspiracy of Gomes Freire de Andrade in Lisbon between February and May of 1817, and the Revolution of Pernambuco from March to June 1817, signalled the beginning of the revolutionary process in Portugal.<sup>7</sup> In 1818 a conspiratorial association, the *Sinédrio*, was formed in Porto, bringing together people with a variety of political agendas. It had the following members: two army officers, José de Melo de Castro Abreu Pereira and Bernardo Correia de Castro Sepúlveda, an army doctor, Francisco Gomes da Silva, five lawyers and high-placed officials, Manuel Fernandes Tomás, José Ferreira Borges, José da Silva Carvalho, João da Cunha Souto Maior and José Maria Xavier de Araújo, four Northerner tradesman and landowners, João Ferreira Viana, Duarte Lessa,

---

<sup>3</sup> 'História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de geopolítica', vol. 2, p. 490; Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Para o encontro de uma dinâmica concreta na sociedade portuguesa (1820-1836)*, Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra: 1979, sep. *Revista portuguesa de história*, 17 (1977) 246-262.

<sup>4</sup> Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Para o encontro de uma dinâmica concreta na sociedade portuguesa (1820-1836)*, p. 257. Citation translated from the Portuguese.

<sup>5</sup> Jorge Borges de Macedo, 'História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de geopolítica', vol. 2, p. 491.

<sup>6</sup> A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 'A conjuntura' in *Portugal e a instauração do liberalismo*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2002, pp. 546-547.

<sup>7</sup> A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 'A conjuntura' in *Portugal e a instauração do liberalismo*, p. 548.

José Maria Lopes Carneiro, José Gonçalves dos Santos Silva and José Pereira de Meneses. The majority of them were Freemasons. Amongst the members of the *Sinédrrio*, Manuel Fernandes Tomás stands out as the member of the constitutional elite, and defender of the people of Coimbra.

Initially, the *Sinédrrio* carried out secret observations and debates. Later on, its members considered that in the event of a revolution, its leadership would maintain the Braganza dynasty, although until the end of 1819, its role was not apparent. The Spanish military insurrection started on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1820 in the South, culminating in the taking of the oath of the Constitution by Fernando VII, in March 1820, and the formation of the new government, was a major turning point in Portuguese politics.<sup>8</sup> In July 1820, Fernando VII was forced to concede a Constitution to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, according to the model of Cadiz.<sup>9</sup> Starting in the spring of 1820, the *Sinédrrio* multiplied its efforts to entice military and civilians in Lisbon, Oporto, Coimbra and other towns and small towns. A process of politicisation was initiated within the army. According to Oliveira Marques, Masonry played a relevant role,<sup>10</sup> but above all the 'European connotation' was instrumental to carry forward the liberal movement of 1820.<sup>11</sup>

Beresford left for Brazil on 4<sup>th</sup> April 1820, trying to obtain from the Monarch the reinforcement of his powers.<sup>12</sup> At the beginning of August and according to the chargé d'Affaires in Lisbon, Edward M. Ward, 'the State of political Affairs in Portugal' was characterised precisely by 'Spaniard movements', 'depression of the Finances' and 'arrears in the pay of the Army' in an environment of 'popular dissatisfaction'. In spite of Ward judging that in Portugal 'such a sentiment' was 'still very far removed from a motive of action', he considered that it might however, eventually produce its effect', if the cause was not removed. Although reacting from a British point of view, Ward voiced the feelings of many Portuguese. 'A Government with more than the mere semblance of power, whose authority could crush the present multiplied tyrannies of Bureaucracy, - and still more, that Government exercised in the Person of One of the Royal Family,

---

<sup>8</sup> This coup ended in April 1823 with the invasion of Spain by the Duke of Angoulême, from a France that felt menaced.

<sup>9</sup> This ended in March 1821, due to the intervention of the Austrian Army.

<sup>10</sup> A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 'A conjuntura' in *Portugal e a instauração do liberalismo*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2002, p. 551.

<sup>11</sup> Jorge Borges de Macedo, 'História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de geopolítica', vol. 2, p. 492.

<sup>12</sup> Beresford returned from Rio de Janeiro on 13 August 1820. The monarch confirmed his post and conceded him new prerogatives. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 'A conjuntura' in *Portugal e a instauração do liberalismo*, p. 551.

would, it is scarce doubted, ensure the stability of things in Portugal'. In June, Ward also reported somewhat unreliable information from Brazil, which said that Beresford had obtained 'a supply for the troops' and that the Prince Royal would arrive.<sup>13</sup>

Beresford's absence was seized upon as the opportunity to prepare and trigger the uprising. On 24<sup>th</sup> August 1820, the Army in Porto rebelled, and rapidly secured the support of the military garrisons of Minho, Trás-os-Montes and North of Beira. The uprising succeeded well in the North and a *Junta Provisional do Governo Supremo do Reino* was established, to lead the country and convene the representative Cortes of the nation and to work out a Constitution. The *Manifesto dos Portugueses* of 24<sup>th</sup> August, issued by the insurgents, did not put into question 'the stable parts of the Monarchy', namely the Braganza dynasty (D. João VI), 'religion and traditional costumes, the individual property, and the responsibilities and offices performed'. The Junta consisted of eighteen members coming from Minho, Trás-os-Montes and Beira, seven big-landowners and urban proprietors, five men of law, some of whom were also landowners, two clergymen and four military men, three of whom were noblemen.

The governors of the Kingdom in Lisbon were informed of the revolution on 28<sup>th</sup> August. They tried to confront it by publishing proclamations and decreeing the convening of the Cortes. Simultaneously, Marshall Álvaro Póvoas was sent to Coimbra to negotiate a settlement with the Junta and begged the King to either return or send a member of the royal family in his place.<sup>14</sup> But the governors of the Kingdom did not have either the authority or the energy to reverse the revolutionary situation.<sup>15</sup> Eventual replacements and nominations of governors of the Kingdom, proved to be too late and irrelevant.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Dispatch no. I, from Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 7 August 1820, PRO, FO 63/231, f. 33r-34v.

<sup>14</sup> Based mainly on A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 'A conjuntura' in *Portugal e a instauração do liberalismo*, p. 551.

<sup>15</sup> The British representative in Lisbon commented on this situation: 'a Regency the chief of which is not better than an old woman; the second of which is Bed-ridden; and two other however good and estimable men by no means possessing that energy of character which the present crisis demands'. Dispatch no. IV, from Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 29 August 1820, PRO, FO 63/231, f. 41r.

<sup>16</sup> On 29 August Ward mentioned that the appointment of Saldanha [António Saldanha da Gama, afterwards Count of Porto Santo?] to the Regency had just arrived from Brazil. This was 'a fortunate choice' influenced by Beresford. Dispatch no. IV, from Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 29 August 1820, PRO, FO 63/231, f. 41r. On the other hand, the Count of Palmela, before leaving Lisbon, 13 September 1820, BNRJ, CL, I-29,17,18 no.17. The Count of Funchal, though critical regarding the government in Lisbon, put the hypotheses of holding the post but he never did. Copies of letters from Count of Funchal to Count of Palmela, London, 11 June 1820-11 December 1820, BNRJ, CL, I-29,17,19 no. 9.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> September 1820, the 16<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment in Lisbon rebelled and dragged with it other military units, including the militia and the Royal Navy Brigade. On 16<sup>th</sup> September, an interim government replaced the governors of the Kingdom. This government was formed by: Gomes Freire de Andrade, Principal Dean of Lisbon Cathedral, who presided over; the Count of Sampaio,<sup>17</sup> vice-president; the Count of Resende and the Count of Penafiel, big landowners and Army officers; Manuel Vicente Teixeira de Carvalho and Joaquim Pedro Gomes de Oliveira, magistrates, Hermano José Braancamp do Sobral, Francisco Lemos de Bethencourt and Bento Pereira do Carmo, big landowners and the latter also a lawyer; José Nunes da Silveira and Luís Monteiro, large scale tradesmen; and Matias José Dias Azedo, Army officer. The secretaries were the Baron of Molelos, also a big landowner, and Filipe Ferreira de Araújo e Castro, magistrate. Half of the men of this list were Freemasons.<sup>18</sup>

The interim government in Lisbon lasted only twelve days but they were effective. It sent circular letters to the foreign diplomatic corps and sought to form a single body of central government with the Junta of Porto. Meanwhile, from the North of the country a military corps and members of the Junta came to Lisbon. Despite the difficulties encountered, on 27<sup>th</sup> September 1820, a new government was formed, resulting from the union of the two bodies with some new elements. The government contained twenty-nine members and for operational reasons, was divided into two sections: the *Junta Provisional Preparatória das Cortes*, formed by 23 members, and the *Junta Provisional do Governo Supremo do Reino*, consisting of 12 members. To the latter were entrusted the government's functions, which distributed as follows: the Principal Dean of Lisbon Cathedral, Gomes Freire de Andrade, president; António da Silveira, vice-president; in charge of the Kingdom and Finance Affairs was Manuel Fernandes Tomás; Foreign Affairs, Hermano Braancamp; Army and Navy Affairs, Matias Azedo; *subsecretários do Reino e da Fazenda*, Ferreira Borges and Silva Carvalho, *dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, Roque Ribeiro and *da Guerra e da Marinha*, Bernardo de Sepúlveda; members of the governing staff were the Count of Penafiel, D. Frei Francisco de S. Luís and José Joaquim Ferreira de Moura. This government took power after the triumphal entry of the Army and the *Junta do Norte* into Lisbon on the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1820. It carried

---

<sup>17</sup> Manuel António de Sampaio Melo e Castro Moniz Torres de Lusignan.

<sup>18</sup> Marques, 'A conjuntura' in *Portugal e a instauração do liberalismo*, p. 553. See also dispatch no. 13, from Ward to Castlereagh, Lisbon, 19 September 1820, 13 October 1820, PRO, FO 63/231, f. 119r-121v. Ward commented that 'Pity mingled with contempt is the most favourable expression of feeling towards the Regency', f. 120v.

out governing functions for four months, not without resistance and conflicts, until the election of the Cortes were organised.

The Revolution of 1820 had essentially a military framework, while retaining a political function and a social project. 'Beyond the immediate motives', it made use of the general principle of 'equality in the civil world and privileges in service, as well as a conception of King as the executive power, accepting at the same time a society of electoral intervention (albeit of restricted suffrage)'.<sup>19</sup> Its immediate objective of the expulsion of the English soldiers from the army was able to secure for itself, in the beginning, a vast popular support. Constitutionalism would fill the institutional emptiness, even if the unity amongst the insurgents was circumstantial.<sup>20</sup>

As far as the electoral system was concerned, there were differences of opinion and one sector defended even the immediate proclamation of the Constitution of Cadiz. On the 11<sup>th</sup> November 1820, St. Martin's day, there was in Lisbon an uprising to that effect, called the *Martinhada*. It was initially welcomed, but soon it gave rise to alterations in the *Junta Provisional do Governo Supremo do Reino*, with the acceptance of new members<sup>21</sup> and the resignation of others.<sup>22</sup> However, after a short phase of disturbance, the political situation became calmer. The *secretários de Estado* that had resigned returned to the *Junta Provisional do Governo Supremo do Reino*, although one of the new members, the Count of Sampaio, had taken the Presidency, once the previous president, Principal Freire, had withdrawn and the vice-president, António da Silveira, resigned. During December 1820, elections took place in three rounds, according to the Spanish electoral system.

On 26 January 1821, the Cortes were formally installed. A few days later, the Cortes elected a Regency and five *secretários de Estado* to govern the Kingdom until the return of the King. The Regency consisted of the Marquis of Castelo Melhor,<sup>23</sup> the Count of Sampaio, D. Frei Francisco de S. Luís, José da Silva Carvalho and João da Cunha Sotto Mayor. The names and posts of the *secretários de Estado* were as follows:

---

<sup>19</sup> Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Para o encontro de uma dinâmica concreta na sociedade portuguesa (1820-1836)*, 246-262, especially p. 258. Translation from Portuguese.

<sup>20</sup> Fátima Bonifácio, 'O século XIX em perspectiva política (1807-1890). I 1807-1834: reacção e revolução' p. 141.

<sup>21</sup> To the Finance Affairs, Count of Sampaio, and also Pedro Leite Pereira de Melo, José Manuel Ferreira de Sousa e Castro and Francisco de Sousa Cirne de Madureira.

<sup>22</sup> Manuel Fernandes Tomás, Fr. Francisco de S. Luís, Anselmo José Braancamp, José Joaquim Ferreira de Moura.

<sup>23</sup> On 18 April 1821, he went away due to illness.



*Desembargador* Fernando Luís Pereira de Sousa Barradas, for the *Negócios do Reino*;<sup>24</sup> *Desembargador* Francisco Duarte Coelho for the *Negócios da Fazenda*; Anselmo José Braancamp de Almeida Castelo Branco for the *Negócios Estrangeiros*; Field Marshall António Teixeira Rebelo, for the *Negócios da Guerra* and the Chief of Division Francisco Maximiliano de Sousa, for the *Negócios da Marinha*.<sup>25</sup>

The Cortes took many decisions, by which several commissions were formed in order to prepare the questions to be debated. However, the main purpose was the elaboration of a Constitution. The Foundations for that Constitution were ready on 8<sup>th</sup> February 1821 and the ensuing debate was prolonged for a further year and a half. The Cortes were active until May 1823.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> On 19 February 1821, Joaquim Pedro Gomes de Oliveira replaced him, due to illness.

<sup>25</sup> *Diario das Cortes Geraes e Extraordinarias da Nação Portuguesa*, 1 (27 January 1821), 3-4, 2 (30 January 1821) 6-8, 4 (1 February 1821) 15-16.

<sup>26</sup> In the account of the events we followed essentially A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 'A conjuntura' in *Portugal e a instauração do liberalismo*, pp. 550-559.

## 6.2 The echoes of the Revolution in Brazil and the return of D. João VI to Portugal

The first news of the liberal insurrection in Porto arrived in Rio de Janeiro on the 17<sup>th</sup> October 1820 and it seems that three currents of opinion were formed.<sup>27</sup> One, although defending the absolutist regime, advocated the abandonment of the Kingdom of Portugal. The second suggested that control of the situation could be regained by sending the sovereign or the eldest son to Portugal. The third, headed by the *ministro e secretário de Estado* Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal, believed that the movement would fizzle out, and was the inspiration for the royal letter to the governors of the Kingdom, dated from 27<sup>th</sup> October. In it was sketched an incipient position of compromise, although very far from the objectives required by the rebels: declaration of the illegal character of the Cortes; royal sanction of the Cortes considered only being a consultation and not deliberation organ, and the promise of the return to the Kingdom, of either the King or his son D. Pedro, when the session of the Cortes had finished.<sup>28</sup> Soon the inadequacy of that position was patent.

With the arrival of the Count of Palmela at Rio de Janeiro on the 20<sup>th</sup> December 1820 - taking finally the portfolio of the Foreign and War Affairs - the problem of the concession of a Constitutional *Carta* to the Country became clear. This problem was added to the one concerning the appeal for the return of the monarch, counterbalanced by the proposal of the return of D. Pedro, heir to the King. Palmela, who arrived from Lisbon where he had witnessed the conflagration of the Revolution, alerted the King to the danger that the revolution could spread to Brazil. Between the end of December and January, Palmela, who was in constant communication with the British representative in Rio de Janeiro, Edward Thornton, tried to influence D. João VI to intervene in the affairs of Portugal, sending to the People of Portugal a Declaration of the King's intentions to establish a Constitution together with the Cortes. Palmela also proposed that the King should consult 'a number of well-informed and distinguished Persons' from different Provinces of Brazil, on 'improvements in the system and administration'. The insistence increased with the arrival of post from Lisbon with information on the events of 11<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Valentim Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil' in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (ed.), *História da expansão portuguesa*, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998, vol. 4, pp. 10-45.

<sup>28</sup> Valentim Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil', p. 30.

November 1820, the *Martinhada*. From amongst the various people whom the King consulted, only the Count of Palmela and the Count dos Arcos believed that the Revolution would not be extinguished by itself. Although by the end of January the Court had knowledge of the political instability in Bahia and Pernambuco,<sup>29</sup> the King maintained the prevailing opinion of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal<sup>30</sup> and the liberal movement also conflagrate in Brazil. The Province of Pará adhered to the constitutional government on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1821, which was acknowledged first in Lisbon (5<sup>th</sup> February) and afterwards in Rio de Janeiro. Bahia followed, where on 10<sup>th</sup> February 1821 occurred the uprising to which the Câmara adhered; it was decided to declare the Constitution to be adopted in Portugal, and provisionally, to follow the Spanish Constitution.<sup>31</sup>

The political situation was complicated with the arrival in Rio de Janeiro on 17<sup>th</sup> February of the news of the adhesion of Bahia to the Cortes of Lisbon. The monarch continued to listen to different opinions, among which those of Palmela who even presented a project of a decree on the fundamental grounds of the Constitutional Carta. Nevertheless, the royal decree of 18<sup>th</sup> February, which ended up by being disclosed on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1821, promised the immediate departure of D. Pedro to Portugal, to listen to the Cortes and define necessary reforms and laws. The decree also stipulated that the Constitution would be sent by D. Pedro to obtain royal sanction if it proved to be acceptable. A second decree or provision, also from 23<sup>rd</sup> February, convened a consultative junta from Brazil and the Atlantic islands (Madeira, Azores and Cape Vert) to propose reforms and to analyse the viability of the introduction of the new constitution in Brazil. In practice, it meant another attempt from the Crown to gain time to prevent, at least in Brazil, the adoption of the constitutional regime.<sup>32</sup>

On 26<sup>th</sup> February 1821, a military movement broke out in Rio de Janeiro, strongly supportive on the Portuguese Division, advocated support to the revolution in Portugal,

---

<sup>29</sup> Dispatch no. 5, 'most secret and confidential', from Edward Thorton to Viscount Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 31 January 1821, PRO, FO 63/237, f. 52r-69v.

<sup>30</sup> On his opinion and on Count dos Arcos' opinion, see Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, [Rio de Janeiro], 8 January 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 690. See also Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal to D. João VI, [Rio de Janeiro], 26 January de 1821, ANRJ, Gabinete D. João VI, 693.

<sup>31</sup> See some details in Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, Belo Horizonte; Itatiaia; S. Paulo: Editora da Universidade de S. Paulo, 1989, pp. 42-43.

<sup>32</sup> Roderick J. Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822' in *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, pp. 65-96, especially p. 70; Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, p. 44, p. 47 and on the junta and its composition, p. 49.

while reclaiming the anticipated royal sanction of the Constitution that was being drawn out in Portugal. Following some behind the scenes manoeuvring and the intervention of D. Pedro, for the first time as a political protagonist,<sup>33</sup> the monarch made a public pledge to swear in the future Constitution. Besides, a Junta of national character that maintained the previous governmental structure replaced the government. This consisted of Vice-Admiral Inácio da Costa Quintela, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*; Vice-Admiral Joaquim José Monteiro Torres, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*; Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*; Count da Lousã, D. Diogo de Meneses, President of the *Erário Régio*.<sup>34</sup> The different provinces of the Country gradually joined the constitutional system.<sup>35</sup> On 7<sup>th</sup> March 1821, the return of the monarch to Lisbon was finally announced by a decree, leaving D. Pedro as Regent until the Constitution came into force, and stipulating the election of deputies to the Cortes, by the Brazilian provinces. But the departure was drawn out, without the political governing and social agitation having returned to normality.

On 20<sup>th</sup> April 1821, under convocation of the Minister Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, the voters of the parishes who would elect indirectly the deputies of the province to the Cortes met. It was equally supposed that they would give opinions on the names that would combine the government of the Regent and on the direction of the government until the Constitution was established. But the assembly forced out these objectives and it became almost an uprising. Meanwhile, a delegation was sent to the King to ask for a transitory Constitution similar to that of Spain and also a Junta to oversee the performance of ministers chosen by the Crown. In the sequence of the rumours about the preparations for the departure of the royal family, that assembly forbade the departure of any ship without prior consent. Once the delegation returned and despite the fact that the King had agreed in large measure to the representation of the assembly, this did not show any signs of wanting to disassemble. On the dawn of 22<sup>nd</sup> April, under orders from an unclear source, (speculation seems to point to the Prince Regent D. Pedro, instigated by

---

<sup>33</sup> On D. Pedro see Neill Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*. Especially on the beginnings of his political career, see pp. 72-81.

<sup>34</sup> This change extended also to other government departments and posts. Royal decree 26 February 1821 and translation into English, enclosures to dispatch no. 12, from Thorton to Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 1 March 1821, PRO, FO 63/237, f. 139r-141v. See also Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>35</sup> Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, 'Da revolução de 1820 à independência brasileira' in *Nova história da expansão portuguesa: o império luso-brasileiro 1750-1822*, pp. 397-408.

the Count of Arcos),<sup>36</sup> military forces assembled in the Largo do Rossio in Rio de Janeiro. In a climate receptive to provocation, there was a military charge in the *Praça do Comércio* on the members of the assembly that were still there, killing at least one person and wounding several. The disparate objectives of Court factions, combined with the aspirations of the more politicised sectors of the population, culminated in a conspiracy of objectives vaguely clarified.<sup>37</sup>

The outcome was that on the 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1821, after revoking the charter of the Constitution of Cadiz, D. João VI nominated the *Príncipe Real do Reino de Portugal e do Brasil e dos Algarves*, D. Pedro, Prince Regent and his Lieutenant to the Provisional Government of the Kingdom of Brazil. The power of the Regency was considerable. The new government consisted of: Count dos Arcos, D. Marcos de Noronha, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino do Brasil e dos Negócios Estrangeiros*; Count da Louzã, D. Diogo de Meneses, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, already in office; Field Marshall Carlos Frederico de Caula, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra ad interim* and Major General of the Fleet, Manuel António Farinha for the Navy Department.<sup>38</sup>

On the 24<sup>th</sup> April 1821, D. João VI boarded the vessel 'D. João VI' and on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April, finally returned to Portugal. The royal retinue consisted of the royal family with the exception of D. Pedro and Dona Leopoldina, two frigates and another nine ships in total, carrying 4000 people, including members of the Casa Real. The monarch carried around 500 million *cruzados*.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> The Prince Regent was not willing that the regency government was surveyed by a Junta.

<sup>37</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', p. 71 and p. 72; Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, pp. 58-61.

<sup>38</sup> Royal instructions referred to in the royal decree of the 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1821, Palace of Boa Vista, 22 April 1821, and translation into English, enclosed to the dispatch no. 31, from Thornton to Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 4 May 1821, PRO, FO 63/237, f. 269r-273v.

<sup>39</sup> Royal instructions referred to in the royal decree of the 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1821, Palace of Boa Vista, 22 April 1821, and translation into English, enclosed to the dispatch no. 31, from Thornton to Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro, 4 May 1821, PRO, FO 63/237, f. 269r-273v.

### 6.3 The independence of Brazil

The return of the Portuguese monarch to the old seat of the Monarchy signals the beginning of a period rich in events, for Portugal and Brazil alike. In order to obtain a clear view of what happened along the year 1821, Barman suggests that one follow the action of 'four principal actors' the Cortes and the King in Lisbon, the Prince Regent in Rio de Janeiro and the Juntas of government that were being formed in the Brazilian provinces.<sup>40</sup>

D. João VI arrived in Lisbon on the 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1821, disembarking on the following day to minister oath to the Cortes.<sup>41</sup> During the first months of activity, the Cortes had little to say about Brazil, since there were other priorities. Besides, the instructions for the election of deputies did not include the overseas territories, in spite of having done so in October 1820. One of the articles, part of the foundations of the future Constitution, ratified on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1821, foresaw that this would only be applied after expressed will by its legitimate representatives. In reality, liberal Lisbon had not yet the control over the overseas territories.<sup>42</sup>

In Brazil, the political and social situation was not calm. D. Pedro's regency had no disposable income and the government Juntas stopped sending to Rio the taxes paid by the provinces.<sup>43</sup> The Luso-Brazilian society was divided on the question of the King's return. The divisions were not limited to the political stand concerning the government system and the situation of colonial dependency prior to 1808 and translated, for example, by the re-establishment of the Portuguese commercial monopoly.<sup>44</sup> There was mistrust as far as D. Pedro's and the Count dos Arcos' political intentions were concerned. Despotism was feared and their constitutionalism was not trusted.

---

<sup>40</sup> Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, p. 72. We followed Barman in the main aspects of his account of the independence of Brazil.

<sup>41</sup> Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, p. 65. On 17 July 1821, Joaquim José Monteiro Torres, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, communicated to the *Conselho do Almirantado* the royal order to disembark from the merchant ships all the officers that accompanied the King, after sending ashore all the things belonging to the National and Royal Finance. The same was to be executed regarding the yacht 'Monte de Ouro' and the ships 'Conde de Peniche' and 'Orestes' belonging to the State, and the merchant ships (navios da praça) 'Gram-Cruz de Avis', 'Fenix', 'Sete de Março' e 'Quatro de Abril', chartered by the government. Ofício 345 from Joaquim José Monteiro Torres to José Maria Dantas Pereira, Palace of Queluz, 17 July 1821, BCM, AH, cx. 324, *Expedições: Brasil*.

<sup>42</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', p. 73; Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil', p. 29.

<sup>43</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822' p. 74.

<sup>44</sup> Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, p. 65.

On 5<sup>th</sup> June 1821, there was another military uprising. The discussion on the ratification of the foundations of the Portuguese Constitution that had arrived at the end of May emphasised the divisions in the midst of the government. While the Count da Lousã favoured the swearing in of the principles of the Portuguese Constitution, the Count dos Arcos probably did not. Rumours spread that he was preparing the independence of Brazil, which, however, does not seem to have been true.<sup>45</sup> D. Pedro was present during the uprising and, in a skilful manoeuvre, agreed to replace the Count dos Arcos by appointing the magistrate Pedro Álvares Dinis. He also agreed to the creation of a government Junta elected by the voters from the district of Rio de Janeiro, the President of the *Câmara Municipal* and army officers. The Junta was responsible before the Constituent Cortes of Lisbon; it also supervised the performance of D. Pedro's ministers and secretaries of state and was also responsible for the scrutiny of bills worked out by the executive before being sanctioned. A council consisting of two high-ranking assistants was created jointly with the governor of arms,<sup>46</sup> who checked the respective authority. The Count dos Arcos, ended up by being imprisoned and deported to Portugal on the 10<sup>th</sup> June, under the accusation of delaying the swearing in of the Foundations of the Portuguese Constitution. D. Pedro came out of this uprising with prestige, particularly in the eyes of the Portuguese army officers, but this popularity depended on the display of obedience to the Cortes of Lisbon.<sup>47</sup>

At the same time, Juntas were being created, either by force or consent, in almost all the Brazilian provinces<sup>48</sup> and with the consent of the Cortes, following the acceptance by the decree of 18<sup>th</sup> April 1821 of the Junta elected by Bahia, some months before.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, the Cortes ordered the election of deputies by the Brazilian Provinces. Barman emphasises the reinforcement of identification of the local *pátrias* generated by

---

<sup>45</sup> Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, p. 76.

<sup>46</sup> Military regional commander.

<sup>47</sup> Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, pp. 77-78; Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', pp. 74-75. See also, especially on the role played by the Count of Arcos, Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: The struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, pp. 97-100.

<sup>48</sup> More details on these juntas in Lima, 'O regime das juntas provinciais. Luís do Rêgo em Pernambuco e José Bonifácio em S. Paulo' in *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, pp. 84-101.

<sup>49</sup> The decree extended the recognition to all the governments established in the overseas that joined the cause of the political regeneration. It also promised help to keep their union with Portugal. That is why arrangements began to be made for an expedition to Bahia, but news of the return of the King suspended the arrangements. Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil' p. 31.

the election of deputies to the Cortes.<sup>50</sup> In this context, the provinces maintained the benefits acquired since 1808 and recovered the capacity of influencing, locally, the fiscal and administrative system. By decree of the Portuguese Cortes, they had stopped paying taxes to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>51</sup>

D. Pedro's Regency saw itself reduced to the government of Rio de Janeiro, whose financial resources had been further eroded in August 1821 with the drop in customs revenue: D. Pedro felt politically restrained. At the same time, some sectors of the population of Rio de Janeiro,<sup>52</sup> feared that the Prince Regent might leave and that the city would be reduced to a capital of a Province. The political projects were varied. Some (such as those of José Bonifácio de Andrade, vice-president of the Provincial Junta of S. Paulo) defended the integrity and indivisibility of the Portuguese Dominions with alternating residence of the monarch in both kingdoms, each one with its own *Erário*, besides a common *Erário*. Brazil would have its own central government to which the governments of the provinces were subordinated, and that would be presided over by the heir to the throne when the monarch was absent. In the future, the Cortes would be formed by an equal number of deputies from Portugal and from the overseas territories, independently from their population. Other projects were clearly nationalistic and were identified with the land of birth; the motherland identified with the Kingdom of Brazil created in 1815, not only with the local *pátrias*. They considered the Monarchy the guarantor of the unity of the Kingdom, albeit subordinated to elected representatives.<sup>53</sup>

After the events of 5<sup>th</sup> June 1821 and D. Pedro's approach of the Portuguese military garrisons, there was in Rio de Janeiro an increasing mistrust between Portuguese and Brazilian natives. In October 1821, there was in this city an attempt of a conspiracy to proclaim Brazil's independence with D. Pedro as Emperor. However, not having agreed to this, D. Pedro reacted unfavourably and firmly. Different groups continued to act in Rio de Janeiro, frequently and secretly while creating platforms of understanding to open the way to Brazilian autonomy.

---

<sup>50</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', p. 75.

<sup>51</sup> Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: The struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, p. 101.

<sup>52</sup> Barman divides these groups into two. On the one hand, the 'Luso-Brazilians' constituted of 'senior judges, bureaucrats and other officials' who were holding posts in the institutions established in 1808 and who had frequently studied in the University of Coimbra. On the other, the 'radicals' composed of 'writers, artists, educators and petty professionals' who, at a different level, also benefited directly from the presence of a Court and government in Rio de Janeiro. Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', pp. 76-77.

<sup>53</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', p. 79.



In Portugal, at the end of August 1821, the Pernambucan deputies, and afterwards, those of Rio de Janeiro took their seats.<sup>54</sup> The administrative and governmental reform of the provinces until the Constitution came into force was being discussed.<sup>55</sup> It was proposed that each province (former captaincy) would be governed by a government provisional junta, consisting of elected members and responsible before the government and the Cortes. In some of the most important provinces, a governor of arms would take command of the troops, and would be nominated by the government in Lisbon and responsible to it. Some of the Pernambucan deputies raised objections to the payment of taxes to Rio de Janeiro. Besides, the position of governor of arms provoked opposition on the part of the deputies of Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro. Nevertheless, those proposals ended up by being easily accepted.<sup>56</sup> The negative reaction from the deputies of Rio de Janeiro to the despatch of Portuguese troops to Brazil to replace those who were in Brazil and demanded to be returned was not significant. At the same time, the Cortes approved the immediate return of the Prince Regent, who became redundant after the installation of juntas subordinated to Lisbon. Proceeding with the same logic of political-administrative reorganisation, the abolition of the administrative and government bodies, established in Rio de Janeiro in 1808 was proposed. The Cortes accepted a proposal by a deputy of that city to delay the discussion until the arrival in Lisbon of the other deputies.<sup>57</sup>

However, the political and social dynamics in Rio de Janeiro had little to do with the distant and poor understanding shown by the deputies in Lisbon. When these legislative measures were published on the 11<sup>th</sup> December in Rio de Janeiro, spirits were inflamed.<sup>58</sup> The different groups acted swiftly to keep the Prince Regent D. Pedro in Rio, and to extend his power to Minas Gerais and S. Paulo. The delegation sent to D. Pedro from S. Paulo on the 24<sup>th</sup> December protesting against his return to Portugal had a particularly hard stance vis-à-vis the Cortes. On the 9<sup>th</sup> January 1822, before a train of attendants at the *Câmara Municipal* of Rio de Janeiro, D. Pedro decided to comply with

---

<sup>54</sup> On the activity of the Brazilian deputies in the Lisbon Cortes see also Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, 'Da revolução de 1820 à independência brasileira', pp. 417-422.

<sup>55</sup> Lima, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, p. 80.

<sup>56</sup> Two decrees issued by the Cortes on 29 September 1821.

<sup>57</sup> The corresponding decree was issued on 11 January 1822. Besides Barman, on this, see also Valentim Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil', pp. 31-33.

<sup>58</sup> Especially during these crucial moments press, pamphlets and posters proliferated. See Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, pp.105-106 and Beatriz Nizza da Silva, 'Da revolução de 1820 à independência brasileira', pp. 398-401.

the request to stay,<sup>59</sup> although maintaining a conciliatory attitude towards the Portuguese Cortes.<sup>60</sup>

The commanders of the Portuguese troops considered this position as a challenge to the Cortes, and, on the 11<sup>th</sup> January, started an uprising, which was neutralised by the personal intervention of D. Pedro himself. The Portuguese Division, under the command of Lieutenant-General Jorge Avilez, had to leave the centre of Rio de Janeiro, and was confined to Praia Grande in Niterói. The Prince Regent, after a few days, proceeded to a governmental change over, putting José Bonifácio de Andrade in charge of the Kingdom and Foreign Affairs. Andrade, a native of S. Paulo, with a degree from Coimbra University, had lived for many years in Portugal and had made his professional career at the University and in public administration. A determined personality with personal charisma, he initially defended the concept of autonomy for Brazil without rupture with Portugal. For this purpose, and in agreement with D. Pedro, he put into practice three large initiatives. The first one comprised the return to Lisbon of the Portuguese troops on the 15<sup>th</sup> February 1822, followed on 23<sup>rd</sup> March by the return of part of the Portuguese troops (the others enlisted in D. Pedro's troops) who were meanwhile sent from Lisbon to replace them. The second initiative concerned the control of the home affairs of the Kingdom of Brazil by the Cortes, whose legislation, by decree of 21<sup>st</sup> January 1822, had to be previously sanctioned by the Prince Regent, if applicable. The third initiative aimed at obtaining the joining of the provinces to the Prince Regent's cause. The most important measure was the creation, through the Prince Regent's decree of 30<sup>th</sup> January 1822, of a *Conselho de Procuradores* comprising by two members elected by each one of the provinces, to advise the Prince Regent.<sup>61</sup>

In reality, not all the provinces either repudiated the Cortes or joined the Prince's government in Rio de Janeiro, and, in several of them, the opinions were divided. In Bahia, for instance, there were confrontations on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of February 1822, with a victorious but violent outcome for the partisans of the Cortes of Lisbon. These incidents helped to radicalise the opinion of many in the direction of the total independence of Brazil. D. Pedro visited Minas Gerais on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1822, to ascertain its loyalty. In the

---

<sup>59</sup> The well known 'Fico' (I stay) ascribed to D. Pedro in his answer to the delegation of the *Câmara Municipal* of Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>60</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', pp. 83-84. More detailed account in Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, pp. 105-108.

<sup>61</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', pp. 86-87; Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil', p. 34. On José Bonifácio de Andrade see also Macaulay, pp. 102-103 and 112-113.

capital Ouro Preto, the Junta refused to submit to Rio de Janeiro: a month later, D. Pedro controlled Minas Gerais.<sup>62</sup>

It was during this period, that the Cortes became aware of the extent of the changes taking place in Brazil. In March 1822, the letters from the Prince Regent, D. Pedro were read in the Cortes, telling of the reaction that had taken place in December 1821 in Rio de Janeiro, to the decrees of September of that same year. Brazilian and Portuguese deputies formed a special committee to investigate the situation and to propose measures. Amongst those deputies with seats since 11<sup>th</sup> February, figured those of S. Paulo who, under instructions, fought for the 'political parity' of the two Kingdoms.<sup>63</sup> Although incipient and unsatisfactory for Brazil, the first proposals of this committee, presented to the Cortes on 18<sup>th</sup> March, had a conciliatory tone: suspension of the order for the return of D. Pedro and placement of the governors of arms under the authority of the juntas, while maintaining the dissolution of the bodies of government created in 1808 and maintenance of the exclusive competence of the Cortes to legislate for Brazil.

At the beginning of April, discussion of the project for the regulation of the Luso-Brazilian commercial ties started, under the auspices of a special commission, while reflecting the opinions of the traders from Lisbon and Porto. The project was severely criticised by the Brazilian deputies.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the news that was arriving in Lisbon reinforced the intransigent positions in the Cortes. When the manoeuvres to retain D. Pedro became known, - particularly the protest of the Junta from S. Paulo - and, on 15 April, the expulsion of the Portuguese troops from Rio de Janeiro, the debate became heated and the Brazilian deputies were absent from the Cortes during various sessions.

The events that succeeded in May and June of 1822 marked a turning point in the rupture between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1822, the Cortes confirmed the despatch of troop reinforcements to S. Salvador of Bahia. There were protests from the Brazilian deputies who interpreted this decision correctly, as the expression of a determination to subdue Brazil by force. In June, the Cortes approved the extreme proposals presented by the *Comité Especial para os Assuntos do Brasil* (against the opinion of the great majority of the Brazilian members). Amongst other measures, the Cortes envisaged the criminalisation of those who had signed the decree for the creation

---

<sup>62</sup> Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, p. 119.

<sup>63</sup> Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil', p. 34.

<sup>64</sup> See details on the debate in Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil', p. 35.

of the *Conselho dos Procuradores*, namely, the moderate José Bonifácio de Andrade. The Cortes rejected concessions of administrative autonomy suggested by another commission constituted by Brazilians in articles for the Constitution.

In Rio de Janeiro, the Prince Regent forbade the execution of any decree without his previous vetting, in view of the first decisions from the *Comité Especial para os Assuntos do Brasil* of the Lisbon Cortes, which were known on 3 May. On the 13<sup>th</sup> May, D. Pedro took the title of *Defensor Perpétuo do Brasil* (Brazil Defender for Life), refusing the title of Protector, which had Republican connotations: both titles were conferred by the *Câmara Municipal* of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>65</sup> On 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1822, also at the request of the Rio de Janeiro *Câmara* and following an unexpected meeting of the debilitated *Conselho de Procuradores*, the meeting of a constituent assembly was decreed. There, was discussed the maintenance of the integrity of the Portuguese monarchy, as well as the need to define the foundations for the independence of Brazil. All these steps, although significant on the way to the severance of links with Portugal, did not mean that the local '*pátrias*' had followed them in the same way that Rio de Janeiro had done.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> August 1822, D. Pedro left for S. Paulo with a view to re-establish his authority, soon acclaimed in that province, but that since May, had apparently found itself in check. Meanwhile, there arrived in Rio de Janeiro news concerning the measures proclaimed in the Cortes, which forbade any sort of autonomy while encouraging the judicial persecution of those involved in the S. Paulo' protests. José Bonifácio de Andrade immediately sent a messenger to D. Pedro, letting him know the inevitability of a radical decision. D. Pedro was not in S. Paulo and the messenger in the end found him in the fields surrounding the river Ipiranga, in the South. On the 7<sup>th</sup> September of 1822, D. Pedro pronounced the famous words 'Independence or Death'. That particular day was not, at the time, associated with the declaration of the independence of Brazil, as it is today. In any case, it meant that the government of Rio de Janeiro was ready to sever the last political link that tied it to Portugal and which was simultaneously a personal matter: a 'fealty to D. João VI'.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Masonry was especially active during this period. See Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, pp. 120-121; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, 'Da revolução de 1820 à independência brasileira', pp. 422-428.

<sup>66</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', p. 96.

According to Barman, it was by international recognition more than through an internal build up that in 1825 a new political order was consolidated and legitimised.<sup>67</sup> It is beyond the remit of this thesis to give a detailed description of the stages for that recognition and the Brazilian divergences as far as the adoption of a new regime was concerned. Other questions were related to the political function of D. Pedro and the nature of his authority, whether or not there should be continuity with the Old World and contradiction with the concept of popular sovereignty associated with the future Constituent Assembly.

D. Pedro was acclaimed emperor of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro on the 12<sup>th</sup> October 1822.<sup>68</sup> He had enormous tasks ahead as for instance, recognition of his imperial authority by the provinces; problems with the borders; diplomatic recognition; relations with Portugal. In September 1822, the government of the Juntas from the four Northern Provinces (Pará, Maranhão, Piauí and Ceará), which occupied one quarter of the Brazilian territory, were loyal to the Portuguese Cortes. The communication among Pará, Maranhão and Lisbon was faster than between Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon. Portuguese forces controlled the ports of Montevideo in the South and S. Salvador of Bahia in the Northeast, and reinforcements had arrived at the latter in October. War broke out. Brazil created its Navy making use of the services of Thomas Cochrane, an ex-captain of the British Navy.<sup>69</sup> The Imperial Navy was fundamental to bring together the various provinces. By November 1823, the Brazilian Imperial forces controlled all the territories.<sup>70</sup>

The political events in Portugal were also developing in rapid succession. The coup of Vilafrancada took place in May 1823, during which the troops stationed near Lisbon (Vila Franca) rebelled in favour of the restoration of the absolutist system. It was initially started by D. Miguel, son of D. João VI, and seconded by the latter. This act resulted in the dissolution of the Cortes and the creation of a government formed by

---

<sup>67</sup> Barman, 'Stumbling into independence, 1820-1822', pp. 96-97.

<sup>68</sup> See account of the ceremony in Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>69</sup> On Cochrane and the Imperial Navy, see also Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, pp. 138-145.

<sup>70</sup> This was true regarding the relationship with Portugal. However, political stability was not guaranteed. After some months of political conflict with the emperor D. Pedro, on 2 July 1824, the independence of Pernambuco was proclaimed and it was intended that the provinces of Northeastern Brazil should form the Confederation of the Equator. This movement ended in September-October 1824 due to the action of the Imperial Navy and Cochrane. Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, pp. 165-167.

absolutists and moderate liberals. This government was under the illusion that the core of the conflict between Portugal and Brazil resided in the Cortes. In the new political context, the reconciliation with D. Pedro was considered to be the key to re-establish the union between the two countries.

In September 1823, the envoys of D. João VI, under the command of the Count de Rio Maior, arrived in Rio de Janeiro to attempt a reconciliation and peace, within the scope of Portuguese sovereignty. Under the delicate circumstances of debate in the Constituent Assembly gathered in Rio de Janeiro and the political role ascribable to D. Pedro, the envoys were not even allowed to disembark and to deliver the letters from D. João VI to his son.<sup>71</sup>

The ensuing months were very tense. Political and military conflicts arose in several areas of Brazil, particularly after the dissolution by the Emperor of the Constituent Assembly on 12<sup>th</sup> November 1823. However, on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1824, the emperor D. Pedro, swore in the Constitution prepared by the *Conselho de Estado* of State and approved, or rather, conceded by the *Câmaras Municipais*. The international recognition of the independence of Brazil, seconded by the internal political events, became a priority. Portugal's stance was instrumental in the process, although the relationship between the two countries had in the meantime deteriorated. D. João VI and his advisers felt completely disregarded by the uncivil way in which the king's delegates had been treated.

Great Britain's mediation, which had been asked by Portugal in September 1823, (after Austria had refused it) in the illusion that it would press Brazil not to turn its independence into an accomplished fact became more than ever necessary. Britain's interests in the Brazilian market, as well as the pledge to maintain the Portuguese territorial integrity, forced the British to solve the conflict with diplomacy and in a short period of time. Formally neutral, in reality the British acted in favour of Brazil. In the sequence of a new petition by Portugal in December 1823, negotiations started in London in July of 1824, between Brazilians and Portuguese. But as Portugal would not agree to grant total independence and Brazil would not accept another solution, negotiations were interrupted in February 1825.

---

<sup>71</sup> Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil', p. 39; Barman, 'A new monarch for a new nation, 1822-1825' in *Brazil: the forging of a nation*, pp. 96-129, especially pp. 116-116, Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, pp.152-157.

Meanwhile, Great Britain assumed the position of recognising the New Latin American states, primarily under Spanish sovereignty. Soon after, Britain announced that it was sending to Rio de Janeiro an experienced diplomat with considerable knowledge of Portuguese affairs, Charles Stuart, Baron of Rothesay, who had been the British representative in Lisbon, during the key years of the Peninsular War. Britain also announced that on his way to Brazil, Stuart was passing through Lisbon to agree on the terms of reconciliation between Portugal and Brazil. It was Stuart who, in May 1825, pressed D. João VI into nominating him plenipotentiary of Portugal in Brazil, in order to start negotiations with a view to solve the conflict, even if this should be at the expense of the recognition of Brazil's inevitable independence.

Charles Stuart arrived in Rio de Janeiro in July 1825 and started negotiations, provided with Portuguese instructions, partially monitored. Some concessions from Brazil to Portugal were obtained, and were as follows. For D. João VI the right to use the title of Emperor of Brazil (besides King of Portugal), the retroactive annulment of the state of war between the two countries and global compensation of £2,000,000. Nevertheless, neither was the dynastic union to be assumed by D. Pedro on D. João VI's death secured nor the preferential commercial treatment for Portugal. On the 29<sup>th</sup> August 1825, a Treaty of Friendship between Portugal and Brazil was finally signed in Rio de Janeiro, ratified by D. João VI in November 1825, as well an additional Convention. The independence of Brazil was recognised by England and other European States a few weeks therein.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Barman, 'A new monarch for a new nation, 1822-1825', p. 129; Alexandre, 'O processo de independência do Brasil', p. 39.

## 7 The destiny of central Portuguese administration records

### 7.1 War and peace: effects on Portuguese archives and libraries

Portuguese documents and books from archives and libraries were badly affected by the foreign occupation and by the incidents of war. In some cases, it was possible to reverse the thefts and obtain compensation, through Portuguese denunciation and English military pressure. Later on, with general peace and diplomatic negotiations between France and Portugal, the process continued, but it was not always successful. Contributing factors were the great number of Portuguese people going to Brazil and the unstable political climate within the context of the war, favouring insecurity and weakening the ability to control the goods.

Since, at least 1810, the French government had decided to bring together archives from 'annexés' or 'dépendants' European countries in Paris, as Archives of the Empire. However, Portugal was not part of this gigantic transfer of documents, which in any case in 1814, began to be reversed.<sup>1</sup> Actually, despite the French troops leaving Portugal only in May 1811, the political and military circumstances did not facilitate an official undertaking of that dimension and nature. For that reason, there are no references to a massive transfer of Portuguese documents in the *Archives Nationales*, particularly in the series directly related to the project of the Archives of the Empire.<sup>2</sup> There is also no indication that the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* had been affected.

Nevertheless, during the occupation and government of General Junot, records, books and other pieces were the focus of French interest. Some documents of informational value were translated and sent to France.<sup>3</sup> Cartographic documents for military purposes came also under French scrutiny. But there were many more documents

---

<sup>1</sup> Françoise Hildesheimer, 'Des triages au respect des fonds: les archives en France sous la Monarchie de Juillet' *Revue historique*, 286 (2) (1991), 295-312, especially pp. 296-297; Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts. Direction des Archives, *État sommaire des versements faits aux archives nationales par les ministères et les administrations qui en dépendent (séries F, BB, Justice et ADXIX)*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> ABV<sup>E</sup>. Histoire des Archives. Archives étrangers and AB V<sup>A</sup>. Histoire des Archives – Documents généraux, mainly ABV<sup>A</sup>-5 comprising the records of or with relation to Pierre Daunou, the *conservateur général des archives*, from 1804 to 1816.

<sup>3</sup> This was the case of the speech made in a meeting of the *Conselho de Estado* by D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho and subscribed by D. João de Almeida, which appear to have influenced the Prince Regent's decision to abandon Portugal. Register [97] of the letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 1 March 1808, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 65v-66r; AN, AF IV 1616, plaquette 1/II, pièce 128.



originally drawn up by the French military engineers, particularly those that accompanied the *Corps d'Observation de Gironde* under the command of Junot, in 1807-1808, than Portuguese documents that were apprehended. There were, however, various maps and memoirs drawn by Portuguese engineers or by French officers serving Portugal at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Also there were maps drawn by Portuguese engineers by order of the occupying forces in 1808, which were sent to Paris. The memoirs can be at present found in Vincennes, in the *Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre*, although not always the maps and plans. António Pedro Vicente studied these documents exhaustively and published an annotated selection.<sup>4</sup>

In May 1808, the well-known naturalist Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844) arrived in Lisbon entrusted by Napoleon, via the minister of Interior, to collect from Portuguese institutions, items and documents that would enrich the *Musée National d'Histoire Naturel* in Paris.<sup>5</sup> According to Bethencourt Ferreira, the minister's instructions referred that Geoffroy should take into account 'books, manuscripts, medals, maps, engraved stones', as well as 'statues, bas-reliefs and pictures'. In addition, Napoleon expressly indicated institutions where the items could be found and, between public and private libraries, indicated the Court, the Monastery of S. Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, the Convent of S. Francisco in Coimbra, the Convent of Évora and the Duke de Cadaval emigrant in Brazil.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> António Pedro Vicente (ed.) *Manuscritos do Arquivo Histórico de Vincennes referentes a Portugal, III (1807-1811)*, Paris: Fund. Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1983, especially pp. 21, 23, 37-41 and 67-75, this corresponding to the publication of the 'Etat des cartes, plans itineraires, mémoires et papiers relatifs à l'inspection des frontières et des côtes de Portugal', delivered by Lieutenant General Charles de la Rozière, French official hired by the Portuguese government in 1797, to Colonel Charles Vincent, in Lisbon on 13 January 1808. See also the previous volumes: *Manuscritos do Arquivo Histórico de Vincennes referentes a Portugal, I (1799-1802)*, and *Manuscritos do Arquivo Histórico de Vincennes referentes a Portugal, II (1803-1806)*, Paris: Fund. Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1971-1972. Finally see António Pedro Vicente, 'Fontes espanholas, francesas e inglesas para a História Militar Portuguesa dos séculos XVIII e XIX' in *O tempo de Napoleão em Portugal: estudos históricos*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Lisbon: Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2000, pp. 23-41, especially 36-37.

<sup>5</sup> António Ferrão, *A 1<sup>a</sup> invasão francesa (a invasão de Junot vista através dos documentos da Intendencia Geral da Policia, 1807-1808): estudo político e social*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1923, p. ccxl; Pedro de Azevedo, 'Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire em Lisboa' *Boletim da Classe de Letras, Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa*, 14 (1921), pp. 93-121; José Silvestre Ribeiro, *Historia dos estabelecimentos scientificos, literarios e artisticos de Portugal nos successivos reinados da monarchia*, vol. 3, Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1873, pp. 353-354.

<sup>6</sup> J. Bethencourt Ferreira, 'A missão de Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire em Espanha e Portugal, durante a invasão francesa, em 1808', *Boletim da Segunda Classe*, 17 (1927), p. 218.

Geoffroy visited the *Gabinete de História Natural* in Ajuda and it is known that four boxes with the most treasured objects of this Cabinet, containing matrixes of diamonds, were amongst the French baggage inspected after the Convention of Sintra.<sup>7</sup> Apparently, Junot had directly stolen these objects, well before Geoffroy's visit. Be that as it may, these boxes were not returned and were dispatched to France;<sup>8</sup> other boxes containing mammals, shells, minerals, fossils, herbaria and manuscripts from the *Gabinete de História Natural* in Ajuda were also taken by Geoffrey Saint-Hillaire to be integrated into the collections of the *Musée d'Histoire Naturel*.<sup>9</sup> The true circumstances of this seizure seem to have been somewhat equivocal. Domingos Vandelli, the person in charge of the Botanical Gardens and the Museum of Ajuda, told the Prince Regent in September 1808, perhaps as some form of justification, that many of the items were duplicates. In addition, following the complaints brought against the French during that period, Vandelli received at least part of the collection of shells, but gave up the remainder of the collection. In exchange, he accepted five boxes with manuscripts and prints (many of which came from the *Casa Cadaval*)<sup>10</sup> and the promise that he would receive double the amount of items from the Museum in Paris.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, fifteen

---

<sup>7</sup> It seems that the French collections were relatively poor on species and information from South America. But this collecting activity from the French had happened already in 1803-1804. Several items such as mammals, birds, reptiles, crustaceans, shells, minerals and herbaria were sent by Vandelli, who directed the Royal Museum of Ajuda, to General Lannes French ambassador in Lisbon, following a royal order. The context was different from the occupation but at the time the French pressure was strong. In the end it was a volunteer donation from Portugal. J. D. Bethencourt Ferreira, 'O Museu da Ajuda e a invasão francesa' *Boletim da Segunda Classe (Classe de Letras) da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, 5, (1912), pp. 376-380. The author refers lists of the *Arquivo Histórico* of the *Museu Bocage*, in Lisbon.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from the *ministre de la Guerre*, Comte d'Isnebourg 'pour sa Majesté seule', Paris, 14 November 1808, and note enclosed, not signed, AN, AF IV, plaquette 1/II, pièces 121-122.

<sup>9</sup> See the list presented by the son of Geoffroy Saint Hilaire and published by Azevedo, 'Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire em Lisboa', pp. 110-112 and 114-115. See also the abstract based on the list signed by Junot and Geoffroy in J. Bethencourt Ferreira, 'A missão de Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire em Espanha e Portugal, durante a invasão francesa, em 1808', p. 225.

<sup>10</sup> Azevedo, 'Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire em Lisboa', p. 102, publishing José Acursio das Neves, *Historia geral da invasões dos franceses em Portugal*, vol. 5, p. 264. General Kellermann justified the apprehension of the articles from the Royal Museum as follows: they were taken by 'Mr. Guiffroy membre de l'Institut qui aura jugé que ces articles ayant été choisis de longue main... d'autant que ce sont en général des doubles'. However, as these kinds of articles were for 'les Sciences qui sont de tous les pays' he proposed compensation. Copy of letter from General Kellerman to General Beresford and Lord Proby, English commissary, Lisbon, 6 September 1808, PRO, WO 1/416, f. 117r-117v.

<sup>11</sup> Representation from Vandelli to the Prince Regent, 17 September 1808, IANTT, MR, mç. 279, 'Cavallariças Reaes', pub. by Azevedo, 'Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire em Lisboa', pp. 97-98. It seems that Geoffroy classified many of the objects, especially plants, of the Cabinet. See J. Bethencourt Ferreira, 'A missão de Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire em Espanha e Portugal, durante a invasão francesa, em 1808', *Boletim da Segunda Classe*, 17 (1927), p. 219. In 1859 and 1860 the Portuguese

volumes of documents that Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire took were after his death in 1844 given by his widow to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where they are still.<sup>12</sup>

The practice of seizure or theft of goods by the occupier was semi-official but more often than not was done for private gain. Junot nominated his brother-in-law, Geoufre, as general administrator of palaces and residences of the royal family. In that capacity, and with an indication of the Portuguese Regency for him to make an inventory, which he did not do, he kept what he wanted. Besides chinaware and garments belonging to the Prince Regent, he kept paintings<sup>13</sup> and nondescript books that he stored in two warehouses, one in his own house, in Lisbon, the other in the Palace of Necessidades.<sup>14</sup> In reality, the royal palaces were very damaged and impoverished but the Royal Library of the Ajuda Palace was kept intact, with all the papers, including the most secret,<sup>15</sup> despite of having been visited four times by commissions of officers of the French Army.<sup>16</sup>

In institutions linked to the Navy also disappeared items and documents, attributed in some cases, to Magendie, the ship's captain and commander-in-chief of the French Navy in Lisbon. This was the case with the *Biblioteca para uso dos Guardas Marinhas* of the Royal Navy, created in 1802, containing manuscripts and printed matter and a cabinet with letters, instruments and models. Right from the beginning of December

---

naturalist Barbosa du Bocage went to the Museum in Paris and got to obtain a collection of animals of different species, as a kind of compensation for what was taken from the Ajuda Cabinet. Azevedo, 'Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire em Lisboa', pp. 112-115.

<sup>12</sup> António Coimbra Martins, 'Sobre o fundo português da Biblioteca Nacional de Paris' in *Les rapports culturels et littéraires entre le Portugal et la France: actes du colloque*, Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1983, pp. 215-218.

<sup>13</sup> Sometimes, the circumstances of disappearance of royal belongings during the French occupation were not clear and might suggest the involvement or even the benefit by Portuguese. This seems to have been the case of the withdrawal of a painting of the Prince Regent D. João, made by Pellegrini, from the house of João Francisco da Cruz Lagoa, when the French proceeded to confiscations in 1808. There was some suspicion concerning the behaviour of Lagoa. Representation from Joaquim Guilherme da Costa Posser, deputy of the *Casa de Bragança* and *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, to the Prince Regent, enclosed with copy of letter from the Governor of Ilha Grande with news from Portugal and Spain enclosed with letter from the Count of Linhares to the Prince Regent, Rio de Janeiro, 28 December 1810, ANRJ, Gabinete de D. João VI, cx. 1, mç. 2, 71.

<sup>14</sup> Note enclosed, not signed, to the letter from the *ministre de la Guerre*, Comte d'Isnebourg 'pour sa Majesté seule', Paris, 14 November 1808, AN, AF IV, plaquette 1/II, pièce 122, f. 1r.

<sup>15</sup> Register of conta no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 18 October 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 1r-5v.

<sup>16</sup> Letter from Alexandre António das Neves to the Prince Regent, 12 October 1808, Bibliotheca Real do Palacio de N. Senhora d'Ajuda, IAN/TT, MR, pub. partially by Carlos Ferreira, 'As livrarias reais de D. João IV a D. João VI', p. 601, and totally by Ma. Ferreira, *Biblioteca da Ajuda: esboço histórico*, Lisbon: Biblioteca da Ajuda, 1980, p. 24, both without referring the source.

of 1807, Magendie selected several of these items to be sent to France.<sup>17</sup> Lists of some of the items kept were made by him or under his orders at different dates in other institutions of the Navy: copies of these lists survive, dated from September 1808.

From the room of the *Real Junta da Fazenda da Marinha* (Royal Board of Finance of the Navy), the French received furniture and silver pieces, maps from the Pinewood of Leiria, from the dam and the warehouses, namely the Coina warehouses.<sup>18</sup> A few months after their arrival, the French collected all the papers, maps and letters that were in the *Sociedade Real Marítima* (Royal Maritime Society).<sup>19</sup> Among them was the Chart of the Triangulations of the Portuguese coast drawn under the supervision of Dr. Ciera.<sup>20</sup> Marino Miguel Franzini, engraver,<sup>21</sup> kept the Chart of the Adriatic Gulf as well as the plan of the Port of Lisbon.<sup>22</sup> On the 10<sup>th</sup> September 1808 in the *Secretaria* of the *Sociedade Real Marítima*, only four of the 137 catalogued books could be found, the remainder having been distributed by the person in charge of the key: the receiver is not known. An astronomical instrument was missing as were documents belonging to the archive of the *Secretaria*.<sup>23</sup> Several books from the *Junta do Código Penal e Militar e*

---

<sup>17</sup> Silvestre, *Historia dos estabelecimentos scientificos, literarios e artisticos de Portugal nos successivos reinados da monarchia*, vol. 3, pp. 188-189.

<sup>18</sup> Copy of the list, made by Manoel José de Freitas, porter of the *Junta e Contadoria*, Lisbon, 9 September 1808, BCM-AH, cx. 340, Invasões Francesas, 1808, no. 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Sociedade Real Marítima Militar e Geográfica para o Desenho, Gravura e Impressão das Cartas Hidrográficas, Geográficas e Militares* (Royal Society Maritime Military and Geographic to the Drawing, Engraving and Printing of the Hydrographical, Geographic and Military Charts).

<sup>20</sup> Francisco António Ciera, ?-1814. In 1812 he was member of the *Academia Real das Ciências, lente* (master) of Astronomy and theory of Navigation in the *Academia Real da Marinha*, chief of the *Comissão para a Carta Hidrográfica do Reino* (Commission to the Hydrographical Chart of the Kingdom) and Director of the Telegraph. *Almanach de Lisboa*, (1812), p. 570. 'Carta dos principaes triangulos das operações geodesicas de Portugal publicada por ordem de S. A. Real o Principe Regente em 1803, por Francisco Antonio Ciera. Escala 1/1771.800', referred by H. Gabriel Mendes, 'O convénio cartográfico luso brasileiro de 1867: a cartografia portuguesa ao serviço da comunidade luso brasileira' in *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Cadastral*, 3 (December 1983), p. 82. See also: *Cartografia portuguesa do Marquês de Pombal a Filipe Folque, 1750-1990: o património histórico cartográfico do Instituto Geográfico Cadastral*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982; H. Gabriel Mendes, 'Francisco António Ciera e a renovação da Cartografia Portuguesa' in *Geografica*, no. 3 (1964); S. G. P. Ward, *Wellington's headquarters: a study of the administrative problems in the Peninsula 1809-1814*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. 104-105.

<sup>21</sup> Franzini (1799-1861) was lieutenant colonel attached to the Royal Brigade of the Navy. See several maps and a few studies by him in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. See in particular Papéis que pertenceram a Marino Miguel Franzini, 1792-1832, BN, COD. 12934.

<sup>22</sup> H. Gabriel Mendes, 'O convénio cartográfico luso brasileiro de 1867: a cartografia portuguesa ao serviço da comunidade luso brasileira' in *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Cadastral*, 3 (December 1983), pp. 53-95, especially p. 54. Mendes added that, in October 1808, he borrowed these to Ciera, in order that he copied them for the British Admiral Cotton.

<sup>23</sup> The records were the following: 'os Livros do Expediente da Secretaria, a saber= o Registo das Sessões, o dos Decretos e Avisos, o das memorias, o Diario, o Catalogo das Cartas, e Livro das

*Melhoramento das Coudelarias do Reino* (Board of the Penal and Military Code and Improvement of the Kingdom Stud Farms) also disappeared.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the Frenchman Luithe, *secretário de Estado da Guerra e Marinha* after the abolition of the Regency in Portugal, ordered the sealing of all the papers of the Board that administered the land Arsenal (*Junta da Fazenda dos Arsenais Reais do Exército*) and took what he could find there.<sup>25</sup>

The private libraries were also not spared. Under the pretext that their owners were nobility figures and others who had emigrated with the Court, inventories and executions on movables were made, some of which went into the possession of the French.<sup>26</sup> The private residences of the Duke of Cadaval, D. Nuno Caetano Álvares Pereira de Melo, of the Marquis of Pombal, Henrique José de Carvalho e Melo, D. António Araújo de Azevedo, later Count of Barca, of D. João de Almeida de Melo e Castro, later Count of Galveias, and of the Marquis of Ângeja, D. José Xavier de Noronha Camões e Albuquerque,<sup>27</sup> among others, were examined under the supervision of Geouffre. Around 25,000 volumes were taken, as well as 300 paintings, furniture and garments. On his return to France, General Junot himself carried in his luggage more than 20,000 volumes from several of these private libraries. One of those was that of D. António Araújo de Azevedo, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, before the departure of the Court to Brazil.<sup>28</sup> Many of the books of this library,

---

Conferencias' (The books of the carrying out of the *Secretaria*, namely= Register of Sessions, Decrees and *Avisos*, Memories, Diary, Catalogue of charts, and Book of Conferences). Copy of list made by Francisco de Paula Travassos, Lisbon, 10 September 1808, BCM-AH, cx. 340, Invasões Francesas, 1808. Travassos was teacher and secretary of the Society.

<sup>24</sup> Copy of list signed by Vicente Ferreira Duarte, BCM-AH, cx. 340, Invasões Francesas, 1808, no. 9.

<sup>25</sup> Note enclosed, not signed, to the letter from the *ministre de la Guerre*, Comte d'Isnnebourg 'pour sa Majesté seule', Paris, 14 November 1808, AN, AF IV, plaquette I/II, pièce 122, f. 1v.

<sup>26</sup> One of the first measures taken by Herman as French commissioner in the Portuguese Regency Council and *administrador geral das Finanças* was to order the appointment of judges to administer the households of the absentees from the Kingdom since 28 November 1807, and the issue of instructions for the administration of the property and revenues of the sequestered households due to absence from the Kingdom since this date. *Registo de avisos e ordens para a Corte e Cidade de Lisboa*, IAN/TT, MFF, liv. 3921, f. 106v-108r. This reference was given by Catarina Guimarães who is supervising the arrangement of the records of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda/Ministério da Fazenda/Ministério das Finanças*, and whom I thank.

<sup>27</sup> Besides the library, in his residence in Junqueira, Lisbon, there was a cabinet of Natural History and a cabinet of medals and antiquities. José Silvestre Ribeiro, *Historia dos estabelecimentos scientificos, literarios e artisticos de Portugal nos sucessivos reinados da monarchia*, vol. 3, p. 347.

<sup>28</sup> Note enclosed, not signed, to the letter from the *ministre de la Guerre*, Comte d'Isnnebourg 'pour sa Majesté seule', Paris, 14 November 1808, AN, AF IV, plaquette I/II, pièce 122, f. 3r and f. 5r.

which was entrusted to the *depositário* (trustee) Inácio José Reis, were delivered in June 1808, by orders of the *Desembargador* Brum da Silveira, to the residence of Geouffre to be at the General's disposal.<sup>29</sup> Luithe, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra e da Marinha* after the abolition of the Regency in Portugal, took the Marquis of Pombal's library as well as some furniture from his Palace. Under Portuguese and British pressure, several of the referred libraries were returned before the French embarkation in September 1808, as for instance the libraries of the Marquis of Angeja and the Count of Anadia, D. João Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes.<sup>30</sup> However, many of the manuscripts of the House of Cadaval formed the basis of the Portuguese 'fonds' of the National Library of France.<sup>31</sup> Junot took also the famous Bible of the Jerónimos or 'Bible du Couvent de Belem' as it was known by the French.<sup>32</sup> The Bible was returned in 1815, after the General Peace.<sup>33</sup> Part of Junot's estate was also another Bible from the 16<sup>th</sup> century,

---

<sup>29</sup> 'Relação dos livros da Biblioteca do Snr. António de Araújo de Azevedo que vão da casa do depositário Inácio José Reis, por ordem do Dez. Manuel José Arriaga Brum da Silveira, para serem entregues ao Ilm<sup>o</sup> Snr. Geouffre na casa da sua residência e servirem ao uso do Ilm<sup>o</sup> e Exm<sup>o</sup> Snr. Duque de Abrantes, General em Chefe do Exército francês em Portugal, em o dia de Junho de 1808' cited as ms. 899/5 by José Baptista Barreiros, *Ensaio de biografia do Conde da Barca*, Braga: Delegação Bracarense da Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, [196-], p. 137. This record is nowadays in the Arquivo Distrital de Braga, Casa de Sá.

<sup>30</sup> Copy of the report from Marshall General Beresford and Lieutenant Proby, commissioners for executing the Convention of 30 August, to Lt. General Hew Dalrymple, Lisbon, 18 September 1808, PRO, WO, 1/416, f. 205-213. Translation to Portuguese pub. Julio Firmino Judice Biker (ed.), *Supplemento à collecção dos tratados, convenções e actos publicos celebrados entre a Corôa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640*, tomo 16, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1878, pp. 110-114.

<sup>31</sup> Morel Fatio ascribed to Geoffroy Saint Hilaire the provenance of the manuscripts of the Household of Cadaval. See *Catalogue des ms. espagnoles et des ms. portugais*, Paris: 1892, p. XXV, referred by Pedro de Azevedo, 'Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire em Lisboa' *Boletim da Classe de Letras*, 14 (1920), p. 95. See also Virginia Rau and Maria Fernanda Gomes da Silva, *Os manuscritos da Casa de Cadaval respeitantes ao Brasil*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1955, vol. I, pp. X-XI, regarding the manuscripts that are today in Muge, in Portugal. The manuscripts of the Portuguese 'fonds' were recently described with more detail: *Manuscritos do fonds portugais da Biblioteca Nacional de França*, [Lisbon]: CNCDP-Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, 2001.

<sup>32</sup> Note enclosed, not signed, to the letter from the *ministre de la Guerre*, Comte d'Isnebourg 'pour sa Majesté seule', Paris, 14 November 1808, AN, AF IV, plaquette 1/II, pièce 122, f. 5v. This magnificent illuminated Bible with *Postillae* of Nicholas de Lyra in seven volumes, with another volume of Peter Lombard's Sentences was made in Florence, in 1494-1497, for King D. Manuel. The Bible was bequeathed to the Royal Hieronamyte Monastery of Santa Maria de Belém, Lisbon. See description in *The painted page: Italian Renaissance book illumination*, Jonathan J. G. Alexander (ed.), Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1994, pp. 49-52.

<sup>33</sup> See the act of restitution of the Bible, Belém, 19 April 1815, IAN/TT, CF, 161/1, no. 1. A special courier, Domingos Pereira Rodrigues, transported the manuscripts from Paris, apparently via England. Extract of officio no. 120, from Domingos Sousa Coutinho, Count of Funchal, to Forjaz, London, 6 April 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 132; copy of officios from Forjaz to the Count of Funchal, 21 April 1815 and 29 April 1815, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 569, f. 173v-174r, f. 174v. With

belonging to the Convent of *Nossa Senhora de Jesus da Terceira Ordem de S. Francisco*, which was not returned until the end of 1815.<sup>34</sup>

In the summer of 1808, the military conflict and political instability also affected some of the municipal archives. The French General Loison destroyed the Archive of Mesão Frio.<sup>35</sup> The same happened to the Archive of the *Câmara Municipal* of Arcos de Valdevez in July 1808. Portuguese who targeted legal documents concerning the collection of rents and taxes perpetrated this deed.<sup>36</sup>

Still by the action of Junot's forces and later on by troops under the command of Soult in 1809 and Massena in 1811, other institutions were robbed of several riches, including documents. In several *Misericórdias* and Hospitals of Aldeia Galega and Vila do Conde and Chaves in respectively March 1808 and 1809, it was mainly silver and agricultural implements that disappeared.<sup>37</sup> The archives and libraries of monasteries and convents were particularly affected. The seizure and destruction of the record office of the Convent of *S. Agostinho Calçado* in Santarém, during Massena's invasion, prevented the prior of the Convent in 1816, from corroborating the usurping of other riches that included the library and some other works.<sup>38</sup> In the Convent of the *Madre de Deus* of Monchique in Porto, several 'antique papers' were stolen, under the pretext of having to be examined for inquiries: the nuns had to replace them.<sup>39</sup> In Porto, the French also took many documents, namely scriptures from the archive of the Monastery of *S. João Novo*

---

the suppression of the monasteries in 1834, the Bible went to the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, where it is kept.

<sup>34</sup> When the *ministro geral* of the Congregation claimed for the Bible, this was described as follows: 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta complectencia Vetus Testamentum Hebraico, Chaldaico, Graeco et Latino idiomate. Novum Testamentum Graecum et Latinum; et Vocabularium Hebraicum et Chaldaicum Vetris Testamenti, cum Grammatica Hebraica, nec non dictionario Graeco ac Introductione Grammatica: opera et impensis Cardinalis Francisci Ximenes de Cisneros. Complesti. 1514, 1515, 1517, in-folio, 6 volumes.' Oficio from the *ministro geral* of the Congregation to D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, 16 December 1815, and note enclosed, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 55, mç. único, doc. 79 e 80. The Convent of Jesus is occupied by the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* since 1834, following the extinction of the religious orders, with its library and cabinets.

<sup>35</sup> A. do Carmo Reis, *Invasões francesas: as revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, D.L. 1991, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> Vasco Pulido Valente, 'O povo em armas: a revolta nacional de 1808-1809' in *Tentar perceber*, [Lisbon]: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, impr. 1983, pp. 30-32.

<sup>37</sup> Besides drugs, medicines and food, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 54, mç. 3, doc. 1-15.

<sup>38</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 55, mç. único, doc. 137.

<sup>39</sup> Report from the abbess and nuns of the Monastery of *Madre de Deus*, in Monchique, 11 January 1816, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 55, mç. único, doc. 107.

*dos Eremitas Calçados de Sto. Agostinho*.<sup>40</sup> Several archives of public offices were destroyed in the places invaded by Massena's troops, in the provinces of Alentejo (especially Portalegre), Beira Baixa, Beira Alta, and parts of Estremadura. In the latter province, particularly in Santarém, the *Tombo Real da Coroa* (Royal Cartulary of the Crown) was burnt, as were all the archives in Alenquer. In the *Provedorias* (Purveyor's offices), the books and documents that regulated fallow and uncultivated lands disappeared. In all of these places the records necessary for the cartography of property in Portugal were lost.<sup>41</sup>

All these acts resulting from the French occupation and the war created disagreement and made the Portuguese seek the restitution of seized goods, including records, or else seeking compensation for the loss. This process had two significant stages. The one took place in September 1808, in the sequence of the signing by French and English troops of the Convention of Sintra, on 30<sup>th</sup> August in Lisbon, authorising the departure of the forces commanded by Junot and their respective baggage. The second, more prolonged, succeeded the General Peace of 1814, between the Allies and France.

Right at the beginning of September 1808, General-Major William Beresford, military governor of Lisbon, and Lieutenant Colonel Proby, commissary for the evacuation of the French army, drew the attention of Lieutenant-General Hew Dalrymple, commander of the British Forces in Portugal, to Portuguese goods in the possession of French soldiers. They stated that in spite of not having precise instructions for the execution of the Convention of Sintra, this stipulated limitations to the size and contents of the luggage to be carried by the French.<sup>42</sup> They pointed out that the French were

---

<sup>40</sup> The friars emphasized that the archive kept the books and authentic papers of Finance and bequests. Report from the friars of the Convent of *S. João Novo dos Eremitas Calçados de Sto. Agostinho*, 24 January 1816, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 55, mç. único, doc. 144.

<sup>41</sup> The disappearance of these records were acutely felt when the Portuguese government intended to divide the uncultivated land and vacant lots in parcels, in order to pay war debts. Engineers and *visitadores* (visitors) were appointed to produce plants of these lands and to describe the holdings of the Royal Crown and Tax (Fisco), inquiring ancient people, and creating lists to constitute a cadastre of the Kingdom. Register of conta no. 272, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 29 January 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 283r-285v.

<sup>42</sup> Besides, the article XIV stipulated the cancellation of all the contributions, requisitions and any pretensions from the French government regarding Portuguese subjects or other individuals residing in Portugal, which were not paid in December 1807. In parallel all the sequestrations would cease. Pub. by José Ferreira Borges de Castro, (ed.), *Collecção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao presente*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1857, vol. 4, pp. 536-542, especially p. 539.



preparing themselves to take or sell several items mentioned above.<sup>43</sup> The direct negotiator in the French Army was General Kellerman,<sup>44</sup> with whom negotiations were difficult and in Beresford's and Proby's opinion, marked by subterfuge. In relation to the goods kept by the French after the peace signed by Kellerman himself and lieutenant general Arthur Wellesley,<sup>45</sup> the delays and refusals continued, even for the items whose return had been agreed. The orders of the day on the subject, issued by the French General Quarters in Lisbon, simply commanded the restitution within 24 hours, of articles that had been taken by the French and belonged to the Army or Administration.<sup>46</sup> Under Beresford's and Proby's pressure and constant protest from the inhabitants of Lisbon, a commission for the restitution of confiscated or seized goods was formed. Members of this commission were Lieutenant Colonel Trant from Great Britain, António Rodrigues de Oliveira from Portugal, and Debluir, War commissioner for France. There still exists a notice of the creation of the 'Commission for the Restitution of confiscated or seized property, still existant in Portugal from the vassals or residents in Portugal, or from the royal palaces, public libraries and museums and other persons'. The notice also contains the details of its installation in Rua do Loreto in Lisbon, in a printed bilingual proclamation, in Portuguese and English, with the signatures of the French and English commissaries.<sup>47</sup> The printing and posting of the notice in the streets of Lisbon in the morning of the 11<sup>th</sup> September, was carried out against the will and perhaps without the knowledge of Kellerman, who wanted to avoid the contents being published.<sup>48</sup> Some restitution of documents, books and other goods belonging to Portuguese citizens, was

---

<sup>43</sup> True copy of the letter from W. Beresford, Major General, and Lieut. Col. Proby to Lieut. General Hew Dalrymple, Lisbon, 4 September 1808, PRO, WO, 1/416, f. 97r-98v.

<sup>44</sup> Kellermann kept all the 'pieces', that is to say the records regarding the restitutions that were made. Note enclosed, not signed, to the letter from the *ministre de la Guerre 'pour sa Majesté seule'*, Paris, 14 November 1808, AN, AF IV, plaquette 1/II, pièce 122, f. 5r. In the *archives nationales* of France there are the private papers of Kellermann, AN, AF, 195 AP, Papiers Kellermann.

<sup>45</sup> In Sintra, on 22 August 1808. José Manoel Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos diplomáticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, vol. 1, p. 67.

<sup>46</sup> Copy of order of the day from General Junot, Head Quarter, Lisbon, 6 September 1808, PRO, WO 1/416, f.161r. Next day it was issued a similar one. PRO, WO 1/416, f.161v.

<sup>47</sup> 'Comissão para a Restituição de propriedade confiscada ou usurpada, ainda existente em Portugal, dos vassallos ou residentes em Portugal, ou dos palácios reais, bibliotecas públicas e museus e outras pessoas', Printed proclamation signed by Kellerman, Major General W. C. Beresford, and Lieutenant-Colonel Proby, Lisbon, 10 September 1808, PRO, WO, 1/416, f. 181r or IANTT, SP 2275.

<sup>48</sup> Beresford to Dalrymple, Lisbon, 12 September 1808, PRO, WO, 1/416, f. 193r; 'Note du 5 Octobre 1808 a bord de l'Africaine', AN, AF IV 1616, plaquette 1/II, pièce 127.

made possible through the Commission and the direct action of British troops during the embarkation of the French Army.<sup>49</sup>

The second stage took place between Portugal and Louis XVIII of France in 1814. On 8<sup>th</sup> May 1814 Portugal joined the Convention between France and the allied powers (Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia) to suspend hostilities signed on the 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1814. The question of the archives was then touched upon in the Convention, but only the issue of the French military control in the occupied zones, which then did not include Portugal and without referring to disagreements of this nature.<sup>50</sup> The negotiations for general peace with France, took place in May 1814. The Count of Funchal, diplomatic representative in London, despite his full powers being contingent and dating from five years before, was the Portuguese plenipotentiary, together with the Count of Palmela.<sup>51</sup> Palmela's participation in the works of the Commission for the Claims started on the 20<sup>th</sup> May, empowered by instructions from the Count of Funchal. Although the content of several articles had already been agreed upon, the Portuguese claim to public or private property stolen by the French and still existing was accepted. Palmela was informed of the King of France's intention to return what was considered to be just, but in a confidential manner, without constituting an article of the Peace Treaty.<sup>52</sup> The possibility of compensating the Portuguese subjects by the thefts committed was also considered. The general principle agreed by the plenipotentiaries was to yield to public or State claims, since France took into account the interests of injured individuals. But they

---

<sup>49</sup> Note enclosed, not signed, with the letter from the *ministre de la Guerre*, Comte d'Isnebourg 'pour sa Majesté seule', Paris, 14 November 1808, AN, AF IV, plaquette 1/II, pièce 122, f. 5r; Copy of the report of Marshall General Beresford and Lieutenant Proby, commissioners for executing the Convention of 30 August, to Lt. General Hew Dalrymple, Lisbon, 18 September 1808, PRO, WO, 1/416, f. 205-213. Translation to Portuguese pub. Julio Firmino Judice Biker, *Supplemento à collecção dos tratados, convenções e actos publicos celebrados entre a Corôa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640*, vol.16, pp. 110-114.

<sup>50</sup> Fortresses and everything that was not private property had to be delivered to the Allies. Inside in the fortresses there were artillery and munitions depots and other supplies as well as archives, inventories, plans, charts, models. The fortifications were placed in the Rhine, the Piedmont and other Italian places, Spain and other places, besides the maritime fortifications. Article III of the Convention, pub. from the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, by Castro, *Colleção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos publicos*,... , vol. 4, pp. 468-472.

<sup>51</sup> Simão José da Luz Soriano, *História da guerra civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: segunda Epocha: guerra da Peninsula*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1876, vol 4, part 2, pp. 302-303.

<sup>52</sup> Castlereagh, representative of Great Britain, reported the same to the Count of Funchal during a private conference with him and Fernan Nuñez, representative of Spain, adding that it was agreed to leave the 'monuments of art' in France. Soriano, *História da guerra civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal*..., vol. 4, part 2, pp. 302-303.

planned to authorise in the treaty the right to the claims in the event of France not giving compensation to individuals if they retrieved the given credits.<sup>53</sup>

The treaty that was signed in Paris on the 30<sup>th</sup> May 1814, referred in the article 23 the return of the archives, letters, plans and documents belonging to the 'surrendered' countries or that could have been taken from the countries momentarily occupied by the different armies. Although Portugal did not ratify this treaty, the contents of a similar one<sup>54</sup> were confirmed by the Treaty between Portugal and France with some alterations, which were signed in Paris on the 28<sup>th</sup> August 1817, and ratified by both Countries.<sup>55</sup>

As an object of conflict, the archives were at the core of the multilateral and bilateral diplomatic negotiations with France. Already after the Congress of Vienna on the 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1815, the governors of the Kingdom published in Lisbon a decree in the name of the Prince Regent, in which they determine that descriptions of the 'precious' objects and 'important papers', seized, should be formalised and sent within 30 days to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*. The list of institutions and individuals that were affected during the period of occupation until September 1808 are as follows: Royal Arsenals, Tribunals and other Public Departments; Diocesan Prelates and Religious Orders from Regular and Secular Congregations as well as private individuals that had been 'robbed' by 'French Agents'.<sup>56</sup>

During December 1815 and January of the following year, lists of goods taken by the French either borrowed or requested arrived at the *Secretaria de Estado*. Other lists contained descriptions of other damages. In the majority of the cases of the surviving

---

<sup>53</sup> Relation enclosed with officio no. 2 from Count of Palmela to Count of Funchal, Paris 23 May 1814, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 14, 55, no. 14. Enclosed with this relation there was the copy of a note, in French, divided in 6 articles, probably for use of the Count of Palmela. The article 3 concerned the restitutions and stipulated the following: '*Reservé*'. '*Toutes les propriétés existantes en nature en France enlevées soit meubles de la Couronne, soit pièces des Archives, Depots, Musées, cabinets publics ainsi que toute propriété particulière enlevée de même, et se trouvant en nature en France, seront rendues sans délai d'après les principes adoptés par les Puissances Alliées suivant les formes établies de commun accord*'. BNRJ, CL, I-29, 14, 55, no. 15.

<sup>54</sup> It was the treaty established, at the same time, between France and Austria, France and Great Britain, France and Prussia and France and Russia.

<sup>55</sup> The terms of the article were the following: '*Les archives, cartes, plans et documents quelconques appartenants aux pays cédés, ou concernant à leur administration, seront fidèlement rendus en même temps que le pays, ou, si cela était impossible, dans un délai qui ne pourra être de plus de six mois après la remise des pays mêmes. Cette stipulation est applicable aux archives, cartes et planches qui pourraient avoir été enlevés dans les pays momentanément occupés par les différentes armées*'. José Ferreira Borges de Castro (ed.), *Collecção dos Tratados, Convenções, Contratos e Atos Públicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais Potencias desde 1640 até ao Presente*, vol. 4, pp. 475-501, p. 499 especially.

<sup>56</sup> IAN/TT, SP 2275. See also the corresponding manuscript, AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divisão, 16<sup>a</sup> Secção, Comando do Marechal Beresford, cx. 10, no. 14.

lists, these did not refer to documents or archives but concerned private individuals who either alone or as part of a community, presented their claims.<sup>57</sup> Some complaints came from hospitals, *misericórdias* and religious institutions.<sup>58</sup> Some cases referred to the public departments, which were not paid for work done for the occupying force.<sup>59</sup> Other cases concerned religious institutions whose public registers and libraries were frequently affected.<sup>60</sup>

Meanwhile, diplomatic negotiations continued and, on 28<sup>th</sup> August 1817, the Peace Treaty between D. João VI of Portugal and Louis XVIII of France was concluded in Paris and ratified by Portugal on 21<sup>st</sup> January and by France on 10<sup>th</sup> February 1818.<sup>61</sup> Within the scope of article 9, was celebrated a convention concerning the enquiry and liquidation of complaints under the charge of the French government. The raising of doubts over the article 23 of the Peace Treaty of 30<sup>th</sup> May 1814 was mentioned in this convention. For this reason, it was established that the maps of the countries ceded, especially those that France had surveyed should be handed over with their respective plates, within a period of four weeks after the exchange of ratifications of the 1817 Treaty. The same should be done for the archives, letters and plans taken from the countries momentarily occupied by the different armies.<sup>62</sup> Another annexed Convention in article 4, established the payment of monetary compensation by France to the allies.<sup>63</sup>

Monetary compensation concerning Portugal was negotiated separately with France. The Portuguese commissaries adjusters sent in 1818 a description of the amount

---

<sup>57</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 57, mç. único. These people were shoemakers, farmers, traders, shipmen, boatmen, fishermen and bakers. See also AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divisão, 14<sup>a</sup> Secção, cx. 145, no. 44.

<sup>58</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 54, mç. 3 (1-246).

<sup>59</sup> It was the case of the Royal Print. IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 56, mç. 1 (11). See the set, IAN/TT, cx. 56, mç. 1 (1-15).

<sup>60</sup> IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 55, mç. único (1-192). See also, in general, *Relação de artigos que se referem*

ao pagamento de dívidas, hipotecas e outras obrigações devidas pelo governo francês e outros referentes a dívidas entre Portugal e França, além da restituição, por parte desta, de livros e objetos de arte retirados de outros países', [S.l.], [n.d.], 7 p., ms., French, BNRJ, CL, I-29, 14, 55, no. 15

<sup>61</sup> Castro (ed.), *Collecção dos Tratados...*, vol. 5, pp. 370-385. This treaty was identical to the one signed in Paris, on 20 November 1815, between France and the four main powers, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia.

<sup>62</sup> Convention signed by Francisco José Maria de Brito and Richelieu, Paris, 28 August 1817, Original, IAN/TT, pub. from the original in French in the IAN/TT, MNE, with private translation in Portuguese, by Castro, *Collecção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao Presente*, vol. 5, pp. 393-427, p. 417.

<sup>63</sup> Castro, *Collecção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao Presente*, vol. 5, pp. 386-393.

the French Government should pay.<sup>64</sup> But in spite of including some of the items referred to in the lists that had been received by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Lisbon, that description did not mention records, either in manuscript or printed form.<sup>65</sup> It is still unclear if besides some restitution discreetly carried out, namely, the Bible of the Jerónimos, the commissaries considered, in the totality of the compensations, the archives and libraries of religious institutions and from private individuals. Besides, it seems that the restitution of maps plates and other documents mentioned in one of the conventions annexed to the 1817 Treaty was not carried out.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> In 1818 in Portugal, royal orders were sent in order that receipts of the expenses made by the French were presented. AHM, 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 10, no. 16.

<sup>65</sup> Simão José da Luz Soriano, *História da guerra civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal: compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: terceira epocha: estabelecimento do governo parlamentar*, vol. 1, pp. 143-145. The list was published also by Soriano, *História da Guerra Civil...*, vol. 6, p. 316 from IANTT, MNE.

<sup>66</sup> On these negotiations, see the following Portuguese Foreign Affairs records: Protocolo das 111 sessões, de 24 de Fevereiro de 1816 a 25 de Junho de 1818, dos commissários estrangeiros reunidos em Paris para procederem à liquidação conforme a convenção de 20 de Novembro de 1815, 1816-1818, IANTT, MNE, liv. 662-668; Protocolo das sessões dos commissários, juizes e liquidadores das reclamações de Portugal contra a França, de 11 de Fevereiro de 1818 a 4 de Março de 1819, conforme a convenção de 8 de Agosto de 1817, 1818-1819, IANTT, MNE, liv 669; Receita dos dois milhões de francos, parte que coube a Portugal no rateio da indemnização que a França pagou às potências aliadas, 1815-1820, IANTT, MNE, liv. 708; Comissão de Liquidação de Contas com a França, Actas das sessões com anexos, 1818 IANTT, MNE, cx. 75, mç. 3 (1-8); Ofício (2 minutas e 1 cópia) dirigidos a D. João VI, sobre a questão das reclamações contra a França por Marquês de Borba, Principal Sousa, Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira e D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, 5 May, 2 June and 13 July 1818, IANTT, MNE, cx. 81, mç. 2 (27-29); Relação dos Offícios da Legação de Portugal em Paris, que tratam de reclamações, 1815-21, IANTT, MNE, cx. 81, mç. 2 (26).

## 7.2 The seizure of records from the French and Portuguese, their use and destination

In the context of the Peninsular War and particularly the war against the French in Portugal, several documents were intercepted or seized from French or Portuguese suspected of being favourable to Napoleonic France by Portuguese and British. During this period of the stay of the Court in Brazil, it is necessary to ascertain if the documents were used in a different way from that for which they were intended; also, as far as possible, to know their destination within the Portuguese administration and archives.

The first seizure and perhaps the most mentioned in the official correspondence of the times was that of the archival documents of the *Secretaria* of General Junot. When the French Army under the command of Junot, departed from Torres Vedras to engage in the Battle of Vimeiro, on 21<sup>st</sup> August 1808, the advanced Portuguese troops of General Bernardim Freire de Andrade, under the command of Major Sebastião Pinto de Araújo Correia, seized these documents near Cercal.<sup>67</sup> Geoufre, General Junot's brother-in-law had been nominated *administrateur-général* of palaces and royal dwellings. Therefore, he must have retained some of those documents; namely, the copybook of Junot's correspondence to the emperor since the campaign of Tilsit and while commandant in Portugal, as well as Napoleon's answers.<sup>68</sup> We have no knowledge of the latter. The copybook contains 129 letters written by Junot to Napoleon, between 26<sup>th</sup> July 1806 from Paris and 7<sup>th</sup> June 1808 from Lisbon, and references the correspondent annexes.<sup>69</sup> There is more than one copy of this copybook. The original one must be that in the *Biblioteca da Ajuda* in Lisbon.<sup>70</sup> However, there is another copy in the private papers of the Lencastre-

---

<sup>67</sup> Oficio no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Palace of the Government, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885.

<sup>68</sup> Note enclosed, not signed, to the letter of the *ministre de la Guerre*, Comte d'Isnebourg 'pour sa Majesté seule', Paris, 14 November 1808, AF IV, plaquette 1/II, pièce 122.

<sup>69</sup> The letters are in the *archives nationales* in Paris, together with some addressed to the *ministre de la Guerre* who presented to Napoleon brief reports ('*extraits*') based on the correspondence that was addressed to him. AN, AF IV 1604, Secrétairerie d'État Impériale. Guerre. Armée du Portugal. Corps d'observation de la Gironde ; Dépêches de Junot à l'Empereur et au ministre de la Guerre, octobre-décembre 1807, AF IV 1604 plaquette 1<sup>I</sup>; Dépêches adressées à l'Empereur et au ministre de la Guerre par le général Junot, Nov.-Décembre 1807, AF IV 1604 plaquette 1<sup>II</sup>. AF IV 1616, Secrétairerie d'État Impériale. Guerre. Affaires d'Espagne: Lettres et rapports adressés à l'Empereur par le ministre de la Guerre concernant l'armée de Portugal, janvier-avril 1808, AF IV 1616 plaquette 1<sup>I</sup>; Lettres et états adressés à l'empereur par le général Junot, commandant l'armée du Portugal, janvier-mai 1808, AF IV 1616 plaquette 1<sup>I</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> 102 f., 82 with text and a partial index, bound in cardboard, BA, COD 46-XIII-29. On its description, and mainly about its paper and watermark, see João Leão Cardoso de Bethencourt,

Basto family (*Casa de Souto d'El Rey e Casa da Feira*) in the *Biblioteca Nacional*. It was in the possession of D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, Count of Feira, ancestor of the Almada Lencastre family and *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Lisbon, between September 1808 and September 1820.<sup>71</sup>

It was indeed D. Miguel Forjaz who presented the copybook in session of the governors of the Kingdom at the end of November 1808. He also presented other documents seized from Junot and from the *corregedor-mor* of Abrantes, Pepin de Belle-Isle, who most probably was with the French army. D. Miguel Forjaz left some bundles of these other documents in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*: some documents were sent to the judge of the *Inconfidência*.<sup>72</sup> Except for the copybook of Junot's correspondence, the documents seized from Junot and Belle-Isle were described in some detail in the description annex to the *conta* of the governors of the Kingdom, which informed the Prince Regent about these seizure and D. Miguel Forjaz's activities.<sup>73</sup> A copy of this description was kept in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, probably made in December 1808 and by the hand of Rolim, organiser of the corresponding archive.<sup>74</sup>

The copybook of General Junot's correspondence to the Emperor as well as some of the seized papers proceeding from his *Secretaria*, were taken by hand to Rio de Janeiro

---

*Catalogo dos manuscritos da Real Biblioteca da Ajuda referentes à guerra da Península*, ed. Ramalho Ortigão, Lisbon: Typographia da Academia das Sciencias, 1910, pp. VI-VII, and p. 51. Bethencourt published here the abstracts of the letters, pp. 28-51. The whole was published by Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sepulveda, *Historia organica e politica do exercito portuguez: provas*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1907, vol. 12. The same Sepulveda published abstracts in *Dicionário bibliográfico da guerra peninsular*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1930, vol. 4, pp. 140-158. See also António Pedro Vincente, *Manuscritos...*, vol. 3, p. 16, n. 9.

<sup>71</sup> BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 112, 181. The content is identical to the content of the copybook kept in the *Biblioteca da Ajuda*. The copybook kept by Forjaz might be the copy made in order to be sent with the second via of the ofício no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom and D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz to the Prince Regent, Palace of the Government, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885. In the private papers of the family Lencastre-Basto there is also a partial copy of this copybook. It comprised only the correspondence from Junot to Napoleon connected with Portugal and its invasion, from Bayonne, 10 October 1807, to Lisbon, 7 June 1808. BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 115, 190.

<sup>72</sup> Register of *conta* no. 2, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 16 November 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 6r-18v. The judge of *Inconfidência* was appointed by the portaria of 26 September 1808, in order to proceed to inquiries, without limit of time, concerning the crimes related to the *Inconfidência* (disloyalty and distrust to the monarch). 'Juiz' in Sousa, *Esboço de hum Dicionario Juridico...*

<sup>73</sup> Register of *conta* no. 4, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 24 December 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 12v. The Prince Regent became aware of this *conta* on June-July 1809. Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 5 July 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 42-44.

<sup>74</sup> IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242.

in May 1809, by the Prince Regent's guarda-roupa. Copies of General Kellerman's letters<sup>75</sup> and a list of persons that signed the petition to Napoleon were also sent.<sup>76</sup> The copybook sent to Brazil was the possession of the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* and the monarch, perhaps in his Cabinet or in the manuscripts of the Royal Library. The copybook was probably returned to Portugal with the manuscripts from the Library of the Royal Palace of Ajuda, where it stayed.

The other 17 bundles of documents seized in August 1808 originated in General Junot's *Secretaria*. The documents covered the organisation period of the *Corps d'Observation de Gironde* to invade Portugal, the army's march and the occupation and administration of the country, between August 1807 and 1808. The great majority of the documents was military in nature and concerned security and public order. Many documents related to police and several others were of a fiscal and accountancy nature.<sup>77</sup> Four of these bundles stayed in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* (6,7,12 and 13) all of them constituted by Portuguese or Portuguese related documents. They could have been used as a source of information or proof of the conduct during the French occupation. For instance, in bundle 6, there was a list of Portuguese Navy officers who had promised to serve with the French, dated from 28<sup>th</sup> June 1808. In bundle 11,

---

<sup>75</sup> Ofício no. 1, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Palace of the Government, 31 May 1809, IANTT, MNE, cx. 885.

<sup>76</sup> Summary of the 2<sup>a</sup> via of the conta no.12, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 31 May 1809, *Elenco...*, p. 26.

<sup>77</sup> Maço (bundle) 1, correspondence from ministers of state of France, French ambassador in Madrid, Beauhornois, and other personalities of France and Spain to General Junot; maço 2, correspondence from French generals (Delabord, Kellerman, Travot, Quesnel, Margaron, Avril, Charlot, Grandorge, Maurin (?Maurasin) Favil, Thiebault), from officials of Junot's headquarter, military engineers and Spanish officials; maço 3, correspondence from the Navy commander, Magendie to Junot; maço 4, correspondence to Junot regarding the accountancy of the Ministry of War and Navy and from colonel engineer Vincent, and lists of arms, depots and munitions in Portugal; maço 5, correspondence to Junot regarding the accountancy of the French Army in Portugal and the taxes of Portugal; maço 6, correspondence from Portuguese to the generals and other French authorities; maço 7, correspondence from the intendant Lagarde to General Junot and other records regarding the activity of the *Intendência Geral da Polícia*; maço 8, records regarding and receipts and expenses of the treasurer of de Portugal and taxes in Portugal; maço 9, papers and military maps of the French and Spanish Army in Portugal; maço 10, correspondence from the ministers of War and Finance and from Intendant Lagarde to the *corregedores môres* of Estremadura, Algarve and from various to these ministers and to Belle-Isle, *corregedor môr* of Abrantes; maço 11, correspondence from General Junot to the Duke of Berg and other generals, and representations to the emperor; maço 12, correspondence to Belle-Isle; maço 13, correspondence from Belle-Isle to the bishops of Leiria and Castelo Branco and to ministers and territorial judges; maço 14, records regarding the correspondence from Belle-Isle; maço 15, correspondence to and from French and Spanish generals and officials; maço 16, military memories by Portuguese and Frenchmen regarding to several places of the country, including fortresses, towers, batteries, reconnaissance of the coast, itineraries; maço 17, economic and political memories on Portugal. IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242.



there were four petitions to Napoleon by Portuguese military and civilian and a copy of the renowned letter asking for a new dynasty for Portugal was probably included.<sup>78</sup> As already mentioned, its copy was kept secretly in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, without Rolim's acknowledgement of this fact in the list.

Curiously, some of the documents seized and referenced as being kept in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, were in the possession of D. Miguel Forjaz and became part of the private papers of his descendants. Nowadays they can be found in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, by acquisition. That was what happened with the following: correspondence from the *intendente geral da Polícia* to Junot and annex documents, many of which consisted of corresponded from Portuguese authorities to Lagarde,<sup>79</sup> documents from Petronnier and from L. F. Troussset, *commissaire ordonateur en chef* to General Junot<sup>80</sup> letters from the *corregedor* of Alenquer to Belle-Isle.<sup>81</sup> But among the private papers of Forjaz other documents were also kept, which contained no indication that they should be kept under the charge of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*.<sup>82</sup> Others, still remained in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* and are today in the *Arquivo Histórico Militar* in Lisbon.<sup>83</sup>

Several of the seized documents were used by the government in Lisbon and to a certain extent also in Rio de Janeiro within a context and objectives different from those which they were intended for. The anti-French feeling that simmered among the people in Portugal and the quasi-revolutionary social instability, added to the political weakness of the Regency re-established in September 1808, was fertile ground for persecution. The targets were active collaborators from the French or simply suspects of French sympathy, quickly identified with masons and jacobins. After the invasion under the command of

---

<sup>78</sup> This representation was carried, in the end of May 1808, by D. José Sebastião de Saldanha, grandson of the relevant Portuguese statesman Marquis of Pombal, to Bayonne where a Portuguese delegation was detained after being manoeuvred and sent by Junot. Register [127] of letter from Junot to Napoleon, Lisbon, 3 June 1808, BA, COD 46-XIII-29, f. 81r. But Saldanha was forced to return to Portugal by the insurgents in Spain. Note enclosed, not signed, with the letter of the *ministre de la Guerre*, Comte d'Isnnebourg 'pour sa Majesté seule', Paris, 14 November 1808, AF IV, plaquette 1/II, pièce 122.

<sup>79</sup> Maço 7 of the list of Rolim, nowadays BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163.

<sup>80</sup> Maço 5, macetes 2 and 4 of the list of Rolim, nowadays BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 05, 163.

<sup>81</sup> Maço 13, macete 12 in the list of Rolim, nowadays BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163.

<sup>82</sup> For instance, records from General Charlot to General Junot, maço 2, macete 8, in the list of Rolim, nowadays at BN, ALB, Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163. IANTT, MR, mç. 242, mç 2, macete 8.

<sup>83</sup> See, for instance, correspondence from General Thiebault to the Regency, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 2, no. 12. This might correspond to the maço 2, macete 12 of the list.

General Soult in March 1809, the fear of subversion against the established authority resulted in the governors of the Kingdom's indecision as to what kind of action to take: to put a stop to indiscriminate persecutions, appeal to denounce collaborators and punishment. Furthermore, the Prince Regent and the government in Rio de Janeiro changed their position regarding the scope of direct jurisdiction of the governors of the Kingdom on the application of the death penalty for crimes of disloyalty.<sup>84</sup> Many of the lawsuits and sentences passed (several of which were later reviewed) were based on those indictments<sup>85</sup> but other documents were also used.

In November 1808, a Junta of first class ministers took a decision based on proof concerning French sympathisers and three people who had put 'luminaries' on the 1<sup>st</sup> February 1808, celebrating the assumption of power by Junot and in the name of the Emperor Napoleon. At least in the case of those considered to be French partisans, these proofs were certainly supported by several of the documents seized. This decision as well as two decrees of the governors of the Kingdom were published to satisfy popular expectations rather than dictated by the fear of attack from the pro-French. The governors of the Kingdom sent the decrees to the Prince Regent for his appreciation.<sup>86</sup> Besides, the *secretário dos Negócios da Guerra*, D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, had sent in November to the judge of *Inconfidência*, several papers seized from officials of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. The purpose was that those papers should be examined

---

<sup>84</sup> On January 1809, the Prince Regent, though approving the reestablishment of the Judge of *Inconfidência*, forbade the governors of the Kingdom from executing death sentence for crimes such as machinating with French and selling themselves to them, without previous royal order. Register of royal letter of instructions to the Prince Regent, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 2 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 1-32. This was repeated in May 1809. Register of conta from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 31 May 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 33r-38r. But in August 1809, the Prince Regent authorized the government in Lisbon to order the execution of death sentence to the defendants of *Inconfidência* and lese majesty, without previous royal confirmation, reminding this again in October. Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 17 October 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 75-77.

<sup>85</sup> Vasco Pulido Valente, 'O povo em armas: a revolta nacional de 1808-1809', pp. 13-121. In the end of 1808, several people suspected of being supporters of Napoleonic France were arrested. In March 1809, other people, in the majority belonging to the Masonry, were also arrested or were forbidden to move. In September 1810 half a hundred of people, masons or suspected of Masonry and Jacobinism were imprisoned and deported to Azores (the *Setembrizada*). Ana Cristina Araújo, 'Prender e reabilitar, a Setembrizada' in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores: 1993, vol. 5, pp. 40-42; Nuno Daupias d'Alcochete, 'A Setembrizada' in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, [Lisbon]: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1979, vol. 5, pp. 554-557; Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, *A instauração do liberalismo (1807-1832)* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1994, pp. 59-60, 78-80.

<sup>86</sup> Register of conta no. 2, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 16 November 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 8v.

and proposed in a Junta of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*.<sup>87</sup> It was not possible to verify which documents seized from the General Junot's *Secretaria* were used in the judicial enquiries and lawsuits of suspects of jacobinism and pro-French behaviour. But the '*Devassa da Inconfidência*' (judicial enquiry of disloyalty) was in 1814 destroyed by fire together with all the documents existing in the house of the *desembargador do Paço* and judge of the *Inconfidência*, António Gomes Ribeiro.<sup>88</sup>

The information contained in General Junot's copybook, dealing with the Portuguese and their attitude towards the French occupier, was analysed and used more than once and in several ways by the governors in Rio de Janeiro and in Lisbon. In August 1809, the Prince Regent was informed of the incarceration of people denounced as freemasons in the prison of the Inquisition in Lisbon. The Prince Regent's answer to the governors recommended caution in the investigations in order to judge the prisoners for disturbance of public law and not for religious crimes. Thus, they should be related to the French agents, according to the copybook of Junot's correspondence to Napoleon.<sup>89</sup> Essentially, the Prince Regent followed the opinion of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, who carefully read the copybook. He used its information to differentiate responsibilities and define

---

<sup>87</sup> Register of conta no. 4, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 24 December 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 12v.

<sup>88</sup> Register of conta no. 307, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 10 September 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 316, f. 69v-71r. However, other judicial records were kept. A focused search might lead us to judicial inquiries or Court proceedings based on this apprehended records. In the IAN/TT, the records of the *Correição do Crime da Corte*, in arrangement, comprise court cases against these suspects. Also in the IAN/TT there are records of the *Juizo do Fisco da Inconfidência*, regarding sequester and confiscation of belongings of people accused of crimes of *Inconfidência*. The records of the *Intendência Geral da Polícia*, again in the IAN/TT, include *devassas* (inquiries) following the French Invasion. A. Ferrão refers the inquiry made to the circumstances of the meeting that took place on 22 May 1808, in the house of the *desembargador* Francisco Duarte Coelho, attended by the judge of the People of Lisbon, Abreu Campos, among others. Arquivo do Ministério da Justiça, mç. R., *A 1ª Invasão Francesa...*, p. 361. Abreu Campos proposed a Constitution to Portugal, besides a King of the family of Napoleon. Reis, *Invasões francesas: as revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, pp. 68-69. Many of the people suspected or accused of pro-French behaviour addressed memories and representations to the Prince Regent justifying their conducts. See, for instance, ofício from Pedro de Melo Breyner, Lisbon, 7 October 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 2,2 and from the mentioned Abreu Campos, 'Memoria de tudo quanto se passou no tempo, em que servi de Juis do Povo em 1808, para ser presente a SAR o principe Regente Nosso Senhor', Lisbon, 31 December 1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 2,43.

<sup>89</sup> Register of aviso from Count of Aguiar to Salter de Mendonça, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, 1,11, f. 1r-1v.

priorities in the repression of those who had served the French government.<sup>90</sup> Some months later, when sending to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* the petitions of H elene Frison Verdier, wife of a well-known French industrialist in Portugal, D. Rodrigo mentioned the copybook openly: 'Today I have in front of my eyes, Junot's Copybook Journal and saw what he writes about Jos e Sebasti o de Saldanha who was going to Paris to take the famous Petition, and I was astonished that he is calm while Verdier is persecuted....'.<sup>91</sup>

In the course of the war, interception and seizure of documents from the French armies took place. Apparently, some of these documents were used for military purposes;<sup>92</sup> but the seizure of documents was still carried out in other circumstances.

The Marquis of Olh o, D. Francisco da Cunha e Meneses, governor of the Kingdom and president of the *Desembargo do Pa o*, presented during a session of the governors of the Kingdom in July 1811, 14 bundles of French documents, found by the servant Agostinho Penalva. These documents were kept in a bureau in the house of the Count of Caparica, D. Francisco de Menezes da Silveira e Castro, at the time residing in Rio de Janeiro. These documents, referenced in a list presented to the Prince Regent, belonged to the French Legation in Portugal, at the time when generals Lannes and Junot were the diplomatic representatives of their country in Lisbon, between 1802-1804 and in 1805. The documents were probably in the possession of Francisco Ant nio Herman, general consul of France, who during the government of Junot in Portugal was responsible for Home and Finance Affairs. Herman lived in that house, and even after having moved, kept his office there.<sup>93</sup> Well before the Marquis of Olh o having presented these found and seized documents, another governor of the Kingdom, Principal Sousa,

---

<sup>90</sup> Representation from D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to the Prince Regent on the answer to the oficio no. 11 from the governors of the Kingdom, Rio de Janeiro, 16 August 1809. ANRJ, NP, cx. 639, pac. 1,58.

<sup>91</sup> Oficio from D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to the Count of Aguiar, Palace of Santa Cruz, 22 November 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 686, pac. 2,29. Translated from Portuguese.

<sup>92</sup> In 1809, a letter was intercepted from Marshall Soult to Joseph Bonaparte, reporting that Soult would arrive to Porto till 22 March, after crossing the River Minho. Summary of the 2<sup>a</sup> via of the conta no. 6, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 10 March 1809, *Elenco...*, p. 21. To the Army lead by Massena several records were seized, among which correspondence to the war commissary Chaignet from, in general, the *ordonateur* Michan. Most of these records regarded the military administration and dated from the siege of Astorga, in the north of Spain, in 1810. 190 f, AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divis o, 14<sup>a</sup> Sec o, cx. 7, no. 14. See other records, AHM, 1<sup>a</sup> Divis o, 14<sup>a</sup> Sec o, cx. 7, no. 9 and 15.

<sup>93</sup> Register of conta no. 107, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 10 July 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 203v-204r; register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 6 October 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 296-297.

examined them carefully, to ascertain whether they contained suspicious correspondence that posed a threat to public safety. In the process he singled out a document, which he handed over to João Diogo de Barros Carvalhosa, from the *Casa Real*, to be delivered directly to the Prince Regent.<sup>94</sup> It is possible that this document, as well as the list of the other documents found in Count of Caparica's house, were kept in D. João's cabinet. This conclusion seems in accordance with the classification used by João Brusco in the organisation of the document of the monarch's cabinet.<sup>95</sup> Besides, some documents from the French Legation, concerning the Consulate, became part of the archive of the *Intendência Geral da Polícia*, to be used in their investigations.<sup>96</sup>

The documents seized from the Portuguese were also used in the investigation of cases. This is the case, for instance, of the documents seized from the Count of Sabugal by the British Army. In April 1811, the diplomatic representative of Great Britain in Portugal, Charles Stuart sent the documents to Forjaz, so that he could inform the governors of the Kingdom.<sup>97</sup> By order of the governors of the Kingdom, the documents described in a list done by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* were sent to the *desembargador do Paço* that presided over the *Casa da Suplicação*, João António Salter de Mendonça, also *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*.<sup>98</sup> The documents were analysed with the possibility of using them in a judicial enquiry. The Count of Sabugal, D. Miguel de Assis Mascarenhas, integrated the Portuguese deputation sent under the orders of General Junot to Bayonne in February 1808.<sup>99</sup>

The Count of Ega, Aires de Saldanha was one of the most notorious French partisans and when the documents were seized from him was with the intention of investigation followed by punishment. What it is not known is who carried out the

---

<sup>94</sup> Letter from Principal Sousa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 15 May 1811, AFL, Copiador, CEHCA, FUP, R-9, 1, 1, vol. 1, f. 41r.

<sup>95</sup> 'Guerra, I. *Correspondência do General Lannes quando esteve por Ministro em Lisboa*.' Letter from João Brusco to the Prince Regent, and enclosed list of the papers kept in the cupboard of the Cabinet (*Relação dos papéis que estão arrumados nos armários do Gabinete*) n.d., Real Gabinete, col. of the Author, pub. by Pereira, D. *João VI príncipe e rei*, vol. 3, pp. 210-213.

<sup>96</sup> There are at least the following records in the *Intendência Geral da Polícia*: 'Actes de la chancellerie du Consulat Général de France à Lisbonne' and 'Délibérations de la Factorie Française à Lisbonne', IAN/TT, Intendência Geral da Polícia, series 'Livros Avulsos', 1791-1821. See 'Intendência Geral da Polícia' in *Guia Geral dos Fundos da Torre do Tombo*. Primeira Parte: *Instituições do Antigo Regime*, Lisboa: IAN/TT, 2000, vol. 3, pp. 162-175, especially pp. 174-175.

<sup>97</sup> Extract of note from Stuart to Forjaz, 14 April 1811, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 133, f. 125v.

<sup>98</sup> Register of aviso from the governors of the Kingdom, Palace of the Government, 22 April 1811, IAN/TT, liv. 42, f. 36v-38v.

<sup>99</sup> Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, pp. 35-36. In 1812, he was, apparently, living in Algarve. *Almanach de Lisboa*, 1812, p. 31.

seizure, probably linked with the process of confiscation, brought against the Count of Ega. In the list of papers that accompanied their delivery, by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, does not seem to figure any document from the period of government of General Junot, in which he had been actively involved with.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> Copy of the 'Relação dos Papeis do Confiscado Ayres de Saldanha que foi Conde da Ega...' , *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, 31 July 1813, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, 7 August 1813, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 445, cx. 557. The papers comprised records regarding the administration and government of Portugal, several manuscripts and books on Philosophy, History, Hagiography, Politics, Biography and Grammar, part of which connected with Spain (Count da Ega was ambassador of Portugal in Madrid from May 1805 to November 1807). According to Rolim, these papers were kept in the Class XVIII *Petições*, Division 3 *Petições e mais papeis de Franceses*, Subdivision 6 *Papeis do confiscado Aires de Saldanha*, who was Count da Ega.

### 7.3 Safekeeping of records and papers

The safekeeping of records was brought to the fore when French troops under the command of General Massena re-entered Portugal in 1810. The fear of the possible conquest of Lisbon was compounded by the fear for the safety of government documents kept in the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*.

At the beginning of 1809, the governors of the Kingdom published a proclamation to the Portuguese people, inciting them to collaborate with the government to resist to the army of the 'Tyrant' and 'Enemy of Europe'. They also made public that the 'Royal Archives' as well as the valuables from the Crown and the terrestrial and naval munitions would have a safe deposit in the Crown's ships.<sup>101</sup> Effectively, they ordered the packing for shipment of the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, as well as the Library and important documents of the Palace and everything 'worthwhile' under the care of João Diogo de Barros Carvalhosa, of the *Casa Real*. They also ordered the shipment of the most valuable possessions of the Royal Mews.<sup>102</sup>

During the preparations for the evacuation of the Royal Archive, the problem of selection of documents arose. This practical question implied valuations as far as the diplomatic and judicial nature of the documents was concerned. Such evaluations were first implicitly contained in the presentation of an 'inventory' by the Archive in February 1809. This inventory corresponded to a list of documents that were then packed.<sup>103</sup> It was pointed out that many of the documents to be sent, lacked copies in the Archive, and some sets were given as meaningful examples. This was the case of *Leitura Nova* consisting of 60 books ordered by King D. Manuel I and finished during the reign of his successor D. João III, between the beginning and the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In these books, generally richly illuminated, were partially transcribed the documents of the *Chancelarias Régias* (Royal Chancelleries) prior to other documents meanwhile

---

<sup>101</sup> Printed proclamation, issued by João António Salter de Mendonça, *secretário dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, Lisbon, 21 January 1809, IANTT, SP 2275 and annexe to the draft of conta no. 5, 25 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 242.

<sup>102</sup> Register of conta no. 5, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 27 January 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 13v-15r.

<sup>103</sup> Minute of ofício made by Gaspar Feliciano de Morais, *escrivão* of the Royal Archive. See for this and the following paragraphs, 'Documentos relativos ao encaixotamento de documentação do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo no tempo das Invasões Francesas', IANTT, Arquivo do Arquivo, pasta 31A (in the folder), pasta 44, cx. 17.

destroyed.<sup>104</sup> The *Gavetas* (Drawers) consisting of documents dated since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, that were stored in drawers in Torre do Tombo, by type of document and act or function, were in a similar situation. There were only copies, not always complete, of those documents from the *Gavetas* that were damaged or unintelligible. In the Archive there was not a 'competent duplicate' of the whole of these documents.

Should the French occupy Lisbon, none of these documents, namely the copies of the two 'classes' housed in the Archive, would be missed by the Portuguese of the Kingdom. In contrast, from the documents to be evacuated, the subjects under the rule of the Prince Regent would benefit, as would future ones or, at least, their families and descendants and their legitimate master. Two further evaluations were carried out: the first one, stating the valuable character of the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* without however, any justification. The second linked the existence of the Archive to the existence of the Portuguese Monarchy itself.

These observations together with others made in a note related to the process of packaging of the Royal Archive reveal some of the factors that were behind the process of evaluation. They included the examination of the documents in relation to their administrative use (useful to the King of Portugal and his subjects), their diplomatic nature and legal value (existence of 'competent copies'), their external diplomatic features (documents that were more resistant to the voyage) and their material and symbolic value (valuable Archive and Monarchy Archive).

As far as the documents that were to stay in Lisbon were concerned, it seems that in practical terms, changes occurred during their packaging. In the end, the cases reached the number of forty-five. In them there were not only the documents of the *Gavetas* and *Leitura Nova*, but also the treaties, the precious aureate bulls and other pope bulls, Rolls of Arms, the *Armário Jesuítico* (collection of documents justifying the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Portugal, ordered by the State and decreed in 1759), the 'India bundles',<sup>105</sup> books of Royal Chancellery and books of Chancellery of Military Orders.

---

<sup>104</sup> See Sylvie Deswarte, *Les enluminures de la Leitura Nova, 1504-1552: étude sur la culture artistique au Portugal au temps de l'Humanisme*, Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural de Paris, 1977. This royal enterprise had the purpose of safeguarding and building a certain memory.

<sup>105</sup> Would these bundles be composed of the 62 *Livros das Monções* (Monsoon Books), also mentioned as *Documentos remetidos da Índia* (Documents sent from India) sent to Lisbon in April 1777, following a royal letter of 10 February 1774, and were transferred to the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* in 1778? They cover predominantly the period 1605-1651 and comprise mainly correspondence from the Portuguese monarch in Lisbon to the governors or viceroys of the *Estado da Índia* in Goa, and copies of answers, and other correspondence and documents produced by the



Several people were involved in the packing process and several documents were produced. There were lists with the number of packs, with a brief description, previous location in the Archive and another number, presumably referring to the packing case.<sup>106</sup> In the process were involved several clerks from the Royal Archive, namely the scrivener, Gaspar Feliciano de Morais, two officers of Reformation (whose main task was to make indexes and copies), José António Rodrigues and Rodrigo Manuel de Sousa, and also the councillor in the role of keeper, Francisco Feliciano Velho da Costa Mesquita de Castelo Branco.

Once the fear of the French subsided, order returned to the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*. The documents were unpacked and stored again in the Archive.<sup>107</sup> By the middle of August 1809, the payment for the 'extraordinary and arduous' task<sup>108</sup> was taking its course and João Pedro Ribeiro was authorised to resume the teaching of Diplomatics in the Archive.<sup>109</sup>

However, during the months of October and November 1810, the French were stationed very near Lisbon, and the possibility of their entry in Lisbon made the Portuguese authorities again take measures to protect the Royal Archive. The governors of the Kingdom started once again to proclaim the need to protect the respective documents, besides the belongings of the Crown and the depots of munitions.<sup>110</sup>

---

government of the *Estado da Índia*. See IAN/TT, Documentos remetidos da Índia, liv. 1-62. See also António da Silva Rego, 'The monsoon codices at the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo' in *Indo-Portuguese history: sources and problems*, ed. John Correia-Afonso, Bombay: Oxford University Press: 1981, pp. 51-71. Several of these volumes were published.

<sup>106</sup> The location in the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* of the records to be transferred was the following: *Nova Casa da Coroa* (New House of the Crown), Room 1<sup>st</sup>, Bookcase 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18; Room 2<sup>nd</sup>, Bookcase 8, 9, 10, 12; Interior of the *Casa da Coroa*, Room 1<sup>st</sup>, Bookcase 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, Room 2<sup>nd</sup>, Bookcase 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, Room 3<sup>rd</sup>, Bookcase 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Room 4<sup>th</sup>, Bookcase 2,3; Bookcases of the Cabinet of the *Escrivão* 1, 2, 3 (Index and alphabets). IANTT, Arquivo do Arquivo, pasta 31A (in the folder), pasta 44, cx. 17.

<sup>107</sup> When the archive was unboxed the gold seal of a papal bull was missing (IANTT, Bulas, mç. 44, no. 9). See the accounting based in the statement made by Francisco Nunes Franklim, *oficial ajudante da Reformaço*, on 10 January 1812, in Pedro de Azevedo and António Baião, *O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo: sua história, corpos que o compõem e organização*, p. 133.

<sup>108</sup> Draft of note in order that the official *da Reformaço* of the Archive recorded in a pay roll an amount to pay this work, 18 August 1809, Documentos relativos ao encaixotamento de documentação do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo no tempo das Invasões Francesas', IANTT, Arquivo do Arquivo, pasta 31A (in the folder), pasta 44, cx. 17.

<sup>109</sup> Minute of letter to João Pedro Ribeiro, 18 August 1809, 'Documentos relativos ao encaixotamento de documentação do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo no tempo das Invasões Francesas', IANTT, Arquivo do Arquivo, pasta 31A (in the folder), pasta 44, cx. 17.

<sup>110</sup> Edict from the governors of the Kingdom, 14 October 1810, BAC, Legislação Portuguesa, cited by Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, pp. 84-85. Besides, the Nau 'Vasco da

As a consequence, the keeper of the Royal Archive, Viscount de Balsemão, alerted the government to the fact that he had not received any guidelines regarding the future of the Archive.<sup>111</sup> But only two days later, on 17<sup>th</sup> October a letter from the Royal Archive was sent to Duarte José Fava,<sup>112</sup> instructing him by order of the governors of the Kingdom to ship the volumes indicated in a list.<sup>113</sup> At the same time, two *escriurários* (scribes) of the Archive, Francisco Nunes Franklim and José Joaquim Matoso, proposed to accompany the Royal Archive documents to Rio de Janeiro, alleging their acquired training in Diplomatics and Palaeography: this met with the keeper's approval.<sup>114</sup>

Nevertheless, the outlines of this second salvage operation of the documents of the Royal Archive were not yet well defined. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1809, the Regency entrusted João Pedro Ribeiro, professor of Diplomatics in the Royal Archive and notable scholar of Portuguese archives,<sup>115</sup> with the mission of choosing the books and papers to be sent to Brazil. The government agreed with João Pedro Ribeiro that it was risky to

---

Gama' and the Frigate 'Fenix' as well as English ships were prepared to receive private belongings.

<sup>111</sup> Representation from Viscount Balsemão to the Prince Regent, 15 October 1810, IANTT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 616, folder year 1810-1822, or corresponding register, IANTT, Avisos e Ordens, mç. 7, no. 17.

<sup>112</sup> Captain engineer Duarte José Fava, cartographer? See *Cartografia portuguesa do Marquês de Pombal a Filipe Folque, 1750-1990: o património histórico cartográfico do Instituto Geográfico Cadastral*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982, chart 62.

<sup>113</sup> Minute of letter, 'Documentos relativos ao encaixotamento...', IANTT, Arquivo do Arquivo, pasta 31A (in the folder), pasta 44, cx. 17.

<sup>114</sup> Representation from Viscount Balsemão to the Prince Regent and enclosed petition from the mentioned *escriurários*, Royal Archive of Torre do Tombo, 20 October 1820, IANTT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 616, folder year 1810-1822.

<sup>115</sup> At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, João Pedro Ribeiro (1758-1839) had visited several archives, mainly municipal and ecclesiastic, about which he published relevant information in *Observações históricas e críticas...*, Lisbon: Typografia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1798. Specifically on the Royal Archive, J. P. Ribeiro published *Memorias authenticas para a historia do Real Archivo*, Lisbon: Na Impressão Regia, 1819, and *Adittamentos às memorias sobre o Real Arquivo impressas em 1819 pelo mesmo author*. See biographic elements, including the publication of records, and letters from João Pedro Ribeiro on his search for records in ecclesiastic and municipal archives, as well as in the *Arquivo da Fazenda da Universidade de Coimbra*, for the *Real Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, in António Baião (ed.) *A infância da Academia (1788-1794): visita aos arquivos do Reino: correspondência a tal respeito de João Pedro Ribeiro, Santa Rosa de Viterbo, etc.* Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1934, especially pp. V-L, and 1-71, 174-206. See also: Luís Reis Torgal, 'Antes de Herculano' in *História da História em Portugal: sécs. XIX-XX*, n.p., Círculo dos Leitores, 1996, pp. 29-30; Ana Maria Leitão Bandeira, 'A organização arquivística do Cartório: séc. XVIII-XIX' *Boletim do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 17-18 (1997-1998), pp. 61-85, with references to the work of João Pedro Ribeiro in the *Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra*, pp. 61-69; Lígia Cruz, 'O legado da biblioteca de João Pedro Ribeiro à Universidade', *Boletim do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra*, 33 (1977) pp. 111-154; Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, 'João Pedro Ribeiro' in *A Historiografia Portuguesa: doutrina e crítica*, vol. 3, *Século XVIII*, Editorial Verbo, 1974, pp. 230-237.

subject the entire collection to the perils of the sea.<sup>116</sup> Besides, the Portuguese subjects, who in his own words, would be forced to remain under French 'captivity', should be allowed to use the documents of the Royal Archive, all the more since the occupier had already been expelled once.

There were documents which had been recalled to the Torre do Tombo, as for instance 77 books of register of the *Chancelaria Mor da Corte e Reino* received on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1810.<sup>117</sup> João Pedro Ribeiro gave detailed information and his information was followed by a government order.<sup>118</sup> It is known from the contents of that information that João Pedro Ribeiro was of the opinion that only the duplicate documents should be shipped; the rest, those that were not indispensable should stay in Portugal so that people were not deprived of the 'Titles of their property, possession and rights'.<sup>119</sup> Thus, the real selection of documents of the Royal Archive to stay in Lisbon and of those to be sent to Rio de Janeiro in 1810 is not known. In the end, the threat of a new French invasion of the capital of the Kingdom was definitely put aside during the spring of 1811 and the evacuation of the documents of the Royal Archive did not take place.

This process of the defence of the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, demonstrates a pragmatic understanding of the function of the proof of the respective documents, particularly as far as the rights of the Crown and his vassals are concerned. There was also a symbolic valuation of the documents of the Royal Archive being conscious of the memory of the Portuguese Monarchy or in a wider sense, the memory of Portugal.

The preoccupation of safekeeping the archival document books and other property from the French enemy and the effects of war was not limited to the Royal Archive. In 1809, João Diogo Carvalhosa, from the *Casa Real* endeavoured to dispatch a

---

<sup>116</sup> Aviso from João António Salter de Mendonça to the Viscount of Balsemão, 23 October 1810, IANTT, Avisos e Ordens, mç. 7 no. 18 or register of the same aviso, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 41, f. 191v. On 13 November 1810, the governors of the Kingdom reported to the Prince Regent that they had given instructions on the safekeeping of the records of the Royal Archive. Conta from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, IANTT, Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro, pasta 3, no. 68.

<sup>117</sup> These books comprised the *Registos de Ofícios e Mercês de Padrões e Doações de Juros*, and of *Perdões e Legitimações*. See copies of enclosed documents, 24-27 October 1810, with the authentic copy of the answer from the *chanceler-mor da Corte e Reino* with the *portaria* dated 14 September 1822, IAN/TT, MR, mç. 495, cx. 617, [folder year 1823].

<sup>118</sup> Register of conta no. 68, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 9 November 1810, IANTT, MR, liv. 314, f. 132r-135r.

<sup>119</sup> Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elected, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 4 February 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 222-226.

series of cases and valuables, although no list of these has been found.<sup>120</sup> Amongst them there were probably items from the Botanical Gardens and Museum, near the Palace of Ajuda, prepared by Domingos Vandelli.<sup>121</sup> Those items were packed in 100 large cases but they were put back again afterwards.<sup>122</sup>

In 1810-1811, the concern to protect and transfer goods was more widespread since the fear of occupation of Lisbon grew larger. At the beginning of 1811, several tribunals became apprehensive regarding the rescue of the positions of the clerks and archives. The *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço*, *Conselho Ultramarino*, *Conselho da Fazenda*, *Conselho da Real Casa e Estado das Rainhas* and *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* were the first,<sup>123</sup> followed by the *Junta do Estado e Casa de Bragança*.<sup>124</sup> The royal response was generic and foresaw the role of the governors of the Kingdom to provide what was convenient for the rescue of the archives and persons: however, it emphasised the impossibility of organising transport for so many people.<sup>125</sup> In any case, the order was tardy and it arrived when the French were withdrawing from Portugal.

The *Real Biblioteca* or *Biblioteca do Paço*, which included the king's and *Casa do Infantado*'s libraries (the latter was separated) comprising printed matter and manuscripts, amongst which reserved and private documents, ended up by being transferred to Rio de Janeiro, as planned in November 1807, for protection against the effects of war. Soon after Junot's expulsion, Alexandre António das Neves, librarian, and in charge of the guidance and organisation of the Royal Libraries,<sup>126</sup> asked permission to send to Brazil some of the private papers that were in the cabinet of the Library, then in Ajuda Palace. He suggested that they should be carried in the war ship about to leave for

---

<sup>120</sup> Register of aviso from João António Salter de Mendonça to João Diogo de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, 13 March 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 249r.

<sup>121</sup> Register of aviso from João António Salter de Mendonça to João Diogo de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, 13 February 1809, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 249r.

<sup>122</sup> Ofício from Félix Avelar Brotero to the Count of Linhares, Lisbon, 10 May 1881, ANRJ, NP, cx. 721, pac. 1,82.

<sup>123</sup> Register of conta no. 77 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 5 January 1811, IANTT, MR, liv. 380, f. 151r-151v.

<sup>124</sup> Register of conta no. 78 from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 4 February 1811, IANTT, MR, liv. 380, f. 152r-153v.

<sup>125</sup> Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elected, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 5 April 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 245-246; register of conta no. 112, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 9 August 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 11v-12r.

<sup>126</sup> Alexandre António das Neves was also keeper of the *Academia Real das Ciências*, demonstrator of Natural History and Experimental Physics and deputy of the *Junta Económica e Literária da Impressão Regia* (Economic and Literary Board of the Royal Print). *Almanach de Lisboa* (1807) pp. 610-611.

Rio, with orders to throw them into the sea in case of enemy attack. It was not possible then to transport the number of books ordered by the monarch in 1807,<sup>127</sup> and not even the private papers were sent on this occasion. Another 'event' was awaited to carry out the royal decree to send the whole of the Palace Library.<sup>128</sup>

In view of the French threat and the preparation of retreat of the English merchants in January 1809, Alexandre Neves and the clerks of the Royal Libraries, packed 'very secretly' the private papers, the manuscripts and the books that fitted in the large crates that existed in the Libraries. Neves also requested from top officials the use of more large crates and financial assistance for the work in course.<sup>129</sup> The transport took place in three separate voyages. The first shipment was made under the responsibility of the ship's captain at an unknown date,<sup>130</sup> but which according to Ferreira should have been at the beginning of 1810.<sup>131</sup> The second one took place in the Frigate 'Princesa Carlota', which, ready since January, set sail from Lisbon around the 17<sup>th</sup> March 1811, arriving at Rio by mid-June. This shipment was accompanied by Luís Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos, librarian of the Ajuda Royal Library,<sup>132</sup> and the assistant Joaquim de

---

<sup>127</sup> Representation from Alexandre António das Neves to the Prince Regent, 12 October 1808, Royal Library of the Palace of N. Senhora d'Ajuda, IANTT, MR, Casa Real, Bibliotecário das Reais Bibliotecas, mç. 279, published partially, without referring the source, by Carlos Alberto Ferreira, 'As livrarias Reais de D. João IV a D. João VI' in *Congresso do Mundo Português*, Lisbon: 1940, vol. 7, p. 601.

<sup>128</sup> Informação from João Diogo de Barros e Mesquita Leitão Carvalhosa to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, 17 October 1808, IANTT, MR, Casa Real, Bibliotecário das Reais Bibliotecas, mç. 279. This reported on the representation from Neves. Carvalhosa was a senior official of the *Casa Real*, porter of the *Câmara Real*, keeper of the jewels of the *Casa Real*, inspector of the Royal works of the Ajuda Palace and head of the '*Bolsinho Particular*' (Private Pocket) of the monarch through which the expenses of the royal libraries were paid. Following, the *secretário dos Negócios do Reino* ordered Neves not to send any books or papers without a new order. Register of aviso from João A. Salter de Mendonça to Alexandre António das Neves, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, 31 October 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 39, f. 94v.

<sup>129</sup> Representation from Alexandre António das Neves to the Prince Regent, 18 January 1809, Royal Library of the Palace of N. Senhora d'Ajuda, IANTT, MR, Casa Real, Bibliotecário das Reais Bibliotecas, mç. 279, published partially, without referring the source, by Carlos Alberto Ferreira, 'As Livrarias Reais de D. João IV a D. João VI' in *Congresso do Mundo Português*, Lisbon: 1940, vol. 7, pp. 600-601.

<sup>130</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 2 June 1814, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 202.

<sup>131</sup> Ferreira, 'As livrarias Reais de D. João IV a D. João', p. 600. He deduced this based on the letters from Luís dos Santos Marrocos to his father. At the beginning of August, João Diogo Carvalhosa wrote to Alexandre Neves that if there were boxes he would rush the order to deliver them and would direct them immediately to Ajuda, saying that he had been ordered to send all the duplicate books in order to avoid any rumour. Register of ofício from Carvalhosa to Neves, Lisbon, 3 August 1810, IANTT, Casa Real, liv. 2979, f. 61r.

<sup>132</sup> Rodolfo Garcia, Explanation to 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', pp. 5-7; Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 23 Fevereiro 1815, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 266.

Oliveira.<sup>133</sup> The frigate was in such bad shape that Luís dos Santos Marrocos wrote that if only he knew he would never have travelled with the library in that vessel.<sup>134</sup> A third shipment was sent in the summer of 1811. This one contained 87 boxes, and was probably accompanied by the assistant of the library, José Lopes Saraiva.<sup>135</sup> The printed matter and manuscripts were very well packed and the transport was a success.<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> *Register of ofício from Carvalhosa to Alexandre António das Neves, Lisbon, 8 January 1811, IANTT, Casa Real, liv. 2979, f. 64r-64v.*

<sup>134</sup> Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, [12 April 1811] in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', pp. 29-30.

<sup>135</sup> Father Joaquim Dâmaso, librarian who stayed in Brazil with the Court, mentioned also three sending of articles of the Royal Library. Recommendation from Father Joaquim Dâmaso, Lisbon, 21 April 1825, pub. by Ferreira, 'As livrarias Reais de D. João IV a D. João VI', pp. 605-606.

<sup>136</sup> The last 67 boxes were opened only more than a year after their arrival in Brazil. Marrocos to his father, Rio de Janeiro, 7 January 1813, in 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos', p. 123.

## 7.4 The demand of records from Rio de Janeiro

The transfer of documents from organisations of the central administration to Rio de Janeiro was not limited either to November 1807, when the Court left Lisbon, or to the periods of bigger danger due to the war in Portugal.

Right from the beginning of January 1809, when the transport circuits of correspondence between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro were getting settled, documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* were requested. They were for the most part, registers and copies relating to procedures of protocol as model documents, including forms of address. They also included rules with emoluments and rates related to administrative acts.<sup>137</sup> In this case, the aim was not to have access to the antecedents of a process, but to dispose of information to continue following the same administrative procedure.

At least some of these documents such as the ceremonial of the acclamation of kings were sent only on the 10<sup>th</sup> September 1810 aboard the galley 'Boa Fortuna'. In the sequence of that dispatch, authentic copies of the *auto de levantamento* (act of raising), of the orders and reports made on account of Queen D. Maria I, (1754-1816), mother of the Prince Regent D. João, acclamation, were requested from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*.<sup>138</sup> Some originals were neither in the *Secretaria de Estado* nor in the Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, and were requested from the Desembargo do Paço and

---

<sup>137</sup> 'Relação dos Livros e mais Papeis que se devem remetter da Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino', Secretaria de Estado, 5 January, 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, pac.1,24, no. 23. The records were the following: *livro das funções da Corte* (book of functions of the Court), or copy of the function of granting the biretta of cardinal; *livro de funções de baptizados* (book of functions of baptisms); *livro de funções de funerais* (book of functions of funerals); *livro da função de aclamação* (book of function of acclamation) if this was separated; copy of the letters of the presidents of the *tribunais*, of the *oficiais-mor* of the *Casa Real*, of the titles '*sem grandeza*' (without grandeur) and of the intendente geral da Polícia, as well as copy of the *alvarás* of the *vereadores* of the *Senado da Câmara* (municipal councillors) and *alvarás* regarding the usage of the courtesy or honour title *Senhoria*; copy of all the diplomas that had to be written when appointing the Patriarch Elect of Lisbon, Bishops, Cardinals and other benefices, to the Roman Curia and to the resident minister there, and also the documents to the appointed people confirming their appointment; copy of the oath of '*preito e homenagem*' (homage) (that was paid to the monarch by the governors in Overseas and in Portugal, and by the rector of the University of Coimbra); copy of the formulary of address used in the royal letters to the Pope, Patriarch, archbishops, bishops, grandee of the Kingdom, prelates, with the model of closing each letter; copy of the *Regimento das Mercês*, with the tariff of the acts; copy of the latest Regulation of the emoluments of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino*.

<sup>138</sup> Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 21 November 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 191.

other *tribunais* involved in the ceremonial of the acclamation.<sup>139</sup> The *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brazil* was still receiving some of these documents in mid June 1812.<sup>140</sup>

Other documents requested by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brazil* were the printed *Regimento da Mordomia Mor* (Rule of the Chief Stewardship) and several copies concerning payments to be made by the treasurer of the *Casa Real*, then in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>141</sup> In 1813 more models to use in the creation of new documents were requested from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, namely, the formulary used in the letters of the Coat of Arms and a copy of *alvarás* to nominate officers of the nobility.<sup>142</sup> The *Livro das Armas* (Roll of Arms) in the possession of the scrivener of the Nobility was also requested. The latter was not sent because of unfavourable information from the *Rei d'Armas Algarve*.<sup>143</sup> Some years later, documents related to the formularies continued to be sent, as for instance the one used in the entry exams for the posts available in the Desembargo do Paço.<sup>144</sup>

The *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos* in Brazil, besides receiving the whole body of documents initially transferred from Lisbon, also requested other documents as the need arose. As soon as the Count of Galveias, D. João de Almeida de Mello e Castro, replaced the Count of Anadia, D. João de Sá e Meneses, who died on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1809, in the command of that *Secretaria de Estado*, he requested several documents from the *oficial maior* of that *Secretaria de Estado* in Lisbon. Those documents were in the '*Secretaria do Pátio das Vacas*' in Ajuda, due to the hurry in which the Court had left in November 1807. They

---

<sup>139</sup> Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 29 May 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, p. 411.

<sup>140</sup> Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 14 June 1812, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, p. 412.

<sup>141</sup> These copies of records comprised the following: *folha* (payroll) of *moradias* (residence in the *Casa Real* and in the Court) paid in cash and in goods, payroll of the ordinary in cash and in wax; payroll of the salaries of the officials in 1807 and dates of deliverance of wax to some officials of the *Casa Real*. Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 1 February 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 214-217, 216.

<sup>142</sup> Register of conta no. 255, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 10 November 1813, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 241v-244r.

<sup>143</sup> The *Rei d'Armas Algarve* accumulated some of the functions of the *Rei d'Armas Portugal* (such as to sign the letters of blazons) by the governors of the Kingdom' order, as the latter did not present himself to hold the post. Register of conta no. 271, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 22 January 1814, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 315, f. 281v-283v. The *Rei d'Armas* (King of Arms) was the public official in charge of recording the genealogies of noblemen, explain their blazons and issue the letters of blazons. See 'Rei d'armas' in Sousa, *Diccionario Juridico ...*.

<sup>144</sup> Register of conta no. 658, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 3 June 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 320, pp. 9-10.



comprised the books of register of the correspondence with the governors and general captains of Overseas Dominions and of the resolved *consultas* of difficult business. The secretário de Estado *dos Negócios da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos* instructed the *oficial maior* to choose and send other documents he considered useful for the running of the department.<sup>145</sup> Months later, the Count of Galveias asked for the remittance of mainly legislative documents as follows. The complete collection of the *Ordenações*;<sup>146</sup> the complete collection of the *Leis Extravagantes*; *Ordenações Afonsinas* edited by the University of Coimbra; *Assentos da Casa da Suplicação*, *Systema dos Regimentos*, and some recent Almanacs.<sup>147</sup>

Besides these documents, and more than once in 1809 and 1810, charts and/or their respective plates were requested. This happened to the plates of the triangulations undertaken by Francisco Ciera, concerning the topographic description of the Kingdom of Portugal whose charts the French had taken, as well as the plates or prints by the engraver Dupuis.<sup>148</sup> Short after the arrival of the Court in Rio de Janeiro on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1808, an archive to gather and keep the maps and charts of Brazil and other Portuguese dominions, including the projects of Campaigns and the Generals' correspondence related to topographic explorations, was created. This archive was under the supervision of the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra*, but gave information to the Kingdom and to the Navy as far as the respective areas were concerned.<sup>149</sup> In 1808, around 332 maps and charts concerning Brazil from the *Sociedade Real Marítima* or from the *Depósito de*

---

<sup>145</sup> Register of conta no. 658, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 3 June 1820, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 320, pp. 9-10.

<sup>146</sup> With the *Leis Extravagantes* inserted, of the S. Vicente edition.

<sup>147</sup> Aviso from Count das Galveias to João Felipe da Fonseca, Rio de Janeiro 26 May 1810, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, cx. 247, doc. 35. Answered on 1 October 1810.

<sup>148</sup> Ofício from Count of Galveias to João Filipe da Fonseca, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 6 October 1810, 2 vias, AHU, Rio de Janeiro, cx. 248, 38. See Ward, p. 104. Luís André de Puy (Dupui, Dupuy, Dupuis or Dupuys), lieutenant colonel of the *Real Corpo de Engenheiros* (Royal Corps of Engineers) in Portugal, had been appointed in 1794, director of the *Academia Real de Fortificação, Artilharia e Desenho* (Royal Academy of Fortification, Artillery and Drawing) to direct the drawing class and establish the school of engraving. Ribeiro, *Historia dos estabelecimentos científicos, literários e artísticos de Portugal*, vol. 2I, p. 370. On the eve of the departure of the Court to Brazil, an inventory was made of the sequestered belongings of Dupuy, in his house, in Rua de S. Francisco, Lisbon. This comprised plates, tools, maps or charts begun and finished, which were to be kept in a safe store. In September 1808, this inventory was certainly copied in order to check the missing and stolen records. Copy made by José da Silva Cardoso, Lisbon, 10 September 1808. BCM-AH, cx. 340, *Invasões Francesas*, 1808. There are several maps made by him in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon.

<sup>149</sup> The purpose was to publish a topographic manual similar to the French one. Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, p. 150; Ribeiro, *Historia dos estabelecimentos científicos, literários e artísticos de Portugal*, vol. 4, pp. 258-261.

*Escritos Marítimos para uso dos Guarda Marinhas* formed the foundation of the archive and were later entrusted to the graduate colonel João Manuel da Silva.<sup>150</sup> This first lot of documents was taken in 1807 with the Court by the mathematician José Maria Dantas Pereira,<sup>151</sup> member of the *Sociedade Real Marítima* and director of the *Academia Real dos Guardas Marinhas* and commander of the *Companhia dos Guardas Marinhas*.<sup>152</sup> The second set of documents and goods from the *Sociedade* was sent later, with the remaining estate of the *Companhia dos Guardas Marinhas*.<sup>153</sup> In 1813, the *Real Arquivo Militar* in Rio de Janeiro received more maps and charts, still sent by order of the Count of Linhares, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*.<sup>154</sup> Besides the cartographic documents, the Count of Linhares requested the dispatch of legislation.<sup>155</sup> He was sent a collection of laws and copies of Bluteau's Dictionary.<sup>156</sup>

The *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* also supplied copies of documents for the government in Rio de Janeiro. In the summer of 1810, efforts were made to send a certified copy of a law of D. Sebastião (1554-1578) on measurements.<sup>157</sup> In June 1818, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Brazil requested a set of copies of five

---

<sup>150</sup> In May 1808, Junot reported to Napoleon that, as requested, it was being gathered all the possible information on Brazil, but the Count of Anadia, who was *secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, had carried the maps and plants to Rio de Janeiro. Copy of letter from Junot to the Emperor, Lisbon, 24 May 1808, BA, f. 76-77, also abridged by Bethencourt, p.49.

<sup>151</sup> Ribeiro, *Historia dos estabelecimentos scientificos, literarios e artisticos de Portugal*, vol. 2, pp. 188-189 and vol. 4, p. 167 and specially pp. 277-281.

<sup>152</sup> In 1812, José Maria Dantas or d' Antas Pereira (1772-1836) resided in Rio de Janeiro and was also a member of the *Academia Real da Ciências* in Lisbon and *mestre* (teacher) of the infant D. Pedro Carlos, nephew of Prince Regent D. João. *Almanach de Lisboa Para o Anno de MCCCCXII*, p. 571.

<sup>153</sup> A new *Academia dos Guardas Marinhas* was established in the Monastery of S. Bento in Rio de Janeiro, by the aviso dated 5 May 1808. Ribeiro, *Historia dos estabelecimentos scientificos, literarios e artisticos de Portugal*, vol. 2, p. 435.

<sup>154</sup> See references to *Memorias Hidrograficas do Brasil*, by Dantas Pereira, describing some of the charts and maps and the circumstances of the transfer, and *Memoria para a Historia do Grande Marquez de Pombal no concernete à marinha: sendo a de guerra o principal objecto considerado* both pub. by the *Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa*. H. Gabriel Mendes, 'O convénio cartográfico luso brasileiro de 1867: a cartografia portuguesa ao serviço da comunidade luso brasileira' in *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Cadastral*, 3 (December 1983), pp. 53-95, especially p. 54.

<sup>155</sup> Ofício from the Count of Linhares to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 27 June 1811, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 3.

<sup>156</sup> Ofício 44, from the Count of Linhares to the Patriarch Elect, 2 December 1811, AHM, 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 5, f. 101. Rafael Bluteau, *Vocabulario portuguez e latino*, Coimbra: No Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesu, 1712-1728.

<sup>157</sup> Register of aviso from Mendonça to the Viscount of Balsemão, Palace of the Government, 29 August 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 41, f. 149r.

documents of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, concerning the history of Brazil.<sup>158</sup> However, the originals could not be found.<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>158</sup> They were the following: letter from Martim Afonso de Sousa to D. João III, 1531, on the French pirates imprisoned; Diary of the first Armada of three caravels that in 1501 went on to discover Brazil commanded by Americo Vespusio (Amerigo Vespucci) or Gonçalo Coelho; Diary of the second Armada of six caravels, with the same purpose, commanded by Christovão Jacques or Gonçalo Coelho; *Roteiro* of the Coast of Brazil, by Diogo de Castro, 15<sup>th</sup> century; Treaty of the expeditions made by Dr. Antonio Salema, third governor of Rio de Janeiro, to subdue the Indians Tamoios, written by himself. Register of aviso from Tomás António Vilanova Portugal to the Governors of the Kingdom, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 8 June 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 382, p. 247-248; register of conta no. 552, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 26 September 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 383-387.

<sup>159</sup> Register of conta no. 553, Lisbon, Palace of the Government, 28 September 1818, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 318, pp. 387-396.

## 7.5 Memory and records

The French occupation of Portugal between November 1807 and September 1808 and during 1809, and the brief government of Oporto by the French under the command of General Soult, left visible marks on the public records. After the re-establishment of a legitimate national government in Lisbon and the regularisation of the communication with the Court, the problem of dealing with them arose often. Those documents contained within themselves an evidential quality (in many cases, legal) but they acquired a negative connotation. They reminded the Portuguese, particularly the authorities most responsible for government and administration, of the shame of foreign occupation, which in addition had been initially welcomed without resistance. The reaction was the more negative as the circumstances of war against Napoleonic France demanded general mobilisation and the exaltation of the Nation.

The key decision on the destiny of these public records was taken on 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1809, by the government in Rio de Janeiro, as far as the resolutions of the *consultas* or other public actions issued in the name of Junot 'governador intruso' (governor imposed from outside) were concerned: these documents had to be cancelled. The purpose was clear, namely, to eliminate the memory of 'such prevarication and horrible outrage'. An identical objective was behind the order contained in the *aviso* not to take documents dispatched by Junot to the presence of the Prince Regent who had them burnt.<sup>160</sup> The governors of the Kingdom acknowledged the royal decree of cancellation of the documents on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1810 and a few days later issued a circular to the different tribunals.<sup>161</sup>

The cancellation of those documents was effective, above all on the books of register. Many registers, which often were integral copies of the documents, were crossed out. In general, the formulary concerning the authors of the document or of the act, and the name of the addressee, when this was an authority, was crossed out. As far as the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* was concerned, such documents frequently

---

<sup>160</sup> This was the case of a *consulta* from the *Desembargo do Paço*, carried out by Joaquim Guilherme da Costa Posser and decided by Junot that went up to the Prince Regent enclosed with another one. Register of *aviso* from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 26 May 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 138-139.

<sup>161</sup> Register of *conta* no. 44, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 22 April 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 91r-93v.

refer to the period of Junot's direct government, dated from February to June or July 1808, when the anti-French uprisings took place.<sup>162</sup>

The execution of the order of cancellation of documents roused some doubts, as it happened with the chancellor serving as *regedor* presiding over the *Casa da Suplicação*. It was probably due to the fact that it was the Supreme Court of Appeal and also to the legal value of the documents.<sup>163</sup> In contrast, the chancellor of the *Relação do Porto*, did not hesitate in complying with the royal decree, and after authorisation, ordered its application also to the documents issued in the name of General Soult.<sup>164</sup> In the case of this last one, he determined that the books with the registers of the decrees or orders issued during the time of the 'intruder Government of Soult' should be ripped out of their respective books and burnt together with the originals.<sup>165</sup> Concrete indications relative to the method of cancelling certain documents and their respective value were given though occasionally. The registers of documents issued by the *Junta da Companhia Geral da Agricultura do Alto Douro* by order of Junot and Soult, to deliver money and other articles were to be crossed out. However, a marginal declaration should be made that by order of 'that intruder Government' (Junot's government) and 'of that Marshall' (Soult), 'this or that' was sent to the Junta, in order to avoid responsibilities.<sup>166</sup> It should be mentioned that the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* also received the order of

---

<sup>162</sup> On behalf of 'Sua Magestade o Imperador dos Franceses, Rey de Italia, Protector da Confederação do Reno, o General em Chefe do Exercito Francês em Portugal', register of letters and alvarás, 1799-1821, IANTT, Mesa da Consciência de Ordens, liv. 86, f. 83v-84r. Register of avisos, 24 January 1808, and especially 2 February 1808-19 July 1808, IANTT, MR, liv. 38, f. 209v-211r, f. 217v-280r and register of avisos, September 1808, IANTT, MR, liv. 39, f. 1-32v. Register of consultas of the Conselho Ultramarino, 26 March-20 May 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 179, f. 118v-119v. Register of consultas of the Desembargo do Paço, 1 February 1808-10 June 1808, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 262, f. 227v- f. 238v. Rolim, the porter who arranged the records of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, mentioned the suspension, no signature by the monarch or replacement of records that were issued on behalf of Napoleon, Rolim, *Sistêma...*, VII Papeis diferentes 4 Títulos originais, f. 31r. He also referred to the cancellation of some registers, in particular of records more significant of the French occupation. This was the case of the register of the orders issued on the occasion of the Letter of the Portuguese Deputation to Bayonne, made in the *Livro das Funções da Corte*, vol. 4, f. 82-89. Rolim made this in order to have a reminder, though 'odiosa e detestavel' (hateful and detestable). *Catalogo...*, IANTT, liv. 2561, Class II, Div. I, 6. Funções da Corte, f. 39r.

<sup>163</sup> Register of conta no. 52, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 21 May 1810, IANTT, MR, liv. 314, f. 105r.

<sup>164</sup> Register of conta no. 60, from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, 10 September 1810, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 314, f. 120r.

<sup>165</sup> Register of aviso from Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 28 November 1810, ANRJ, Cod. 251, vol. 2, f. 27v-28r or IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 196-198.

<sup>166</sup> Register of aviso from the Count of Aguiar to the Patriarch Elect, Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 26 June 1811, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 380, pp. 258-259.

cancellation of documents issued in the name of the French occupiers, but only in 1815.<sup>167</sup>

The procedure of concealment, which between the end of 1808 and the autumn of 1809 surrounded the whereabouts of the letter addressed to Napoleon by distinguished figures of Portuguese society, was another form of effacement of memory by the constituted authorities.<sup>168</sup> The proposal to destroy the letter publicly was in part advanced by some of its undercover subscribers and would constitute a diversion manoeuvre, to divert suspicions of collaboration or approval of the government of Portugal by the French. The Prince Regent was not averse to the letter being burnt.<sup>169</sup> However, the government of Lisbon carried out his final decision to maintain the secrecy of the letter and documents associated with its creation, as well as the documents that mentioned its destination. This was a way to remove the shame and to control the people involved in it. The hidden information was always susceptible of being used by whoever had access to it. Power required disciplined people, up in arms against the French army, and not insubordinate or vexed; the same principle applied to socially distinguished personalities who had signed the 'infamous paper'.

At a different level and in the sequence of the uprisings against the French, the destruction of documents concerning the imposition of rent and taxes took place in June and July 1809. The people or the 'petty people' mentioned by Vasco Pulido Valente, more or less directed by someone more sophisticated, burnt and destroyed that type of document in more than one place in the North of the country, as it happened in the archive of the *Câmara Municipal* of Arcos of Valdevez and in Viseu. The purpose was

---

<sup>167</sup> Aviso to the guarda-mor of the Real Arquivo, 26 July 1815, mentioned in the minute of the letter from the guarda-mor to the Ministério do Reino, 24 December 1833, answering to the portaria from the Ministério do Reino, 21 December 1833. IAN/TT, Arquivo do Arquivo, pasta 76, cx. 33, [1]. What is interesting is that the cancelling of the documents issued by Junot (and Sout) were recalled in this portaria as an implicit way of supporting the enactment of similar measures to the documents issued by D. Miguel's absolutist government, during the 'Usurpation time', i.e., from 1828 to 1833.

<sup>168</sup> The expression 'effacement of memory' was used by Keneth E. Foote, 'To remember and forget: archives, memory, and culture in Randall C. Jimerson (ed.) *American archival studies: readings in theory and practice*, Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2000, pp. 29-46, especially pp. 36-44. Foote presented cases of places stigmatised by violence and tragedy and how and when society recalled some and forgot the others. He pointed out the difficult balance between the society's need to remember and its desire to forget and the archive's possible role as a 'countervailing force to effacement'.

<sup>169</sup> See other examples of 'Hostility toward records' in James M. O'Toole, 'The symbolic significance of archives' in Randall C. Jimerson (ed.) *American Archival Studies: readings in theory and practice*, Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2000, pp. 47-72, especially pp. 70-72.

immediate but the significance was wide ranging as it sought 'to reach the system  
itself'.<sup>170</sup>

---

<sup>170</sup> Vasco Pulido Valente 'O povo em armas: a revolta nacional de 1808-1809' in *Tentar perceber*, pp. 29-32.

## 7.6 Brazil and Portugal: the vicissitudes of a common heritage

On his return to Portugal on the 26<sup>th</sup> April 1821, King D. João VI was accompanied by thousands of people: the royal mint and treasury were part of the retinue.<sup>171</sup> Furthermore, the archives of the *Secretarias de Estado* were supposed to be transferred at the same time. For this purpose, orders had been given to have on board the Frigate 'Venus' all the papers and books of register. Since the port of destination of this frigate was changed to Montevideo, the Ship 'Grão Pará' under the command of Bernardino da Costa Sobrinho, replaced it for the voyage to Lisbon. On account of this change of plans, the departure of the Grão Pará was delayed until 19<sup>th</sup> May 1821.<sup>172</sup>

The transfer of documents did not run smoothly with the result that some of them stayed behind in Brazil. The *Cortes* in particular reclaimed urgently the most recent diplomatic correspondence. For this reason, they ordered an enquiry to establish what had happened, to find out responsibilities and to recover the missing documents. The Count of Arcos, D. Marcos de Noronha e Brito was considered to be the main suspect in the disappearance of the documents. Between 28<sup>th</sup> of September and 5<sup>th</sup> October of 1821, the *corregedor do Crime da Corte e Casa* opened an enquiry into the behaviour of all suspects in this case.<sup>173</sup>

The Count of Arcos was responsible for Foreign and Kingdom Affairs in the Regency Council, presided over by Prince D. Pedro and nominated by the King D. João VI on the eve of his departure to Lisbon:<sup>174</sup> the Count was by far the most influential person in D. Pedro's inner circle. Within the political turmoil, which was then Rio de Janeiro, the Count ended up by being forced to resign his position and return to

---

<sup>171</sup> Neill Macaulay, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1986, p. 86.

<sup>172</sup> Inquiry to the Conde dos Arcos and officials of the secretarias de Estado ordered by the Cortes, 1821, IANTT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 11 (31); minute of officio from Simeão Estelita Gomes da Fonseca to the ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino e Negócios Estrangeiros [of Brazil], [Rio de Janeiro] 19 December 1821, AHI, lata 186, mç. 4, pasta 1 (17); petition from José Joaquim Xavier de Brito official of the Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos and 4 enclosures, 1824, AHU, Papéis Avulsos, Conselho Ultramarino, pub. by C. A. Ferreira, *O regresso dos arquivos das secretarias dos Ministérios do Reino, Marinha, Estrangeiros e Guerra do Rio de Janeiro*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1943. Sep. Brasília, 11.

<sup>173</sup> Inquiry to the Conde dos Arcos and officials of the secretarias de Estado ordered by the Cortes, 1821, IANTT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 11 (31).

<sup>174</sup> Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime português*, p. 539.



Lisbon in June of 1821.<sup>175</sup> On his arrival in August, he was arrested for political reasons and sent to the Belém Tower under the suspicion of having been involved in the preparation of an attack against the Portuguese Cortes. The officials interrogated were José Bernardes de Castro, the *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, the porter José Ferreira da Silva and his assistant, Martinho António, José Joaquim Xavier de Brito, official in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*. Although the statements given by the accused did not match perfectly, and some claimed non-involvement, they agreed in essence with each other. What is supposed to have happened to the archives of the *Secretarias de Estado* in Brazil is detailed below.

#### *Secretaria dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*

The *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro, councillor Camilo Martins Lage, received an order to comply with the aviso of 6<sup>th</sup> April 1821, to pack up the respective archive, excluding the documents from War Affairs, closely related to the Army in Brazil. But when the archive was being packed, Lage passed on an order from the Count of Arcos, which required the withdrawal of copies of the more recent correspondence from the Portuguese diplomatic representatives abroad: this order was carried out if and when copies were found. Furthermore, in the report of the records to be shipped given by Lage to José Bernardes de Castro, the most recent correspondence (from the first months of 1821?) was not reported, nor were the documents from the War Affairs which were not related to Brazil.<sup>176</sup> Castro questioned Lage on those missing documents but the latter alleged that it would be necessary to receive further orders from the Count of Arcos and that they were running out of time.

The Ship 'Grão Pará' carried eight chests with books and documents listed in the description referred to, which in the meanwhile had been signed by the employees of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, Camilo Lage, José Bernardes de Castro and José Ferreira da Silva. But a second consignment, probably

---

<sup>175</sup> Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime português*, p. 579; Macaulay, *Dom Pedro...*, pp. 98-100.

<sup>176</sup> IANTT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 11 (31), f. 8r-8v.

consisting of two chests,<sup>177</sup> was sent at a later date.<sup>178</sup> The government of the Prince Regent D. Pedro, wanted to retain the means of information, (*haver noções*) whenever they were needed.<sup>179</sup> Besides, it was not clear whether or not some documents were taken from the chests and the respective seals broken. But that question did not seem to worry the Count of Arcos when investigated. He stated that he was unable to recall having ordered the withdrawal of the copies of the correspondence, and breaking the seals of the chests: in any case, the procedure would be very simple and the same authority could have replaced the seals. However, the most important fact remains his unequivocal statement regarding the place of the document indispensable for the running of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Brazil, created on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1821. These papers should stay at the *Secretaria de Estado*, since that was their 'natural destination'.

The afore mentioned list of the documents that were sent from the Archive for the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to Lisbon, gives us important information relatively to the documents of Foreign Affairs that were packed to be transferred from Rio de Janeiro.<sup>180</sup> The ten chests contained the following sets of documents: correspondence from the Portuguese legations abroad from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and 1807; correspondence from the Portuguese legations abroad to Rio de Janeiro, dating from after the transfer of the Court (1808, 1809 and other years) until 1819-1820, including documentation related to the Congress of Paris and Vienna; correspondence from the diplomatic representatives of other countries at the Court of Rio de Janeiro, from 1808-1820 and 1820-1821; register books of the correspondence sent

---

<sup>177</sup> The minute of the relation mentioned ten chests. 'Relação dos officios, notas, tratados, livros e mais papéis que existiam no Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra no Rio de Janeiro, e que ora se remetem para Lisboa em 10 caixões pelo navio-----de que é Mestre ---- em de----- de 1821 a saber' IHGB, DL, 264.18, pub. in José da Silva Arêas, *Relação e métodos de arranjo de documentos*, Rio: Ministério de Justiça, Arquivo Nacional, 1973, pp. 19-40.

<sup>178</sup> Minute of officio, [Rio de Janeiro], 19 December 1821, from Simeão Estelita Gomes da Fonseca to the ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino e Negócios Estrangeiros [of Brazil], and enclosures, AHI, lata 186, mç. 4, pasta 1 (17).

<sup>179</sup> Camilo Lage to Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, 18 May 1821, AHI, lata 186, mç. 4, pasta 1 (17). Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira was, at the time, still holding the Foreign Affairs in D. João VI's government, and returned with him to Portugal. Lage also returned to Portugal.

<sup>180</sup> 'Relação dos officios, notas, tratados, livros e mais papéis que existiam no Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra no Rio de Janeiro, e que ora se remetem para Lisboa em 10 caixões pelo navio-----de que é Mestre ---- em de----- de 1821 a saber' IHGB, DL, 264.18, pub. in Arêas, *Relação e métodos de arranjo de documentos*, pp. 19-40. Manchester also referred the contents of this *Relação*, 'The transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro' in *Conflict and continuity in Brazilian society*, Columbia, South Carolina, University of South Carolina Press, 1969, pp. 160-161.

from the *Secretaria de Estado* to the Portuguese representatives abroad, from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until 1821; *livros de funções de Corte* from mid 18<sup>th</sup> century until 1807 and from 1808 onwards; register books of letters to princes, from 1755-1805 and 1808-1821; register books of full powers from 1793-1803, 1808-1817; register books of other types of documents, generally sent to the Portuguese representatives abroad; treaties with various countries from 1804-1817 and much earlier dates; letters from princes; letters from cardinals and other individuals. At the end of this list, there was an entry for 'old correspondence', dating from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, normally sent to the *Secretaria de Estado*. This correspondence, due to an oversight, was not packed in its proper place.

If we compare this list with the information obtained from the finding aids applied to the documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* that can be found today in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro (despite the different levels of description and classification systems), as well as the research carried out on the documents themselves, a clearer idea of what happened during the process of the transfer to Lisbon is obtained. The fonds of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* is housed in the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo* in Lisbon; there is an inventory of this fonds,<sup>181</sup> complemented by a systematic card index and referring to the 42 initial loose bundles of the documents incorporated in 1950. This is equally complemented by the '*Inventario do Arquivo do Ministerio dos Negocios Estrangeiros*', of around 1828, since the description of many series, namely, the correspondence to and from the legations, is much more detailed.<sup>182</sup> As far as the documents of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Rio de Janeiro are concerned, the majority can be found in the *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty* belonging to the *Ministério das Relações Exteriores* (Ministry of External Affairs). These documents were described in the catalogue prior to 1822,<sup>183</sup> which was recently revised and re-edited.<sup>184</sup> Similarly, the

---

<sup>181</sup> Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias Farinha, *Os documentos dos Negócios Estrangeiros na Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, 1990.

<sup>182</sup> IANTT, MNE, liv. 192.

<sup>183</sup> Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Departamento de Administração. *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III-30: documentação anterior a 1822*, Rio de Janeiro: 1956.

<sup>184</sup> Ministério das Relações Exteriores, *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 – documentação anterior a 1822*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. revised and augmented, Brasília: FUNAG, 2000, especially pp. 17-169. Though detailed, the classification of the records used in the catalogue does not help the understanding of the provenance of the series to which they belonged. Moreover when some of the records from the seventeenth and mainly from the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, were bought, especially during the time of the diplomat Baron of Rio Branco, José

documents were microfilmed, and there is an available copy at the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo* and another at the *Arquivo Histórico Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios* in Lisbon. The catalogue in conjunction with the microfilms is presently under review in order to make their information operational. There are also documents from this *Secretaria de Estado* in the *Arquivo Nacional* in Rio de Janeiro, in the boxes from the collection *Negócios de Portugal* but the finding aids are inappropriate, mainly in the case of the systematic card index, partially worthless after reorganization carried out at a later date.<sup>185</sup> Finally, in the Division of Manuscripts of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, some documents belonging to the archive of the same *Secretaria de Estado* are kept, although not being described as such.<sup>186</sup>

In order to clarify further the issue, we shall start by looking more closely at the *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty*. The loose documents comprise a reasonable number of documents from the period of the Joanine government in Brazil and from previous years, often in the form of minutes or copies of that time. Amongst these documents there are notes and billets from the Prince Regent D. João, later on King D. João VI, to the secretary of state and vice-versa, these accompanied by royal dispatches. Also some letters and recommendations to D. João from members of the Council of State, and other correspondence from and to the secretary of State, as well as decrees, patent letters and

---

Maria da Silva Paranhos, and were described in the catalogue without distinguishing the provenance. The Baron of Rio Branco had to defend Brazil on the question of the frontiers in the end of the nineteenth century and with a team made an extensive search in archives and libraries, including in Europe. See José Honório Rodrigues, *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. rev. and updated, S. Paulo: Ed. Nacional, 1982, p. 94. The first two big classes are *Documentos Avulsos* (Loose Documents), stored in *latas* (tins), *maços* (bundles) and *capilhas* (folders) and *Documentos Encadernados* (Bound Documents), stored in volumes that do not necessarily correspond to the coeval separation between loose documents and registers. The provenance of the series is especially difficult to understand regarding the records that were not bound. That was the case of the records arranged under the class '*Correspondências de personalidades da época*' (Correspondences from personalities of the epoch), and the following arranged by subjects corresponding to classes not used at the time. *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty...*, pp.43-74 and 77-103. But this catalogue was made in 1956 regarding records that surely were not a priority to the *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty* and an overall rearrangement would not be efficient.

<sup>185</sup> Ivete Magalhães, 'Arquivo Nacional, Seção de Documentação Histórica: documentos em caixas', [Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional] 1962. Unpublished typescript, additions and changes handwritten. Systematic file, ANRJ, fichário 75, gav. 1-7.

<sup>186</sup> Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Inventário de códices em arcazes*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003]; Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Inventário de códices em armários*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003] and Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Base Guia – Fundos Coleções da Divisão de Manuscritos*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003]. These databases as well as printed versions are available at the *Divisão dos Manuscritos* of the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Rio de Janeiro and could be accessed on line in <http://www.bn.br>

dispersed credentials. Included in this category are copies and originals of documents related to the betrothal and wedding of D. Pedro, the Prince Regent and later Emperor of Brazil considered necessary for the administration in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>187</sup>

Within the category of the Bound Documents, in the category of Limits various documents were filed relating to the question of the land boundaries in Brazil, the majority dated from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and partially prior to the creation in 1736, of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*. They include correspondence of diplomatic representatives in Portugal to the *secretários de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, copies of treaties, originals and various copies of diaries concerning missions for the demarcation of borders, and also some maps. However, some of these documents were acquired from private sources.<sup>188</sup> In the category of Correspondence from Foreigners the correspondence of the consul of Portugal in Rome, Nicolau Pagliar, stands out.<sup>189</sup>

In the category of Sundry Correspondence, (*Correspondência de Diversos*) there are some documents from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, some in copy form, related to Foreign Affairs and, above all, registers, some of which are copies, dated from 1808 to 1822 (one of them arrived to the independent and imperial Brazil in 1833). In these registers are included registers of cabinet letters and correspondence from the successive *secretários de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* to other secretaries of state. Also from various authorities of the Portuguese administration in Brazil and in the Kingdom, in part secret, to Portuguese diplomatic representatives abroad. There was also the correspondence on specific subjects, as for instance, the case of the Swiss colony in Brazil.<sup>190</sup> In the category of Sundry Subjects, we can find: the register of decrees, 1808-1822; the register of passports and *portarias*, 1808-1822; the registers of letters patent, 1776-1777 and 1808-1817, and of letters patent concerning Portuguese and foreign

---

<sup>187</sup> *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 – documentação anterior a 1822*, pp. 31-32. In the ‘Relação dos ofícios, notas, tratados, livros e mais papéis que existiam no Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra no Rio de Janeiro, e que ora se remetem para Lisboa...’ when the treaties were described is clearly referred that the matrimonial treaty of the Prince Regent D. Pedro stayed in Rio de Janeiro. Arêas, *Relação e métodos de arranjo de documentos*, p. 35.

<sup>188</sup> It was the case of the *Diário da segunda subdivisão de limites entre os domínios de Espanha e Portugal*, ms. by Joseph Maria Cabrer, ajudante (assistant) of the Real Corpo de Engenheiros, 1783-1801, AHI, estante 343, prateleira 2, vol. 11.

<sup>189</sup> *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 – documentação anterior a 1822*, p. 151.

<sup>190</sup> *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 – documentação anterior a 1822*, pp. 155-157.

consuls, 1808-1826; the register of the letters of full powers granted by the monarch to Portuguese diplomatic representatives, 1808-1819, as well as the orders for the *oficial maior* of the *Secretaria de Estado*, 1808-1822.

In the category of Legations, Consulates and Government of Lisbon, are copies of the diplomatic correspondence received by the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Rio de Janeiro, between 1808-1821, which were retained in Brazil, most probably by order of the Count of Arcos. It can also be found under this category, the last correspondence from the governors of the Kingdom and the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to the King, March-October 1820. From the period before 1807, it is worth mentioning the correspondence from the Portuguese Consulate in Tangier to the secretary of state, 1724-1805.<sup>191</sup>

Several documents, which were part of the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Lisbon prior to 1808, are in the *Arquivo Nacional* in Rio de Janeiro as well as documents of a later date. Apart from a collection of letters from European sovereigns and other royal individualities to Portuguese monarchs,<sup>192</sup> those documents are distributed among the boxes of the collection *Negócios de Portugal*, having frequently belonged to different series. I was able to identify a significant number of them, but given the state of disorder of the documents in the boxes belonging to this collection, it is very possible that other documents exist in these boxes. Amongst them there are documents emanating from the *Conselho de Estado*, concerning its running, as well as documents from the *Real Gabinete*. It should also be pointed out that there are in this collection documents coming from other *secretarias de Estado* and *tribunais* and that they are at times packed in the same bundle and box. In some cases, the documents from the Foreign Affairs and the documents concerning military matters, part of which belonged to the War department, can be found together.

To illustrate what has been said above, I will now detail some of those documents: letters and notes from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, Luís Pinto de Sousa, to the Prince Regent D. João; minutes of letters from the

---

<sup>191</sup> In the catalogue, this correspondence is described as original. Though this is right, it might be equivocal. *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 – documentação anterior a 1822*, pp. 165-169.

<sup>192</sup> 7 July 1707-21 November 1818, ANRJ, Cod. 735. The collection was bound. These documents consist of letters of compliments, congratulations and recommendations of foreign diplomats at the Portuguese Court, political letters and also personal letters. The personal letters could have been kept near the sovereign in his Library and, as it happened with D. João VI, in the Royal Cabinet, at least temporarily.

Prince Regent D. João to foreign sovereigns, namely, the King and Queen of Spain, some of which were annexed to the referred documents; notes from D. João to the secretary of state; notes from officials of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* to the Prince Regent's secretary, José Egídio de Almeida, and annexes; minutes of credential letters and letters of instructions from the monarch to the diplomats in charge of the legations, dated from 1799-1801, 1808, 1813, 1819;<sup>193</sup> correspondence from and to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, both in original and copy, mainly related to the War department, dated from 1796, 1800, 1808, 1811, 1816;<sup>194</sup> representation the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* to the Prince Regent dated from 1809;<sup>195</sup> correspondence from the *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Lisbon to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro, dated from 1814-1820,<sup>196</sup> as well as from other years between 1808 and 1820. Separately, there were also *ofícios*, requests and information that were annexed to that correspondence, as well as copies of some answers of *ofícios*;<sup>197</sup> correspondence from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*, dated from 1813, part of which concerned the War department;<sup>198</sup> recommendations and votes from the *Conselho de Estado*, dated from 1794-1795,<sup>199</sup> 1796, 1798 and some *sine data*,<sup>200</sup> and from 1800-1805,<sup>201</sup> 1807,<sup>202</sup> as well as an extract from the votes of the *Conselho de Estado* from 1801,<sup>203</sup> Secret Convention between the Prince Regent of Portugal and the French Republic, celebrated in Lisbon on the 19<sup>th</sup> December 1803,<sup>204</sup> and, finally, correspondence from and to the Portuguese legations abroad, dated from 1792-1803, 1807.<sup>205</sup>

---

<sup>193</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B, pac. 1,11, pac. 2

<sup>194</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 721, pac. 1

<sup>195</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 639, pac. 1,58.

<sup>196</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 616, pac. 1, pac. 2.

<sup>197</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 705, pac.

<sup>198</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 823, pac. 1.

<sup>199</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 713.

<sup>200</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 713.

<sup>201</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 714, pac. 2 and pac. 3.

<sup>202</sup> The recommendations and votes from the councillors of state made in 1807 should be in ANRJ, NP, cx. 714, but they were not found there in December 2000.

<sup>203</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 728, pac. B, pac. 2, doc. 1, 58.

<sup>204</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 714. In Lisbon, at the IANTT, there is an authentic copy dated 1873, of the corresponding document kept by France at the archives nationales. IANTT, CF, Tratados, França, cx. 1, 12.

<sup>205</sup> This includes mainly some originals of *ofícios*, part of which duplicates, from the diplomatic representatives in several legations to the *secretário de Estado* and few copies of dispatches and instructions from the *secretário de Estado* to the representatives, besides a letter from the

The Department of Manuscripts of the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Brazil houses some documents from before and after 1808, which on account of their nature, belonged to archives and Portuguese delegations abroad, albeit not being identified as such. However, the majority does not seem to have entered into the central archive of the *Secretaria de Estado*, either in Lisbon or Rio de Janeiro, but remained in possession of the diplomatic representatives.<sup>206</sup> Having as reference, the bound manuscripts designated by codex, we found amongst them, the following: correspondence of José da Cunha Brochado, Portuguese envoy to France in 1699-1704 and to Great Britain in 1710-1714 and plenipotentiary minister of D. João V to Spain in 1725, dated from 1698-1725<sup>207</sup> and from 1710,<sup>208</sup> and copy of memoirs concerning the negotiations in Spain from 1725,<sup>209</sup> correspondence from the Marquis of Pombal to Aires de Sá e Melo, plenipotentiary minister in Naples, 1760-1764, ambassador to Spain in 1764-1775, and *secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in 1775-1785. We also found copies of the answers of Aires de Sá e Melo, as well as copies of letters from Tomás da Silva Teles to the Marquis of Pombal, 1751-1776;<sup>210</sup> copybook of *ofícios* from D. Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, ambassador in Madrid, to the Marquis of Grimaldi, Prime-Minister of Spain, 1775;<sup>211</sup> letters from Rodrigo Navarro de Andrade, chargé d'affairs of Portugal in Russia, to Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary minister from Portugal in London, 1807-1810;<sup>212</sup> letter book of correspondence and various documents from Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Count of Funchal, issued while he was the Portuguese plenipotentiary during the peace negotiations with France in Paris,

---

*secretário de Estado* to the Prince Regent, [1803], that was probably in the Royal Cabinet. The legations were in the United States of America, Paris, London, Vienna, Sweden, Denmark, Sardinia, Venice, Tuscany, Livorno, Prussia, Russia, Geneva, Hanover, Naples. This includes also a register book of the correspondence sent from the envoy extraordinary in London, D. João de Almeida to the *secretário de Estado*, 1796-1799, quires of a register book of correspondence from the Legation in Rome to the *secretário de Estado*, 1796, 1801, few lists of correspondence sent from the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* to the legation in London and to Lisbon, as well as of extracts of *ofícios* from the legation in London to the *secretário de Estado*, dated 1810. ANRJ, cx. 720, pac. 1 and pac. 3.

<sup>206</sup> See, in general, Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Inventário de códices em armários*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003] and Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Base Guia – Fundos Coleções da Divisão de Manuscritos*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003].

<sup>207</sup> BNRJ, COD 1,2, 28, and IANTT, micr. 0089.

<sup>208</sup> BNRJ, I-14, 02,012.

<sup>209</sup> BNRJ, I-14, 02,032.

<sup>210</sup> BNRJ, COD 16, 3, 1.

<sup>211</sup> BNRJ, 19, 1, 21.

<sup>212</sup> BNRJ, Divisão de Manuscritos, COD 15, 1, 16 and IANTT, micr. 0090.



1814;<sup>213</sup> letters from José Correia da Serra, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Portugal to the United States of America, dated from 1818-1820.<sup>214</sup>

We can also find documents, which belonged to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in various collections in the Manuscripts Division of the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Rio de Janeiro. These documents were on the threshold between the private and public category, since they had been issued within the remit of the secretary of state. Besides the documents of the Linhares Collection mentioned in another chapter, I would also like to mention the following collections and documents.<sup>215</sup> The Collection of the Count of Aguiar, mainly the correspondence of the Count who later on became Marquis, D. Fernando José de Portugal, *secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro, between 1814 and 1817. The Collection Limits of Brazil, *ofícios* from António Saldanha da Gama, Count of Palmela and D. Joaquim Lobo da Silveira, plenipotentiary ministers of Portugal at the Congress of Vienna, to the Marquis of Aguiar, dated from 1814 and 1815.

Thus, and as far as the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* is concerned, we can confidently state that the great majority of documents transferred to Brazil in November 1807, which then formed almost the entire archive, was returned to Lisbon. The same is true for the documents issued by the *Secretaria de Estado* based in Rio de Janeiro, between 1808-1822. The exceptions are not very significant both in historic and archival value.

#### *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*

In its turn, the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* according to one of the persons interrogated<sup>216</sup> in the official enquiry ordered by the Courts in Portugal had been transported in one of the ships belonging to the royal fleet. But it seems unlikely, at least as far as a considerable part of the documents is concerned. If this had been the case, how can one explain the royal order sent to Francisco José Vieira, then responsible for the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino e Negócios*

---

<sup>213</sup> BNRJ, Divisão de Manuscritos, COD 19, 3, 38 and IANTT, micr. 0089. It has notes perhaps from Barão do Rio Branco to whom it belonged. Correlative documents at IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 582.

<sup>214</sup> BNRJ, 15, 1, 11.

<sup>215</sup> Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Base Guia – Fundos Coleções da Divisão de Manuscritos*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003]. Excluding the documents of the Collection Linhares, we did not check these documents of other collections.

<sup>216</sup> José Joaquim Xavier de Brito, the official of the Navy and Overseas Affairs.

*Estrangeiros* in the Regency of Brazil, dated from 14 December 1821, to make provisions for the urgent embarkation of books and papers belonging to the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*? Besides, the remainder of the archive, with some exceptions, was to accompany the Prince Regent D. Pedro, when he supposedly returned to the Kingdom. The documents that were supposed to stay in Brazil were, in the first instance, those that formed the archive of the previous (and last) vice-roy of Brazil, in its present condition of March 1808, when the Prince Regent arrived in Rio de Janeiro. Other documents were the series of refused petitions and petitions with a certain type of dispatch that did not require administrative continuity in that government office, and belonged to people who resided in the Provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, Goiás or even in the Provinces from the South. It was even ordered that a door book concerning these documents should be created to allow the interested parties to receive the documents annexed to them.<sup>217</sup>

The dominant characteristic of this selection was certainly dictated by the vote of the Cortes on 21 September 1821, with a view to abolish the Kingdom of Brazil and the governmental structure in force since March 1808.<sup>218</sup> Therefore, the only documents that were supposed to stay in Brazil concerned the previous central administration of the colony based in Rio de Janeiro. All the documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil*, or *do Reino* should be sent back since, even if a return to the system of government prior to March 1808 was to be, some provinces with different levels and spheres of government, would have again direct administrative connections with Lisbon. Independently from when the archive or part of the archive was transferred, it is known that José Balbino de Araújo, official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, with the help of a porter, was involved in that transfer.<sup>219</sup>

In effect, various documents, which were part of series or series themselves, remained in Rio de Janeiro. The great majority of the documents is housed in the *Arquivo*

---

<sup>217</sup> Register of letter from Felipe Ferreira de Araújo e Castro to Francisco José Vieira, 14 December 1821, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 435, f. 2v. On the door books, see p. 53.

<sup>218</sup> Macaulay, *Dom Pedro...*, p. 104-104; Leslie Bethel, 'The independence of Brazil' in *Brazil empire and republic: 1822-1930*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Rep. 1999, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1989, p. 30.

<sup>219</sup> Session of the Cortes on 8 March 1822, *Diário das Cortes Geraes e Extraordinárias da Nação Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1822, vol. 5, p. 419; request from José Joaquim Xavier de Brito official of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, and 4 enclosures, 1824, AHU, Papéis Avulsos, Conselho Ultramarino, pub. by C. A. Ferreira, *O regresso dos arquivos das secretarias dos Ministérios do Reino, Marinha, Estrangeiros e Guerra do Rio de Janeiro*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1943, sep. *Brasília*, 11.

*Nacional* in Rio de Janeiro; the previous *Arquivo Público do Império* (Public Archive of the Empire), was created in 1838, and received part of the fonds of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. As far as it is possible to verify today, the documents might have been transferred by successive offices, as for instance, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Império*, the *Ministério do Império* and the *Ministério da Justiça e dos Negócios Interiores* throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and during the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The register books, some of which were copybooks, have references according to numbered codices and the other documents, at times also including one or other register, are referenced by boxes, mainly from the Collection *Negócios de Portugal*: a few of the latter documents, which were bound, are identified by codices.<sup>220</sup>

I will start by listing the books of register, taking also into account the report annexed to the *ofício* from Filipe Ferreira de Araújo, which ordered the shipment to Portugal of the documents described in the letter.<sup>221</sup> At least, the following register books indicated in that list stayed in Rio de Janeiro: laws, royal decrees, and royal letters, 1808-1823;<sup>222</sup> decrees and royal letters to Lisbon, 1809-1821;<sup>223</sup> *avisos* and *portarias* to Lisbon, 1809-1822;<sup>224</sup> Rome and Nunciature, 1809-1817;<sup>225</sup> *consultas* from all the tribunals of

---

<sup>220</sup> We have mentioned before that the access to many records in the boxes is laborious. Not all of them are identified by provenance; annexes and main records were separated; the systematic files, which were the main finding aid (that did not consider the provenance) became in part useless due to the disarrangement of the records; the *Grupo de Identificação de Fundos Internos*, constituted in 1981, in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, to identify records of the old 'Seção do Poder Executivo' that were not arranged (1/5 from the whole of the section), identified the provenance of many records, but could not finish the work, especially concerning the boxes of the collection *Negócios de Portugal*. It was useful the information given in *Guia de fundos do Arquivo Nacional: separata: fundos com data-limite inicial anterior a 1822*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça, Arquivo Nacional, Brasil, September 1996, and in the complete version of the *Guia de Fundos* online in <http://www.arquivonacional.gov.br>, about the following fonds or collections: *Arquivo Nacional*; *Diversos (GIFI) – Caixas e Códices*; *Diversos (SDH) – Caixas*; *Diversos (SDH) – Códices*; *Ministério do Império*; *Ministério do Reino*; *Ministérios do Reino e Império* and, above all, *Negócios de Portugal*. But to accede, identify or confirm the provenance of the records of the Portuguese *Secretarias de Estado* were used mainly the following finding aids: Inah Cyrino Verhoen, *Relação de códices da Antiga Seção de Documentação Histórica*, Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1962, typewritten, index added, list changed and in revision in 1996, and Ivete Magalhães, *Arquivo Nacional, Seção de Documentação Histórica: documentos em caixas*, [Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional] 1962, typewritten, additions and changes in hand.

<sup>221</sup> 'Relação dos Livros, Papeis, e mais objectos, que devem vir da Secretaria d'Estado dos Negócios do Reino no Rio de Janeiro...', annexed to register of *ofício* from Filipe Ferreira de Araújo e Castro to Francisco José Vieira, Palace of Queluz, 14 December 1821, IAN/TT, MR, liv. 435, f. 3v-5r.

<sup>222</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 528, vol. 1-3 and 13.

<sup>223</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 252, vol. 1-4.

<sup>224</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 251, vol. 1-14.

<sup>225</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 271 and 511, vol. 1. In these books were registered, by copy, documents sent from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* to different authorities and people regarding

Lisbon;<sup>226</sup> petitions, 1813-1817;<sup>227</sup> royal signature from the Kingdom, 1813-1820;<sup>228</sup> *Mordomia-Mór*, 1801-1831;<sup>229</sup> *Casa das Obras e Palácios Reais*, 1808-1841;<sup>230</sup> marriages and baptisms, 1810-1845.<sup>231</sup> Also in Rio de Janeiro remained other books concerning the Government of the Provinces situated North of that city, which belonged to the *Secretaria do Governo do Rio de Janeiro* but that were in the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*.<sup>232</sup>

As far as can be inferred, very few of the books described in the list came to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Portugal. The ones that are actually in the fonds of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino/Ministériodo Reino* in the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo*, only comprise the book of homage 1755-1833,<sup>233</sup> and the book of funerals, 1754-1801, 1781-1837.<sup>234</sup> A small number of other books and quires could not be found.<sup>235</sup>

---

Rome Affairs, that is to say, ecclesiastical affairs whose administrative procedure was connected with the Court of Rome (the Holy See) and the Nunciature.

<sup>226</sup> These books in which were registered the *consultas* sent from Lisbon that were resolved by the monarch, were the following: register of *consultas* of several tribunais, 1809-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 256, vol.1-2; register of *consultas* of the Mesa do Desembargo do Paço, 1812-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 250, vol. 1-6; register of *consultas* of the Conselho da Fazenda, 1812-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 253, vol. 1-5; register of *consultas* of the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1812-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 255, vol. 1-2; register of *consultas* of the Senado da Câmara, 1812-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 257; register of *consultas* of the Junta do Estado e Casa de Bragança, 1812-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 258; register of *consultas* of the Conselho da Fazenda e Estado, 1812-1816, ANRJ, Cod. 259; register of *consultas* of the Junta da Administração da Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro, 1812-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 261; register of *consultas* of the Congregação Camarária de Lisboa, 1812-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 262; register of *consultas* of the Junta do Comércio de Lisboa, 1812-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 811. Though the University of Coimbra was not considered a *tribunal* (office), the books probably included the register of *consultas* of the Universidade de Coimbra, 1811-1815, ANRJ, Cod. 260. Still to check the register of *consultas* from different departments, 1793-1820, ANRJ, cx. 724.

<sup>227</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 267. Books where the *pautas* (lists) of the election of officials to the Câmaras of the Kingdom, i. e., of Portugal, were registered, after being approved with the signature of the King.

<sup>228</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 264, vol 1.

<sup>229</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 266. From f. 124v onwards, the documents registered regarded the *Casa Imperial* of the independent Brazil.

<sup>230</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 265, vol. 1. From f. 67r onwards, the registered documents regarded the *Casa das Obras e Paços Imperiais* of the independent Brazil.

<sup>231</sup> ANRJ, Cod. 263.

<sup>232</sup> These were the cases of the register of *ofícios* sent by the government of Rio Grande do Sul, 1813-1817 and 1812-1817, ANRJ, Cod. 253, vol 1 and vol. 2.

<sup>233</sup> Livro dos Preitos e Homenagens, IANTT, MR, liv. 1124.

<sup>234</sup> IANTT, MR, liv. 1341-1342.

<sup>235</sup> They were the following, using the titles given in the metioned relation: *livro secreto* (secret book); *livro das comendas*, whose antecedent volume, dated [1754-1805] is in Lisbon, IANTT, MR, liv. 155A; quires sent by the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens to Rio de Janeiro; *livros de*

The documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* referred to as papers in the same list, that is, the documents that are not register books, are much more difficult to locate. Even so we can say that at least the majority of those described in the list were left in Rio de Janeiro and are now in the *Arquivo Nacional*. Some were bound and have a reference number of the codices. That is the case of the of act of acclamation of D. Maria I<sup>236</sup> and, at least, some of the letters or *alvarás* of law, which according to the list, should have entered the *Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*.<sup>237</sup> The other documents are dispersed in the boxes, mostly in the collection *Negócios de Portugal*.<sup>238</sup> Amongst them there are the ones mentioned in that list and which we now refer to: *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and annexed documents,<sup>239</sup> at least part of the *ofícios* from all authorities, government employees or other persons from Portugal;<sup>240</sup> *ofícios* from the bishop *capelão-mor*, dealing with churches of Portugal (*Serviço do Paço*);<sup>241</sup> all the decrees, either in bundles or otherwise;<sup>242</sup> *consultas* from *tribunais* of Portugal resolved by decrees or pending decision.<sup>243</sup> It was not possible to locate in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, through the available finding aids,

---

decretos, leis, alvarás sobre Fazenda; quire of the mercês granted by His Majesty during his stay in Bahia.

<sup>236</sup> Auto de levantamento, 1777-1841, ANRJ, Cod. 569. This document, dated 1777, was bound together with similar documents regarding the coronation of D. João VI and of his son D. Pedro I, and of D. Pedro II, both as emperors of Brazil.

<sup>237</sup> 1689-1769, ANRJ, Cod. 445, vol. 1-20. This is a collection that includes also *provisões* and other legal records issued by different authorities.

<sup>238</sup> Cx. 612-732, at least.

<sup>239</sup> Especially in chapter 5 we listed these documents, known as *ofícios* and *contas* and explained how they were disarranged, their annexes separated and the first vias sent to Portugal in the 1940's, which are now kept at the IANTT in the collection *Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro*.

<sup>240</sup> *Ofícios* and *representações* from the *Câmaras*, from individuals, in Portugal, 1808, and *ofícios* from the Bishop Patriarch Elect and other authorities and people in Portugal, 1809, 1811, 1812, ANRJ, NP, cx. 632, pac. 1; *ofícios* from the Junta Administração da Companhia Geral do Alto Douro, 1809, ANRJ, NP, cx. 679, pac. 2, 22; *ofícios* from individuals in Portugal, 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 709, pac. 1; *ofícios* from Marshal General Wellington, 1812, ANRJ, NP, cx. 722, pac. 3; *ofício* from D. Pedro Souza e Hosltein, Portuguese representative in Cadiz, 1811, ANRJ, NP, cx. 722, pac. 3; *ofício* from Henrique Pedro da Costa, *escrivão* of the Mesa of the Real Erário and official of the *Secretaria dos Negócios da Fazenda*, ANRJ, NP, cx. 722, pac. 3. There are other *ofícios* to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, dated between 1808-1821, in this cx. 722.

<sup>241</sup> 1809-1816 and 1817-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 722, pac. 1-2 and pac. 3.

<sup>242</sup> ANRJ, NP, cx. 729 and cx. 730. Some copies of decrees sent to Lisbon, 1809-1820 in ANRJ, NP, cx. 644, pac. 7.

<sup>243</sup> *Consultas* from the Mesa do Desembargo do Paço, Conselho da Fazenda, Conselho Ultramarino, Real Junta do Comércio and other *tribunais*, dated before 1808, predominantly from the 1790's to 1807, ANRJ, NP, cx. 692. *Consultas* from the *Desembargo do Paço*, 1816, ANRJ, NP, cx. 654, pac. 1, 10, and in the same box other *consultas* dated 1803-1814. *Consultas* from the Desembargo do Paço, 1761-1817, and from other *tribunais*, ANRJ, NP, cx. 723.

other documents of the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Brazil, identified in the list of 1821. Essentially, and from the research carried out, we can state that the majority of the papers, that is, documents in no register form, which in 1821 belonged to the archive of that *Secretaria de Estado*, remained in Brazil and are nowadays in the *Arquivo Nacional*. However, some of those documents ended up in the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Rio de Janeiro, transferred from the *Secretaria de Estado do Império Ministério do Império*. Nowadays they are in the Division of Manuscripts, integrating the collection of Biographical Documents that contain petitions and annexed documents, addressed to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino/do Império/Ministério do Império*, from 1808 to 1868.<sup>244</sup>

Equally in the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Brazil other collections comprise dispersed documents emanating, sometimes indirectly, from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, or that are linked with it. In the Division of Manuscripts we refer in particular to the *Coleção de Portugal*, which was compiled in the *Biblioteca Nacional* with documents originating from other collections.<sup>245</sup> The documents from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* there included, are dated from the period of the stay of the Portuguese Court in Brazil.<sup>246</sup>

Part of the information concerning the collection *Negócios de Portugal* and contained in the documents of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, dated from the period 1808-1821, which stayed in Brazil, is reflected and repeated in the series of documents created in Portugal. These documents were produced concerning the activities of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Portugal and mainly the activities of the governors of the Kingdom and *secretário dos Negócios do Reino*.<sup>247</sup> As far as the information of the Brazil Affairs while Kingdom and seat of the Portuguese Monarchy is concerned, its case was different. This information was contained in the

---

<sup>244</sup> See 'Coleção Documentos Biográficos' in Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Base guia – fundos coleções da Divisão de Manuscritos*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003]. Following José Honório Rodrigues, these records should have been transferred to the *Arquivo Nacional* and this matter was discussed since 1872. José Honório Rodrigues, *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil*, p. 231.

<sup>245</sup> *Coleção Portugal: inventário analítico*, Rio de Janeiro: Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, 2000. About the provenance and source of acquisition of the documents, see pp. 5-7.

<sup>246</sup> In the collection *Conde de Aguiar* that includes records dated 1788 to 1818, may be possible to find records created when D. Fernando José de Portugal, Count and afterwards Marquis of Aguiar, held the post of *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil / do Reino* from 1808 to 1816. The collection *Decimal*, constituted by records from other collections dated from 1513 to 1987, also might include records from the same *Secretaria de Estado*.

<sup>247</sup> See references given in chapter 5.3.

documents produced by the departments recreated in Rio de Janeiro with closer administrative links with the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil/Reino* in that Brazilian city.<sup>248</sup> These documents did not have parallel and reverse series produced in

---

<sup>248</sup> Records series created by these departments also stayed in Brazil. Essentially they are kept in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, in the *caixas* and *códices* that do not belong to the collection *Negócios de Portugal*. The provenance of the majority of these series is referred in the finding aids. But the provenance of some records, especially registers with the codex reference number, is not the mentioned *tribunais* but the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil / do Reino*. See, for the records with the box number, Ivete Magalhães, *Arquivo Nacional, Seção de Documentação Histórica: documentos em caixas*, especially: '1) Repartições extintas': Casa Real e Imperial, Mesa do Desembargo do Paço, Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Junta do Comércio Agricultura Fábricas e Navegação, Chancelaria-Mór Fiscal das Mercês and Fisicatura Mór. Not all the boxes present the cover dates of the correspondent documents. In the case of the codex, see the following, presented by fonds designated according to the 'Índice dos códices da antiga SDH por fundo', typewritten, made in the Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro and according to Inah Cyrino Verhoen, *Relação de códices da Antiga Secção de Documentação Histórica*, Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1962, the following. - Casa Real e Imperial, contratos e outros documentos de casamento, 1784-1866, ANRJ, Cod. 565; documentos relativos a baptizados, 1763-1881, ANRJ, Cod. 567; documentos relativos a óbitos, 1750-1871, ANRJ, Cod. 568; documentos relativos à aclamação e coroação de D. Maria I, D. João VI, D. Pedro..., 1777-1841, ANRJ, Cod. 569; relação das pessoas que acompanharam a família real para o Brasil, 1807-1808, ANRJ, Cod. 730; Casa Real e Imperial, - Mordomia-Mór, registo da Tesouraria, ANRJ, Cod. 1, vol. 1. - Chancelaria-mór, registo das leis e alvarás, 1808-1819, ANRJ, Cod. 48, vol. 1-3; registo de provisões, cartas e alvarás, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 139, vol. 1-46 and index, ANRJ, Cod. 124, also, index after 1816, ANRJ, Cod. 153; registo dos officios e mercês, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 140, vol. 1-70 and index, ANRJ, Cod. 123, vol. 1-5 and also, index after 1816, ANRJ, Cod. 153; juramentos, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 151, vol. 1; registo de juramento de cônsules e outros semelhantes cargos, 1808-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 767. - Conselho da Fazenda, Secretaria, registo de alvarás e cartas régias, ANRJ, Cod. 29, vol. 1-6; Secretaria, registo das ordens de partes, 1812-1825, ANRJ, Cod. 31, vol. 1-4; Secretaria, registo de consultas de partes, 1817-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 32, vol. 1-2; Secretaria, registo de avisos, 1808-1824, Cod. 33, vol. 1-3; Secretaria, registo de cartas de padrão de tença, 1809-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 37, vol. 1-2; Secretaria do Assentamento, registo de novos provimentos, 1808-1828, ANRJ, Cod. 38, vol. 1; registos vários, 1808-1813, ANRJ, Cod. 30; registo de decretos e avisos para o tesoureiro-mór do Real Erário, 1808-1816, ANRJ, Cod. 34; registo de decretos e ordens régias, 1808-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 36; registo de ordens e officios expedidos, 1813-1823, Cod. 39, vol. 1; registo de consultas, 1821-1826, ANRJ, Cod. 40, vol. 1; registo de consultas mistas, 1808-1830, ANRJ, Cod. 41; registo de portarias de tenças, 1809-1817, ANRJ, Cod. 43; registo de decretamentos de serviço e pedidos de remuneração, 1809-1830 ANRJ, Cod. 238. - Fisicatura-Mór, registo das licenças concedidas no juizo da Fisicatura-mór às diversas classes que competem a sua jurisdição, 1808-1826, ANRJ, Cod. 145, vol. 1-11, and index, ANRJ, Cod. 125. - Intendência Geral da Polícia, lançamento do fardamento, armamento, géneros em espécie e em dinheiro, da 2ª Companhia de Infantaria da Guarda Real da Polícia, 1809-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 407; Receita e despesa do cofre do calabouço, 1809-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 382, vol. 1-2; Matrícula de estrangeiros e apresentação de passaportes, 1808-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 370, vol. 1-2; matrícula de estrangeiros que vão residir em capitánias do Brasil, 1777-1819, ANRJ, Cod. 371; Matrícula de franceses, 1808-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 372; Receita dos direitos de despacho de escravos para as partes do Sul, 1815-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 390, vol. 1; Registo de devassas e diligências, 1808-1815, ANRJ, Cod. 401; Registo de devassas, 1809-1817, ANRJ, Cod. 402; Registo de presos, 1813-1816, Cod. 403; Termos de bem viver, 1808-1810, 1819-1826, ANRJ, Cod. 410, vol. 1-2; Índice de pronunciados, after 1808, ANRJ, Cod. 406. - Mesa do Desembargo do Paço, Registo de avisos, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 20, vol. 1-4; Registo de cartas passadas a diversos ministros, 1808-1812, ANRJ, Cod. 150; Registo de consultas, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 149, vol. 1-5 and index, ANRJ, Cod. 119,

Portugal. Taking both aspects into account, it is correct to state that a significant part of

---

vol. 1-7; Registo de consultas e resoluções, 1808-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 518; Registo de decretos, 1808-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 18, vol. 1-3 and index, ANRJ, Cod 86 and Cod. 117, vol. 2; Registo de habilitação de bacharéis, 1809-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 23; Registo de ordens, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 19, vol. 1-3; Registo das portarias e avisos, ANRJ, Cod. 20; Secretaria, Registo de consultas, 1808-1827, ANRJ, Cod. 17, vol.1-14, and index, ANRJ, Cod. 117, vol. 1. Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Ordem militar de S. Bento de Avis, Registo de matrículas dos cavaleiros, 1810-1811, ANRJ, Cod. 191; Procurador Geral das Ordens, Registos vários, 1813-1819, ANRJ, Cod. 192; Registo dos decretos que baixaram à Mesa, 1808-1828, ANRJ, Cod. 181; Registo de todas as comendas das ordens militares, after 1808, ANRJ, Cod. 186; Registo dos examinados e aprovados a opositores das Igrejas vagas, 1808-1828, ANRJ, Cod. 190; Registo de igrejas e benefícios, 1819-1827, Cod. 193; Repartição da Fazenda dos Defuntos e Ausentes, Registo das ordens e portarias, 1808-1828, ANRJ, Cod. 25, vol. 1-3; Repartição da Fazenda dos Defuntos e Ausentes, Registo de consultas e de resoluções, 1808-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 26, vol.1-9 and index, ANRJ, Cod. 120, vol. 1; Repartição da Fazenda dos Defuntos e Ausentes, Registo das provisões, 1808-1828, ANRJ, Cod. 28, vol. 1-2 and index ANRJ, Cod. 120, vol. 2; Repartição da Ordem Militar de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo, S. Bento de Avis e Santiago de Espada, Registo de provisões régias, 1808-1828, ANRJ, Cod. 28, vol. 3-6 and index, vol. 3-4, ANRJ, Cod. 120, vol. 2 and vol. 3; Secretaria, Registo das cartas e alvarás, 1808-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 27, vol. 1-11, and index, ANRJ, Cod. 120, vol. 2.; Secretaria. Registo de alvarás, 1808-1819, ANRJ, Cod. 182. - Mesa do Desembargo do Paço e Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Posses, 1808-1827, ANRJ, Cod. 22. - Real Junta do Comércio, Agricultura, Fábricas e Navegação, Administração de bens de defuntos, Diário da administração de bens do finado conselheiro Elias António Lopes, 1815-1818, ANRJ, Cod. 203, vol. 2; Administração de bens de defuntos, Livro mestre da administração de bens do finado conselheiro Elias António Lopes, 1815-1818, ANRJ, Cod. 203, vol. 1; Administração de bens de defuntos, Registo de venda de bens de defuntos, 1815-1816, ANRJ, Cod. 228; Administração de bens de defuntos, Registo de provisões de administrações e pagamentos dos credores do finado conselheiro Elias António Lopes, 1816-1832, Cod. 203, vol. 3-4 and index, ANRJ, Cod 203, vol. 6; Aula do Comércio, Registo das provisões das matrículas dos aulistas, 1810-1817, ANRJ, Cod 167, vol. 1, 1811-1817, ANRJ, Cod. 168, vol. 1; Aula do Comércio, Registo dos termos de matrículas, 1817-1832, ANRJ, Cod. 168, vol. 2; Contadoria, Registo de letras, 1810-1817, ANRJ, Cod. 165; Contadoria. Registo, 1818-1830, Cod. 173, vol. 8; Contadoria, Livro mestre, 1810-1827, ANRJ, Cod. 173, vol. 1; Contadoria, Diário n.º. A, 1810-1827, ANRJ, Cod. 173, vol. 3; Contadoria. Borrador do Diário, 1810-1832, ANRJ, Cod. 173, vol. 7; Contadoria, Livro caixa, 1810-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 173, vol. 5; Contadoria, Lembrança dos papéis recebidos, 1809-1847, ANRJ, Cod. 178; Mesa das Contribuições, Livro Diário, 1809-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 144, vol. 1-16; Secretaria, Livros de matrícula dos negociantes de grosso trato, guarda-livros e caixeiros, 1809-1826, ANRJ, Cod. 170, vol. 1; Secretaria, Termos de juramento das testemunhas oferecidas pelos negociantes e varjistas que se pretendem matricular, 1809-1826, ANRJ, Cod. 171, vol. 1-2; Secretaria, Termos de juramento e posse dos oficiais, 1809-1847, ANRJ, Cod. 187; Assentos diversos, 1809-1810, ANRJ, Cod. 177; Contas correntes de vários fabricantes, 1809-1816 ANRJ, Cod. 173, vol. 10; Contas do Tesoureiro das despesas miúdas, 1814-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 176; Consultas, 1809-1827, ANRJ, Cod. 45, vol 1-2; Livros de letras sacadas dos principais julgados por sentença do Tribunal, 1818-1825, ANRJ, Cod. 166; Posses e juramentos dos deputados, 1809-1832, ANRJ, Cod. 520; Receitas e despesas do Cofre, 1817-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 174, vol. 1-4; Registo de alvarás, decretos e cartas régias, 1815-1841, ANRJ, Cod. 205; Registo dos avisos recebidos, 1815-1823, ANRJ, Cod. 163; Registo de consultas, 1811-1824, Cod. 46, vol. 1-5; Registo de editais, 1813-1833, ANRJ, Cod. 164, vol. 1; Registo das instruções de ordens relativas às contribuições aplicadas para as despesas do Tribunal, 1809-1820, ANRJ, Cod. 161; Registo dos officios expedidos, 1812-1834, ANRJ, Cod. 162, vol. 1; Copiador dos officios expedidos, 1810-1832, ANRJ, Cod. 173, vol. 9; Registo das portarias, 1815-1839, Cod. 215; Registo das provisões de lotação das embarcações, 1820-1822, ANRJ, Cod. 158-159; Registo das provisões de matrícula das fábricas, 1811-1840, ANRJ, Cod. 217, vol. 1; Registo de provisões de ordens, 1811-1822, ANRJ Cod. 47, vol. 1-2; Registo dos seguros, 1818-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 147, vol. 1-7.



the records produced by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, from March 1808 to March 1821, and a minor part of the records produced before this period did not go to Lisbon.

*Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*

The archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* was also about to be transferred in April 1821, when D. João VI returned to Portugal. It is known that the archive was packed into large chests with nails but without seals. The chests were carried in a barge to be shipped into the Vessel 'Orestes'. But as there was no space for the archive in the ship, the chests had to be returned to land. During this transfer, some of the wood planks were loosened and they had to be nailed down again. The archive was housed in the Arsenal, Rio de Janeiro, until being shipped aboard the Vessel 'Grão-Pará'. In Lisbon it was only opened at the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*. Nevertheless, suspicions remained at the Cortes as far as the separation of the documents related to the Overseas Dominions was concerned.<sup>249</sup>

In effect, some of these documents remained in Brazil. From the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, a small number of documents stayed behind; they concern both areas of activity of this *Secretaria de Estado*. Staying close to the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, and without going into much depth, it is possible to see that in the collection *Negócios de Portugal* there are various boxes of documents whose origin mentioned in the finding aid is the '*Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar*' or its successor, the '*Ministério da Marinha e Ultramar*'. Such documents are mainly dated from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup>; that is, they were transferred from Lisbon.<sup>250</sup> In the same collection,

---

<sup>249</sup> Inquiry to the Conde dos Arcos and officials of the secretarias de Estado ordered by the Cortes, 1821, IANTT, MNE, cx. 36, mç. 11 (31); minute of officio from Simeão Estelita Gomes da Fonseca to the ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino e Negócios Estrangeiros [of Brazil], [Rio de Janeiro] 19 December 1821, AHI, lata 186, mç. 4, pasta 1 (17); petition from José Joaquim Xavier de Brito official of the Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos and 4 enclosures, 1824, AHU, Papéis Avulsos, Conselho Ultramarino, pub. by C. A. Ferreira, *O regresso dos arquivos das secretarias dos Ministérios do Reino, Marinha, Estrangeiros e Guerra do Rio de Janeiro*.

<sup>250</sup> 1801-1803, ANRJ, NP, cx. 621; 1798-1800, ANRJ, NP, cx. 634; 1783-1817, ANRJ, NP, cx. 664; 1800-1803, ANRJ, NP, cx. 678; 1797-1802, ANRJ, NP, cx. 679; 1797, ANRJ, NP, cx. 681; 1797-1803, 1815, ANRJ, NP, cx. 687; 1783, 1794-1801, 1798-1803, 1807, 1805-1809,

but in the codices, we can find two books of register from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, dating from the period of the residence of the Royal Court in Brazil.<sup>251</sup>

Besides, these many other documents concerning the overseas dominions were left in Brazil, albeit not having been created either by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* nor by the *Conselho Ultramarino*. We refer more precisely to the documents produced by the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço*, which was re-created in Brazil together with the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, and inherited the duties of the *Conselho Ultramarino* excluding the military affairs. These documents are also kept in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, in boxes from the collection *Negócios de Portugal*. In the finding aid they are generally referred to as ‘*Tribunal da Mesa do Desembargo do Paço – Domínios Ultramarinos*’<sup>252</sup> The documents produced by the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* within the remit of its ecclesiastical capacity in the overseas territories, were not sent to Lisbon either. Just like the documents belonging to the *Desembargo do Paço*, they are kept in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, spread through various boxes from the collection *Negócios de Portugal*. In the same finding aid, these documents are referred to as ‘*Tribunal da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens – Domínios Ultramarinos*’.<sup>253</sup>

Comparing the records of the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, on the one hand, with the records of the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* and of the *Arquivo Histórico da Biblioteca Central da Marinha* in Lisbon, on the other, it seems that the majority of the documents produced by the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e dos*

---

ANRJ, NP, cx. 691; 1795-1802, ANRJ, NP, cx.697; 1775, 1787, 1788, 1792, 1794-1798, 1797-1801, ANRJ, NP, cx. 708; 1761-1808, ANRJ, NP, cx. 715; 1796-1797, ANRJ, NP, cx. 716; 1798-1799, ANRJ, NP, cx. 717; 1800-1803, ANRJ, NP, cx. 718.

<sup>251</sup> Registo de avisos e ordens para as Ilhas dos Açores, Madeira, Cabo Verde, e S. Tomé, 1808-1821, with index by islands, ANRJ, Cod. 268, IANTT, micr. 11-98; registo de avisos e ordens para Goa e Moçambique, 1809-1821, ANRJ, Cod. 268, IANTT, micr. 11-98.

<sup>252</sup> 1808-1822, ANRJ, NP, cx. 618; 1808-1821, 1809-1818, 1810-1822, ANRJ, NP, cx. 628; 1806-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 629; 1808-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 645; Azores and Angola, 1800-1811, ANRJ, NP, cx. 647; 1808-1820, Azores and Angola, 1808-1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 648; 1806-1819, ANRJ, NP, cx. 650; 1808-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 658; 1804-1820, ANRJ, NP, cx. 660; Mozambique, 1808-1822, Goa, 1810, ANRJ, NP, cx. 669; 1809-1819, ANRJ, NP, cx. 675; Azores, 1808-1811, ANRJ, NP, cx. 680; 1808-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 701; 1808-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 706.

<sup>253</sup> Angola, 1813-1823, ANRJ, NP, cx. 623; 1809-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 624; ANRJ, NP, cx. 625; 1791-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 630; 1810-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 649; 1808-1820, ANRJ, NP, cx. 651; 1808-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 653; 1809-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 656; 1813-1819, ANRJ, NP, cx. 658; 1813-1819, ANRJ, NP, cx. 659; 1808-1819, ANRJ, NP, cx. 661; 1809-1823, ANRJ, NP, cx. 665 and cx. 666; 1808-1824, ANRJ, NP, cx. 668; 1809-1821, ANRJ, NP, cx. 676; 1808-1818, ANRJ, NP, cx. 681; 1808-824, ANRJ, NP, cx. 690.

*Domínios Ultramarinos* between 1808-1821, as well as the documents of an earlier date sent from Lisbon and including those of the *Conselho Ultramarino*, were returned to Lisbon.<sup>254</sup> The same cannot be said of the documents belonging to the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço* and to those of the *Mesa de Consciência e Ordens*.

On 30 March of 1822, the Cortes in Lisbon were informed of the results of the inquiry in Rio de Janeiro and the searches carried out in Lisbon to investigate the role of the Count of Arcos in the forcing open of the chests belonging to all of the *Secretarias de Estado* in order to separate the documents concerning the Overseas. According to the information given by the *secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* in Brazil, Francisco José Vieira, and passed on by the *ministro dos Negócios da Justiça* to the Courts, the chests with the documents to be carried to Lisbon had not been opened, contradicting the declarations of other witnesses. The deputy Manuel Fernandes Tomás, at the session of the Cortes on 30 March 1822, while seemingly agreeing with another deputy who defended the Count of Arcos, was not happy with the conclusions: 'the fact remains that the correspondence did not arrive; the books stayed behind (in Brazil), he argued. Thus, he insisted that the government should inform the 'Congress' whether or not the missing correspondence had arrived in Lisbon, and making enquiries regarding the person responsible for that correspondence not having been returned together with the other documents.<sup>255</sup> It is not known whether more searches were carried out, but the whirl of events that swept Portugal and Brazil then, prevented further investigations.

Although not related to the transfer of the archives from the *Secretarias de Estado* but coinciding with the Revolution of 1820 in Portugal, there was a conflict between Field-Marshal Beresford and the new government, on account of the possession of official documents from the same *Secretarias de Estado* to the governors of the

---

<sup>254</sup> As mentioned before, not all the records of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*, are identified. In Brazil, this happens with records of the collection *Negócios de Portugal* in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*. In Portugal, the provenance of many of the records created by this *Secretaria de Estado* and that are in the *Biblioteca Central de Marinha – Arquivo Histórico* is not indicated in the finding aids. A similar situation occurs in the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* though the rearrangement of records that is being made provides information about their provenance.

<sup>255</sup> The report on the conclusions of the inquiry in Brazil was communicated to the government in Lisbon by the ofício dated from 29 December 1821, from Francisco José Vieira, *ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* of Brazil, who meanwhile was no more in charge. The same report was sent on 17 March 1822 to the Chancellor of the *Casa da Suplicação*, for the judgement of the Count of Arcos. Session of the Cortes, 30 March 1822, *Diário das Cortes Geraes, Extraordinarias, e Constituintes da Nação Portuguesa*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1822, vol. 5, p. 671.

Kingdom. When Beresford returned from Rio de Janeiro in October 1820, the new authorities in the country did not allow him to come ashore.<sup>256</sup> The *Junta Provisional do Governo* by means of notes signed by Hermano José Braancamp de Sobral put pressure on Captain Maitland who escorted Beresford and his retinue, to hurry Beresford's departure. According to Maitland, Beresford decided to travel straight away to England aboard the Ship 'Lady Arabella'.<sup>257</sup> At the same time he decided not to deliver the bags with documents that he brought from Lisbon. Soon after arriving in England, he wrote to Castlereagh, the foreign minister, informing him that the documents from the Court in Rio de Janeiro he had in his possession, were neither *ofícios* nor dispatches, but laws.<sup>258</sup> The conflict dragged on and in July 1822 the Portuguese government was still trying to obtain from the British government the return of the documents through the auspices of the *chargé d'affaires* in London.<sup>259</sup> A few months after, there was sent to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Lisbon, through the Portuguese Legation in London, a bag containing documents, believed to be official letters brought by Lord Beresford from Rio de Janeiro. That bag was soon after delivered to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*.<sup>260</sup> The respective documents remained unidentified.

The independence of Brazil, recognised by Portugal in 1825, brought a new context to the archival documents created during the 300 years common history. Such documents were the result of the government duties relating the territories that were part of Brazil, carried out by central organisations, based in Lisbon, and from various configurations as well as different levels at times superimposed. The great majority of these documents are kept in archives, some libraries and other Portuguese institutions. But, as we have seen, the return of King D. João VI in 1821 was not accompanied by the transfer of all the documents from the archives of the *Secretarias de Estado* and tribunais and other organisations based in Rio de Janeiro, between 1808 and 1821, including

---

<sup>256</sup> Macaulay, *Dom Pedro...*, p. 70-71.

<sup>257</sup> Copy of letter from Captain Maitland to the Admiralty Office, Ship Vengeance on the River Tagus, 15 October 1820, enclosed with letter from the Admiralty Office to the Foreign Office, FO 63/236, f. 121v-123v.

<sup>258</sup> Beresford to Castlereagh, 29, Upper Harley Street, 14 November 1820, FO 63/236, f. 160r-168v.

<sup>259</sup> Ofício from Felipe Ferreira de Araújo e Castro, secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino to the secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 23 July 1822, IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 388.

<sup>260</sup> Ofício from Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira to Filipe Ferreira de Araújo e Castro, Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 17 de Outubro de 1822, IAN/TT, MNE, liv. 319, f. 71v.

documents concerning affairs of the government of the 'Reino de Portugal e dos Algarves' as well of the Overseas Dominions.

However, apparently the records were not a matter of difference or at least of negotiation between the two countries, contrary to what happened to the Royal Library that stayed in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>261</sup> This happened even in relation to documental series whose evidential value rendered them necessary for public administration.<sup>262</sup> The Alliance and Friendship Treaty as well as the Secret Additional Convention celebrated in the name of D. João VI, King of Portugal and D. Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, on 29 August 1825, did not make any allusion to those matters.<sup>263</sup> The Convention stipulated the sum of £2.000.000 to be paid by Brazil to Portugal, in view of the claims presented before from Government to Government. Amongst these claims was reported the Royal Library valued by the librarian Padre Joaquim Dâmaso<sup>264</sup> for the sum of 2.000.000\$00 réis, which on the list of the objects to be claimed, presented in conferences for the reconciliation between Portugal and Brazil, came down to 8000.000\$00 réis.<sup>265</sup> According to Padre Joaquim Dâmaso, the Library contained by then around 80.000 printed volumes, and many manuscripts and drawings, some of which has already been

---

<sup>261</sup> A recent study describes also these negotiations. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz with Paulo Cesar de Azevedo and Angela Marques da Costa, *A longa viagem da biblioteca dos reis: do terremoto de Lisboa à independência do Brasil*, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002, pp. 393-401.

<sup>262</sup> This was the case of the series *Registo de mercês* (Register of benefices) that was created by the *Registo Geral de Mercês* of the *Secretaria das Mercês* in Brazil, between 1808 and April 1821. ANRJ, Cod. 137, vol. 1-67, indexes, Cod. 497, vol. 1-6, Cod. 241. In 27 January 1826, King D. João VI, issued an *alvará* in order that all the people to whom he had granted mercês of honour and lucrative (awards and benefices) and whose documents were registered in Rio de Janeiro, had to register them again in Lisbon. This was not always complied with. See Albano Alfredo de Almeida Caldeira, 'Memória sobre o serviço do Registo de Mercês' *Boletim das bibliotecas e arquivos nacionais*, 2 (April-June 1903), 81.

<sup>263</sup> Both pub. by Castro, *Collecção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e actos publicos...*, vol. 5, pp. 494-497, 498-500.

<sup>264</sup> Dâmaso accompanied the return of the bulk of the royal manuscripts that were kept aside from the Royal Library. According to Ferreira this return was achieved due to King D. João VI's insistence. Carlos Alberto Ferreira, *O regresso dos arquivos das secretarias dos Ministérios do Reino, Marinha, Estrangeiros e Guerra do Rio de Janeiro*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1943, p. 6. Paulo Herkenhoff, *Biblioteca Nacional: a história de uma coleção*, 2nd ed., Rio de Janeiro: Salamandra, 1997, p. 19.

<sup>265</sup> Conta annexed to the protocol of the 4<sup>th</sup> Conference, 15 April 1825, signed by Porto Santo and Charles Stuart, IANTT, MNE, pub. by Julio Judice Biker, *Suplemento à coleção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos públicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potências desde 1640 coordenados pelo Visconde de Borges de Castro*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1880, vol. 15, 1825-1827, pp. 62-65.

bought in Brazil.<sup>266</sup> As far as the records are concerned, it is worth pointing out the existence of part of the series from the *Junta Geral do Comércio*, 1795-1819, as well as some documents, which belonged to the *Casa do Infantado* or had been sent together with them.<sup>267</sup> Amongst those documents, there are some that concern the Utrecht Treaty, celebrated between Portugal and Spain 1715, in that city,<sup>268</sup> and the treaty between Portugal and the Colony of Sacramento, including the original maps of the Treaty of the Limits of the Conquests, equally celebrated between those countries in 1750 in Madrid.<sup>269</sup>

After the independence of Brazil and its acknowledgement by Portugal, there was cooperation between the two countries at the level of communication of the information contained in the archives even with exchange of documents. In Brazil, since the foundation in 1838 of the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* in Rio de Janeiro, initiatives for research and acquisition of documents related to History and Geography of Brazil took place in Portugal and other countries.<sup>270</sup>

In 1843, around 30 *ofícios* from the governors of the Kingdom and from the secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros to the Prince Regent, dated from 1809, were returned to Portugal. These documents were in the archive of the *Ministério dos Negócios da Guerra* in Brazil and, since they were considered to be of no use to the Brazilian Empire, they were sent to the Portuguese archives through the plenipotentiary minister of Portugal in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>271</sup>

---

<sup>266</sup> Recommendation of Father Joaquim Dâmaso, Lisbon, 21 April 1825, Carlos Alberto Ferreira, 'As livrarias Reais de D. João IV a D. João VI' in *Congresso do Mundo Português*, Lisbon: 1940, vol. 7, pp. 589-606.

<sup>267</sup> Nowadays they are in the Manuscripts Division of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, in Rio de Janeiro. Some of them have the Royal Library stamp.

<sup>268</sup> BNRJ, Cod. 9,4,4-9,4,7.

<sup>269</sup> Father Dâmaso also notes that those maps of the *Livraria* of the *Academia da Marinha* that were kept for many months in the kitchen belonging to the Marquesa of Lumiares, to be transferred to Lisbon, were destroyed by termites. Ferreira, 'As Livrarias Reais de D. João IV a D. João VI', p. 603.

<sup>270</sup> Rodrigues, *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil*, p. 38 and following. The official researches made by Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen in the Portuguese archives from 1842 to 1848 were essential to Brazil not only to the historiography but also to the diplomatic issue of the limits of Brazil. In the *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty* there are on the one hand documents regarding the official commission he was in charge of and, on the other hand, lists and copies of documents that he had selected. See *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: documentação anterior a 1822*, pp. 214-216.

<sup>271</sup> Copy of *Relação dos papéis*, a que se refere o ofício desta data, os quaes existiam na Secretaria d'Estado dos Negocios da Guerra, e, por inuteis ao Imperio, são remetidos ao Sr. Ildefonso Leopoldo Bayard, enviado extraordinário e ministro plenipotenciário de S. M. Fidelíssima, a seu pedido para os enviar aos Arquivos Portugueses (List of the papers sent to the Portuguese Minister in Brazil, Ildefonso Leopoldo Bayard...) that was enclosed with the ofício no. 31 from the Portuguese Legation in Rio de Janeiro to the ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros, IANTT, MNE,

The first significant action of cooperation between Portugal and Brazil occurred in the area of cartographic documents, between 1863 and 1867.<sup>272</sup> The initiative started in Brazil and aimed at compiling documents containing information concerning the question of the Brazilian territorial borders.<sup>273</sup> Duarte da Ponte Ribeiro headed the department of the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* of Brazil, through which proceeded the affairs of the border countries. Within the remit of his duties, he carried out cartographic searches in other Brazilian Institutions. In 1849 he proposed that the cartographic documents belonging to Portugal but found in Brazil, should be exchanged for those of Brazil found in Portugal. Although already retired in 1863, he went on an official mission to Portugal with a list of documents that were in Brazil with a view to visit the archives and promote the exchange of documents.<sup>274</sup> On the Portuguese side, through the endeavours of the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, headed by the Duke of Loulé, a commission was established with representatives from various ministries to that effect. Ponte Ribeiro's visit lasted for three months, resulting in a first proposal for an exchange of documents, which was meanwhile increased by the documents to be returned by Brazil. The possibility of exchange copies was abandoned as being slow and expensive. Following a proposal by the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, a new Portuguese commission was appointed by the *Ministério dos Negócios do Reino* to re-examine the collection that arrived from Brazil and was deposited in the Brazilian legation, as well as the list of documents in the Portuguese archives they were to be exchanged with. The commission was formed by the general director of the *Trabalhos Geodésicos e Corográficos*, Filipe Folque, the chief-librarian of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, José da Silva Mendes Leal, and the keeper of the *Torre do Tombo*, António de Oliveira Marreca. Folque was later replaced by the engineer Francisco António de Brito Limpo, who gave technical support to the negotiations till the end. On 14<sup>th</sup> January 1867, at the *Instituto*

---

cx. 36, mç. 23 (17). The ofícios listed dated from 31 May to 18 November 1809, kept enclosures together and were the first *vias* and also, sometimes, the second and third. They are now at the IAN/TT, MNE, cx. 885 and 886.

<sup>272</sup> The essential information is given in the following studies: H. Gabriel Mendes, 'O convénio cartográfico luso brasileiro de 1867: a cartografia portuguesa ao serviço da comunidade luso brasileira' in *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Cadastral*, 3 (December 1983), pp. 53-95; Luís de Pina Manique, 'Plantas topográficas de Lisboa: a coleção levada para o Brasil durante as Invasões' in *Lisboa e seu termo: estudos e documentos*, vol. 2, Lisbon: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, 1948, pp. 179-203. Mendes publishes the Covenant and the lists of the cartographic documents made at the time, analysing them.

<sup>273</sup> Rodrigues, *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil*, p. 68.

<sup>274</sup> The papers of Duarte da Ponte Ribeiro are in the Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty. See Isa Adonias, *O acervo de documentos do Barão da Ponte Ribeiro: livros, manuscritos, mapas*, Rio de Janeiro: [s.n.], 1984.

*Geográfico*, in Lisbon, Duarte Ponte Ribeiro, in the name of the Brazilian government, signed an agreement by which they agreed to exchange maps and geographical plans concerning Portugal, kept in the *Arquivo Militar* in Rio de Janeiro, with the ones belonging to Brazil kept in the archives in Lisbon. The cartographical documents sent to Brazil were the original ones that were in the *Biblioteca Nacional* and in the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar* as well as copies expressly done from the original documents in the *Arquivo Militar* in Lisbon. They included 231 documents and are today at the map library of the *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty* in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>275</sup> The ones sent to Portugal, the majority of which had been transferred during the Court's stay in Rio de Janeiro, contained around 1200 documents related to Portugal, Adjacent Islands and Overseas Dominions. The documents concerning the topography of Portugal remained in the *Instituto Geográfico*, and they are now in the map library of the present institution, the *Instituto Geográfico Português*. The military maps were sent to the *Real Arquivo Militar* and are at present in the *Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos e de Engenharia Militar*. That division did not comply with the provenance of the documents, all the more so that in the *Arquivo Histórico Militar* we can find various memoranda describing the cartographical documents.<sup>276</sup> In addition to these, other similar memoranda were left in Brazil.

Well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century in 1940, during the commemorations of the centenaries of Portugal (1140, Independence of Portugal, 1640, Restoration the Independence) there were various activities related to the documental patrimony of shared history. Archives and libraries were acknowledged; indexes of documents were published, as well as brief studies on the aspects of that patrimony. On the Portuguese side, the *Inspecção Superior dos Arquivos e Bibliotecas*, followed closely such activities and reported them in the *Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos*, although archivists were not always involved. From the point of view of the present study, the most important initiative was the gift made by Brazil of various sets of original documents, besides reproductions and finding aids, all related to Portugal. On 21 August 1947, documents and other pieces from the *Arquivo Histórico Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, came into the possession of the *Arquivo Nacional*

---

<sup>275</sup> Isa Adonias, *Mapas e planos manuscritos relativos ao Brasil Colonial: 1500-1822*, 2 vol., Brasília: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 1960.

<sup>276</sup> *O Arquivo Histórico Militar: Lisboa*, 2nd ed. revised and augmented, Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Militar, 1992, p. 22.



da Torre do Tombo, via the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*.<sup>277</sup> Among them, there was an almost complete collection of the first *vias* of the *contas* from the governors of the Kingdom to the Prince Regent, later D. João VI, but without the respective annexes.<sup>278</sup> Forty-six documents related to the Baron of Eben, brigadier in the Portuguese Army, constitute another set of the original documents.<sup>279</sup> The first *vias* of twenty-five bulletins of Francisco José Maria de Brito's secret correspondence on the French Revolution, formed the last group of original documents sent by the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*.<sup>280</sup> The *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* also received a reproduction of other sets of documents that remained in Brazil.<sup>281</sup>

The *Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Relações Exteriores / do Itamaraty*,<sup>282</sup> sent the erroneously so-called 'Military Archive of Lisbon', combining documents from the period of the Count of Lippe<sup>283</sup> and other documents from the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which had been transferred with the Court to Brazil. In 1948 they were delivered into the *Arquivo Histórico Militar* in Lisbon, where they can be found.<sup>284</sup>

---

<sup>277</sup> António Ferrão, 'Alguns serviços efectuados ainda em 1946 e 1947: 20.º - Ofertas pelo governo brasileiro de um importante núcleo de manuscritos sobre História de Portugal' *Anais das bibliotecas e arquivos*, vol. 11, no. 41 and 42 (Jan-June 1933), 19; 'Adenda' to Pedro Azevedo and António Baião, *O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo: sua história, corpos que o compõem e organização*, Lisbon: AN/TT, Livros Horizonte, 1989, A – 19.

<sup>278</sup> 1809-1820, IANTT, Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro, 1-23.

<sup>279</sup> 1794-1815, IANTT, Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro, 24.

<sup>280</sup> 1794-1815, IANTT, Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro, 25.

<sup>281</sup> See IANTT, Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro, 26-37. All these records and reproductions were described in *Elenco das publicações e dos documentos, originais ou em reprodução fotográfica, com o respectivo relacionamento, apresentados pelo diretor do Arquivo Nacional da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil...*, Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1941. This book, annotated by hand, works as the finding of the collection *Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro*. See also 'Brasil (documentos vindos do)' in *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea*, vol. 1, pp. 110-112.

<sup>282</sup> The records were there and not in the *Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, as it is mentioned in *O Arquivo Histórico Militar: Lisboa*, p. 22. See about the records Luís Norton, *Notícia sobre o 'Arquivo Militar de Lisboa': encontrado no Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro: s.n., 1938.

<sup>283</sup> Count of Shaumburg-Lippe, Frederico Guilherme Ernesto (1724-1777) was commander in chief of the Portuguese Army holding the post of marshal general. He commanded the Campaign of 1762 against the Spanish invaders and afterwards worked to organise the defence of the country preparing the army. He stayed in Portugal in 1762-1764 and in 1767. In 1797 the Portuguese government bought to the widow of Count of Lippe' successor his manuscripts regarding the defence of Portugal. Gastão de Melo de Matos, 'Lippe, Conde de' in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. 3, pp. 530-531.

<sup>284</sup> José Brandão Pereira de Mello, 'O Arquivo Militar de Lisboa (Arquivo do Conde de Lipe)' *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, 19 (1949), pp. 29-32; *O Arquivo Histórico Militar: Lisboa*, p. 22; Brasil (Coleção dos documentos vindos do) *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea*, vol. 3, p. 202. See also 'O Arquivo do Conde de Lippe: índice dos documentos que contém a caixa no. 1 (1736-1763)' *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, 19 (1949) 145-151.

Irregularly, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, both research and archival description work was carried out in the archives and libraries of and concerning the two countries. They were intensified on the occasion of congresses and commemorations of historic events relating to Portugal and Brazil.<sup>285</sup> These activities were most frequent from the Brazilian side and also from foreign researchers studying Brazil, focusing mainly on the fonds that are today in the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* in Lisbon, particularly the *Conselho Ultramarino* and the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*. At times, these activities resulted in finding aids concerning fonds or series. The *Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* has played an important role since 1914, by publishing though not regularly in the *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, several of these finding aids.<sup>286</sup> In the last decade of the 1940's it was initiated in the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, a survey of the documents relating to Brazil, with financial assistance from the *Instituto da Cultura e Língua Portuguesa* (ICALP) and coordinated by João Martins da Silva Marques, director of that archive between October 1950 and March 1960. This project emerged from the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, following a communication presented by the Brazilian Pedro Calmon, on the subject of the Portuguese archives and the History of Brazil. In spite of the fact that in 1950 references were created for thousands of documents, the respective catalogue was never published,<sup>287</sup> nor is the result of that task visible at the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo*.

Already in the 1970's, Brazil returned several manuscripts from the *Sociedade Real Marítima, Militar e Geográfica*, dated from 1793-1807. That group, with about a dozen and a half manuscripts, could be found at the *Serviço de Documentação Geral da Marinha* in Rio de Janeiro and were delivered, via the *Ministério da Marinha*, to the *Biblioteca Central de Marinha* in Lisbon. Other documents from the *Sociedade Real*

---

<sup>285</sup> Such as the following: *Congresso de História Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, 1949; *Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros*, Washington, 1950; *Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos*, Lisbon, 1960, on occasion of the commemorations of the 5<sup>th</sup> Centenary of Infant D. Henrique.

<sup>286</sup> The Brazilian researcher Luis Camilo de Oliveira Neto, from the 30's to the 50's, published in the *Anais...*, some of such finding aids prepared by the Portuguese Ernesto Enes, co-author, with M. A. Hedwig Fitzler, *A Secção Ultramarina da Biblioteca Nacional: inventários*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1928. In 1946, he proposed to the *Ministerio das Relações Exteriores* of Brazil to negotiate with the Portuguese government the arrangement and listing of the records related to Brazil and kept in the *Arquivo Historico Colonial*, predecessor of the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, based on a plan of Ernesto Enes. But this did not go on.

<sup>287</sup> Rodrigues, *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil*, pp. 102-103 and p. 212.

*Marítima, Militar e Geográfica* remained in Brazil, and probably were dispersed among various libraries and archives.<sup>288</sup>

During the 1980's, the editing of finding aids such as the *Roteiro de fontes da História Portuguesa Contemporânea* in Brazilian and Portuguese archives<sup>289</sup> and the *Roteiro sumário de Arquivos Portugueses de interesse para o pesquisador da História do Brasil*,<sup>290</sup> substantially improved the knowledge of repositories, fonds and collections, and in the former example, sets and series of records, relating to the two countries.

Following on the continuous interest shown by the Brazilian users, the *Ministério da Cultura* of Brazil,<sup>291</sup> in 1995, after the survey carried out since the last decade of the 80's, began a programme of microfilming archive documents on Brazil, called the *Projecto Resgate Barão do Rio Branco*. The project involved researchers and archivists from different Brazilian and Portuguese public and private institutions. This project was active and regularly supported by a technical coordinator, attached to the *Ministério da Cultura* of Brazil and guided by a scientific coordinator. In Portugal that project was based on fonds from the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, with the participation of Brazilian researchers and archivists as well as some Portuguese researchers and archivists including from the same archive.

Given the way in which those fonds and subfonds were organised and the remit of the project, a description at document level has been made, and only then does the microfilming take place. The *Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional* in Brazil is responsible for the conservation of the master copies of the microfilms and for their duplication for

---

<sup>288</sup> A. Teixeira da Mota, *Acerca de recente devolução a Portugal, pelo Brasil, de manuscritos da Sociedade Real Marítima, Militar e Geográfica: 1793-1807*, Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1972 (Agrupamento de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Secção de Lisboa), 74, sep. of: *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Classe de Ciências*, 16, 1972, Bibliography, pp. 308-310. This initiative seems to have begun with a claiming from the Portuguese historian Avelino Teixeira da Mota and with the favourable answer from the Brazilian historian and director of the *Serviço de Documentação da Marinha*, Max Justo Guedes.

<sup>289</sup> Joel Serrão, (ed.), *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea*, vol. 1-2, *Arquivos de Lisboa, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon: INIC, 1984; Joel Serrão, (ed.), *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea* vol. 3, *Arquivos de Lisboa, Arquivos do Estado, Arquivo da C. M. de Lisboa*, Lisbon: INIC, 1985; Joel Serrão, (ed.), *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea*, vol. 4, *Arquivos do Brasil*, Lisbon: INIC, 1989.

<sup>290</sup> Caio César Boschi, *Roteiro sumário de arquivos portugueses de interesse para o pesquisador da história do Brasil*, São Paulo: Edições do Arquivo do Estado, 1986, reed. Lisbon: Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 1995. See also Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Guia de história do Brasil colonial*, Porto: Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique, 1992.

<sup>291</sup> The scientific coordinator was Caio César Boschi, from the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais. Nowadays is Heloísa Liberalli Belotto, from the Universidade de S. Paulo. The technical coordinator is Esther Bertoleti, who previously coordinated and developed the National Plan of Microfilming Brazilian Periodicals.

digitisation and distribution among collaborating Portuguese institutions and also among institutions of the various Brazilian States. The catalogues resulting from the description are also distributed.

In 1996, both countries set up the *Comissão Luso-Brasileira para a Salvaguarda e Divulgação do Património Documental* (Luso-Brazilian Commission for the Safekeeping and Diffusion of the Documental Patrimony) with representatives from different Ministries and Institutions, with connections with archives and libraries.<sup>292</sup> The *Conselho Nacional de Arquivos do Brasil*, through the *Arquivo Nacional do Brasil*, coordinates the Brazilian Section. The Portuguese Section was until 2002 coordinated by the *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portuguesas*, through the *Centro Damião de Góis*. When the *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portuguesas* ceased its activities, the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo* began to coordinate the Portuguese Section.<sup>293</sup> Already in 1995, Portugal started its project named *Reecontro*, with the collaboration of the Luso-Brazilian Commission and of the coordination of the *Resgate* Project. The point of departure was a report based on a survey carried out by the technical mission made up of archivists that travelled to Rio de Janeiro in 1997 to carry out work at the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* and as a sideline at the *Biblioteca Nacional* and *Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty*.<sup>294</sup> Subsequently, the Portuguese Section selected records located at several institutions, which generally formed series, besides collections, manuscripts

---

<sup>292</sup> The establishment of this bi-lateral commission was stipulated in a Protocol of Cooperation signed by both countries in Rio de Janeiro on 16 August 1995, renewed by other Protocol of Cooperation in the archives area, in Brasília in 2001. In general, the functions of the commission were to promote the exchange of information regarding the archival patrimony of mutual interest, through inventories and selection of records in order to microfilm them. This was also inspired by the commemorations of the 5<sup>th</sup> centenary of the Discovery of Brazil. Previously, Portugal and Brazil had established other agreements and understandings that anticipated this kind of cooperation, such as the following: Luso-Brazilian Cultural Agreement, 1966; Protocol regarding microfilming documents relevant to the History of both countries and, if requested, of other countries of common cultural tradition, Lisbon, 1983, considering resolutions from UNESCO, dated 1974; Conclusions on the archival patrimony of the VII meeting of the Luso-Brazilian Cultural Mixed Commission, Brasília, 1989.

<sup>293</sup> The Brazilian section is composed of representatives of the following offices and institutions: *Ministério da Cultura*, *Ministério do Exército*, *Ministério da Marinha*, *Ministério das Relações Externas*, *Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia*, *Arquivo Público do Pará*, *Biblioteca Nacional*, *Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais* and *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*. The Portuguese Section is composed by representatives of the following offices and institutions: *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo*, *Biblioteca Nacional* and *Gabinete de Relações Internacionais (Ministério da Cultura)*, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Ministério da Ciência e Tecnologia)*, *Arquivo Histórico Diplomático (Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros)* *Arquivo Histórico Militar* and *Biblioteca Central de Marinha (Ministério da Defesa)*.

<sup>294</sup> The author was a member of this mission.

and some publications that were at the *Real Biblioteca* in 1821 and nowadays are part of the *Biblioteca Nacional*. These documents have been microfilmed, and are destined for Portugal. The master copies are kept at the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo* who makes the duplicates to be distributed among the institutions, which are part of the Section and among others who so require. Furthermore, within this Section, some finding aids were created, in many cases indispensable for the recovery of the microfilmed documents.

The main problems relating to both projects and to the cooperation between Portugal and Brazil were technical, though sometimes the establishment of concrete institutional and individual responsibilities in each country was also difficult to settle. The principal difficulty resulted from the inadequate or insufficient description of the records that often did not provide rigorous information on their provenance. The situations varied according to the institutions and the fonds or collections, and, at times, the series of documents that, in many cases, were not reconstituted. The description was frequently done document-by-document, originating catalogues. In certain cases, the microfilming was adjourned or simply given up, due to the slowness of the preparatory work, because of the large scale of description or even the problems of sheer identification of the fonds to which the collections belonged: there were few documents that had been already microfilmed. There was also the case in which the institutions did not always have available the proper or sufficient means to proceed with the microfilming and, in many instances, they did not have the means available for the required level of description. It was necessary to make use of external human and technical resources, usually with technical supervision from the institution holding the documents. The human and material effort needed was significant.

In the case of Brazil, besides the symbolic value of the *Resgate* Project, the number of documents described and microfilmed until now was high, with guaranteed circulation having a certain public impact. The commitment was tremendous. Initially, the Portuguese response was not always the best adjusted to the dimension and aim of the project, which was to accede to a common-shared memory. In Portugal, the *Reencontro* Project assumed smaller proportions. The knowledge by the archivists' and researchers' community of the exact documents left or produced in Brazil was scarce. The number of those documents to be identified, described and microfilmed was less. The financial resources, although significant during the period of the existence of the *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* were equally less.

Besides, there were difficulties in attaining the agreed objectives by one or other Brazilian institution holding documents. In great measure, those difficulties emerged from general internal factors within the institution itself and from different understandings as far as the necessary means to facilitate the microfilming were concerned.

At the same time, the contacts established between archivists and the persons in charge of the repositories holding Portuguese and Brazilian documents were fruitful. They went beyond the knowledge of the universe of records belonging to a common patrimony. It enabled them to widen mutual knowledge of the concrete procedures of work involved in the arrangement of records. This happened in the description of records when, in both countries, the application of ISAD (G) and the introduction of information systems in the National Archives were discussed, mainly in the description and communication of documents. In spite of a common past experience in terms of administrative tradition and practices of archival organisation, there was also a shared perception of different experiences in the field of methods to organise archives. One of the obvious aspects concerned the archival terminology and its concrete application: identical terms applied to different experience, different terms applied to the same experience.<sup>295</sup> Simultaneously, advances were made on the ability and means of communication of information on the fonds and archive collections of the common patrimony. The course of this archival technical cooperation has slowed down for the time being. On one hand, there was a smaller contribution of financial resources in Portugal, on the other; there is a pause in Brazil. However, it is foreseeable that both projects will advance, incorporating other countries sharing the same language and colonial administrative traditions, albeit with different evolution.

---

<sup>295</sup> Even in the case of the translation of the ISAD (G) into Portuguese there are some differences between the Brazilian version and the later Portuguese version. *ISAD (G): norma internacional de descrição arquivística: Adotada pelo Comitê de Normas de Descrição, Estocolmo, Suécia, 10-22 de setembro de 1999* [Versão brasileira preparada por Grupo de Trabalho do Arquivo Nacional], 2nd ed., Madrid: Subdirección General de los Archivos Estatales, 2000; *ISAD (G): norma geral internacional de descrição arquivística: adaptada pelo Comitê de Normas de Descrição, Estocolmo, Suécia, 10-22 de Setembro de 1999* [versão portuguesa do Grupo de Trabalho para a Normalização da Descrição Arquivística], 2nd ed., Lisbon: Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, 2002. The Portuguese translation is a reference document, not an official document.

## Conclusion

The knowledge and extensive range of information acquired during my research on the Portuguese central administration archives between the years of 1808 and 1821 has been systematised in the present study. The global view thus obtained is new and at times goes beyond these dates and the area of official documents. For these reasons I hope it is potentially of great practical use to both archivists and researchers.

Archivists in general and those of Portugal and Brazil in particular should have in this study a sound foundation for their work. The discussion of aspects of the running of the Portuguese and Brazilian administrative institutions, some of which are specific to this period, throws light on their respective administrative histories and should make it possible to create more detailed descriptions of the documents issued by them. The reconstitution of processes of creation, circulation and keeping of documents produced by *secretarias de estado* facilitates the arrangement of not only these documents but also others created by departments with connected functions. The analysis of the patterns of total and partial transfer of archives to and from Brazil and of the changes of custody contributes towards a correct identification of the provenance of many archival units. The present location of series, documents or other archival units that belonged to the *secretarias de estado* archives and other government agencies, as well as private papers, also facilitates a more detailed description. For the historian this study should provide a better knowledge of Portuguese forms of government during this period. Fundamentally, by presenting a more detailed and rigorous view of a substantive part of the Portuguese archives of this period, this study should provide a valuable basis for historiographical research. Simultaneously, it facilitates the access to documents since it furthers their identification and location and even in many cases their description.

The governments of Brazil and Portugal and even of other countries, former colonies, but now part of the community of Portuguese language will be able to benefit from this study not only for the reasons already mentioned but also for some more specific ones. In the area of archives, the government representatives in charge of programmes of cultural cooperation will have to make choices. The efficient definition of priorities will partly depend on the quality of information available on the holdings, namely, their contents and accessibility. On the other hand, the stages of arrangement and

identification of the collections condition the level of communication of the respective information and the possibilities of document reproduction. This is happening already in the development of plans for cooperation in microfilming and other forms of duplication of documents, similar to those established between Portugal and Brazil through COLUSO. It would not have been very helpful, for example, to microfilm the Collection *Negócios de Portugal* from the *Arquivo Nacional* of Rio de Janeiro, without a substantial archival arrangement of the material for which the present study can make a great contribution. It is well to remember that the same type of preparatory work has been necessary in the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* in Lisbon for microfilming the boxes of Brazilian materials concerning loose documents from different provenances.

Although in the course of the research for this thesis a great deal of archival work has been done, it was concerned mainly with description and not with finding aids. A natural progression of this study will be precisely the production of finding aids, in particular a guide concerning the records of organs of the Portuguese administration and documents that were part of private archives, both kept in Brazilian institutions. Other finding aids are required for specific collections which are currently inadequately arranged and described, as for instance, in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, the collection *Negócios de Portugal* or other sets of records that were produced by central departments of the Portuguese government and are insufficiently identified. Furthermore, while ascertaining the administrative history of the *secretarias de estado* and the archival history of the records they produced during the period between 1808-1821, between Brazil and Portugal, the finding aids already in place can be expanded and improved.

It would be useful to analyse in much greater detail the archives of the four departments here mentioned. On one hand, there is the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, part of which can be found in the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo* and which will shortly have an adequate finding aid. On the other hand, there is the archive of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra*, the majority of whose documents are at the *Arquivo Histórico Militar*, currently described without either attributed provenance or reconstituted series. Finally, there are the archives of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos*, essentially divided between the *Biblioteca Central de Marinha – Arquivo Histórico* and the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* and for which existing finding aids,



particularly in the case of those of the *Negócios da Marinha*, do not clearly address the provenances. All archives, particularly those of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* also have some of their records in the *Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*. The present study shows that there are some similarities between the different *secretarias de estado*, concerning the alterations of the circuits of documents, due to the transfer of the court to Brazil, although the specificities of the archives of these *secretarias de estado* were not studied. These specificities regard the circuits of documents derived from the loss of responsibilities assigned to some of the secretaries of state, as in the cases of the *Negócios da Marinha* and *Negócios da Guerra*. They also concern the creation of documents and their respective arrangement including forms of classification. Besides, it would be interesting to investigate and evaluate the British influence not only in the creation of new types of documents but also in the arrangement of archives of the Portuguese central offices. We refer to the archives of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra* and also of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda*, in view of the military and financial sphere of influence that the British held in Portugal mainly during the period between 1809 and 1814.

I also consider that it would be worthwhile to develop the archival history of the Portuguese administration and government during Junot's French occupation between November 1807 and September 1808. Besides widening the research in the Portuguese records and making more use of the documents of Junot's government, which were seized and listed by the Portuguese, it will be necessary to revise the records by the French authorities in Portugal in the different government departments which are located in France.

Finally, biographical studies of the archivists for this period have not been established, especially in the case of Pedro de Alcântara Pereira Rolim, of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*. The information so far obtained is but a small point of departure to enquire into his life, his family, his training, the development of his career and its respective social value. Further enquiries would also be necessary into his personal and working circumstances as well as the political and administrative context that led him to organise so diligently the archive of that *secretaria de estado*. Whether he followed some form of model in the system of classification or whether he created it from his own professional experience would also be an interesting aspect for research.

## Bibliography

### 1 Reference works, bibliographies and historiography

Aranha, Brito, *Nota acerca das invasões francesas em Portugal, principalmente no que respeita à primeira invasão do comando de Junot – contém muitos documentos relativos aos sucessos assombrosos na Europa no fim do século XVIII e princípios do século XIX*, Lisbon: Typ. da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1909.

Basseches, Bruno, *A bibliography of Brazilian bibliographies*, with a foreword by José António Rodrigues, Detroit MI: Blaine Ethridge-Books, cop. 1978.

Brandão, *História diplomática de Portugal: uma cronologia*, Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2002.

*British diplomatic representatives, 1789-1852*, ed. for the Royal Historical Society by S. T. Bindoff, E. F. Malcolm Smith and C. K. Webster, London: Offices of the Society, 1934.

Camargo, Ana Maria de Almeida and Borba de Moraes, Ruben, *Bibliografia da Impressão Regia do Rio de Janeiro: 1808-1822*, 2 vol., S. Paulo: Editora da Universidade, 1993.

Carvalho, Alfredo Ferreira de, *Bibliotheca exotico-brasileira*, 3 vol. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Graphica Editora, 1929.

Collinge, J. M. (comp.), *Foreign Office officials, 1782-1870*, London: University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 1979.

*Dictionary of national biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Electronic database UCL Library.

Dutra, Francis A., *A guide to the history of Brazil 1500-1822: the literature in English*, Santa Barbara CA; Oxford, England: ABC-Clio, 1980.

Emsley, Clive, *The Longman companion to Napoleonic Europe*, London; New York: Longman, 1993.

*Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Enciclopédia, 1935-1955, 40 vol.

Hespanha, António Manuel, *Poder e instituições no antigo regime: guia de estudo*, Lisbon: Edições Cosmo, 1992.

Lentz, Thierry, *Dictionnaire des ministres de Napoléon: dictionnaire analytique statistique et comparé des trente-deux ministres de Napoléon*, Paris: Christian / JAS, [1999].

Marques, A. H. Oliveira and França, José-Augusto, 'Bibliografia crítica' in *D. João VI e o seu tempo*, Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1996, pp. 47-51.

Moraes, Rubens Borba, *Bibliographia brasiliana: a bibliographical essay on rare books about Brazil published from 1594 to 1900 and works of Brazilian authors published abroad before the independence of Brazil in 1822*, 2 vol., Amsterdam, Rio de Janeiro: Colibris Editora, 1952.

Moraes, Rubens Borba and Berrien, William (ed.), *Manual bibliográfico de estudos brasileiros*, Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Editora Souza, 1949.

Nascimento, Aires Augusto do, *Bibliografia de arquivos portugueses*, Lisbon: IPA, 1991.

Rodrigues, José Honório, *A pesquisa histórica no Brasil*, 4th ed. rev. and updated, S. Paulo: Ed. Nacional, 1982. 1st ed., 1952.

Rodrigues, J. C., *Bibliotheca brasiliense: catalogo anotado dos livros sobre o Brasil e de alguns autographos e manuscriptos pertencentes a J. C. Rodrigues; parte I: descobrimento da America, Brasil colonial, 1492-1822*, Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do "Jornal do Commercio" de Rodrigues & C., 1907. [repr. 1966].

Russell-Wood, A. J. 'United States scholarly contributions to the historiography of colonial Brazil' in *Society and government in colonial Brazil, 1500-1822*, [London]: Variorum, 1992, pp. 683-793.

Santana, Francisco and Sucena, Eduardo (ed.), *Dicionário da história de Lisboa*, Lisbon: s.n., 1994.

Sepulveda, Christovam Ayres de Magalhães, *Dicionario bibliografico da guerra peninsular: contendo a indicação de obras impressas e manuscritas em português, espanhol, catalão, francês, inglês, italiano, alemão, latim, etc.*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1924-1930.

Silva, Maria Beatriz Nizza da, *Guia de história do Brasil colonial*, Porto: Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique, 1992.

Silva, Maria Beatriz Nizza da, 'A historiografia e o Brasil colonial', *Ler história*, 21 (1991), 85-92.

Silva, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, *História do direito português: fontes de direito*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985.

Stasio, Angela di, 'Subsídios para uma análise histórica de periódicos raros' *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, 114 (1994), 85-133.

Treasure, Geoffrey, *Who's who in late Hanoverian Britain*, London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1997.

## 2 History of Portugal, Brazil, United Kingdom and France, and biographies

Alexandre, Valentim, 'O processo de independência do Brasil' in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (ed.), *História da expansão portuguesa*, vol. 4, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998, pp. 10-45.

Alexandre, Valentim, *Os sentidos do império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do antigo regime português*, Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1993.

Alden, Dauril, *The making of an enterprise: the Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire, and beyond 1540-1750*, Stanford CA: University Press, 1996

Alden, Dauril, *Royal government in colonial Brazil with special reference to the administration of the marquis of Lavradio, vice-roy, 1769-1779*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1968.

Araújo, Ana Cristina, 'As invasões francesas e a afirmação das ideias liberais' in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 5, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores: 1993, pp. 17-43.

Araújo, Ana Cristina, *Revoltas e ideologias em conflito durante as invasões francesas*, Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1985, pp. 7-90. Sep. *Revista de história das ideias*, 7.

April, Brian R., 'The Sousa Coutinho family and the influence of Portugal on British policy, 1808-1812', Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University: 1994.

Barman, Roderick J., *Brazil: the forging of a nation, 1798-1852*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Barreiros, José Baptista, *Ensaio de biografia do conde da Barca*, Braga: Delegação Bracarense da Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1962. Sep. *Revista militar*.

Berkeley, Alice D. (ed.), *New lights on the peninsular war international congress on the Iberian Peninsula: selected papers 1780-1840*, imp. Almada, British Historical Society of Portugal: 1991.

Bethencourt, Francisco, 'A América portuguesa' in Francisco Bethencourt and Chaudhuri (ed.), *História da expansão portuguesa*, vol. 3, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998, pp. 228-249.

Bethell, Leslie, (ed.), *Colonial Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1988].

Bethel, Leslie, 'The independence of Brazil' in Leslie Bethell, (ed.) *Brazil empire and republic: 1822-1930*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 3-42. Digital repr. of 1989 ed.

Bonifácio, Fátima, 'O século XIX em perspectiva política (1807-1890). I 1807-1834: reacção e revolução' in *Apologia da história política: estudos sobre o século XIX português*, Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 1999, pp. 133-159.

Brandão, Raul, *El-rei Junot*, 3rd ed., Coimbra: Atlântida, 1974.

Brasão, Eduardo, 'A Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros, criação de D. João V' *Revista portuguesa de história*, 16 (1976) 51-61.

Caetano, Marcello, *O Conselho Ultramarino: esboço da sua história*, Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1967.

Caetano, Marcello, *Estudos de história da administração portuguesa*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1994.

Carvalho, Maria Amália Vaz de, *Vida do duque de Palmela D. Pedro de Sousa Holstein*, 3 vol., Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1898-1903.

Cavaliero, Roderick, *The independence of Brazil*, London: British Academic Press: 1993.

Chester, Sir Norman, *The English administrative system: 1780-1870*, Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1981.

Clayton, Arnold B., 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University: 1977.

Cunha, P. Penner da, *Sob fogo: Portugal e Espanha entre 1800 e 1820*, Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1988.

*D. João VI e o seu tempo*, Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1996. Catalogue of exhibition.

Elton, G. R., *The Tudor revolution in government: administrative changes in the reign of Henry VIII*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, reprint 1969.

*Exposição histórica do Ministério das Finanças: notícia histórica dos serviços: catálogo: bibliografia*, Lisbon: [Ministério das Finanças], 1952.

Ferrão, António, *A 1ª invasão francesa (a invasão de Junot vista através dos documentos da Intendencia Geral da Policia, 1807-1808): estudo político e social*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1923.

Ferro, João Pedro, 'Intelectuais alemães em Portugal: John Wilhem Christian Müller (1752-1814)' in *Portugal, Alemanha, África: do colonialismo imperial ao colonialismo político*, Actas do IV Encontro Luso-Alemão, Lisbon: Colibri, 1995, pp. 309-341.

Fryman, Mildred L., 'Charles Stuart and the "Common Cause": The Anglo-Portuguese alliance, 1810-1814', 2 vol., Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University: 1974.

Fuente, Francisco de la, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: his early career and role in the mobilization and defence of Portugal during the peninsular war, 1807-1814', Ph.D. dissertation Florida State University: 1980.

Funchal, Marquês do, *O conde de Linhares: D. Rodrigo Domingos António de Sousa Coutinho*, Lisbon: Marquês do Funchal, 1908.

Galvão, Miguel Arcanjo, *Relação dos cidadãos que tomaram parte no govêrno do Brasil no período de Março de 1808 a 15 de Novembro de 1889*, 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça-Arquivo Nacional, 1969. 1st ed., 1894.

Garcia, Rodolfo, *Ensaio sobre a história política e administrativa do Brasil (1500-1810)*, Rio de Janeiro: Livr. José Olympio Editôra, 1956.

Gash, Norman (ed.), *Wellington: studies in the military and political career of the first Duke of Wellington*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990. Preface on the Wellington Papers at the Southampton University.

Hespanha, António Manuel, *História das instituições: épocas medieval e moderna*, Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1982.

Hespanha, António Manuel, (ed.) *Poder e instituições na Europa do antigo regime: colectânea de textos*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, [?1984].

Horward, Donald D., 'Wellington and the defence of Portugal' *The international history review*, 11:1 (February 1989), 39-54.

Howat, J. N. T., *South American packets: the British packet service to Brazil, the River Plate, the West Coast (via the Strait of Magellan) and the Falkland Islands, 1808-1880*, New York: Postal History Society in Association with William Sessions, 1984.

Jones, Ray, 'Introduction: the Foreign Office 1782-1848' in *The nineteenth-century Foreign Office: an administrative history*, London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1971, pp. 11-21.

Lacombe, Americo Jacobino, 'Os cronistas da época de D. João VI' *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 279 (April-June, 1968), 98-113.

Leite, António Pedro de Sousa, *O conde da Barca e o seu papel em alguns aspectos das relações culturais de Portugal com a Inglaterra e a Alemanha*, Braga: Of. Gráficas da Livraria Cruz, 1962. Sep. *Armas e Troféus*, 2nd series, 3.

Lima, Manuel de Oliveira, *Dom João VI no Brasil*, 3rd ed., Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1996. 1st ed., 1908.

Lima, Manuel de Oliveira, *O movimento da independência (1821-1822)*, Belo Horizonte; Itatiaia; S. Paulo: Editora da Universidade de S. Paulo, 1989. 1st ed., 1922.

Lopes, Theodorico Francisco and Torres, Gentil, *Ministros da Guerra do Brasil, 1808-1946*, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

Macaulay, Neill, *Dom Pedro: the struggle for liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1986.

Macedo, Jorge Borges de, *O bloqueio continental: economia e guerra peninsular*, 2nd ed. revised, Lisbon: Gradiva, 1990.

Macedo, Jorge Borges de, *História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de geopolítica*, [Lisbon]: Instituto da Defesa Nacional, 1987.

Macedo, Jorge Borges de, 'História diplomática de Portugal: constantes e linhas de força: estudo de geopolítica', vol. 2, [Lisbon]: 1987. Unpublished typescript.

Macedo, Jorge Borges de, *Para o encontro de uma dinâmica concreta na sociedade portuguesa (1820-1836)*, Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1979. Sep. *Revista portuguesa de história*, 17 (1977) 246-262.

Macedo, Roberto, *História administrativa do Brasil*, vol. 7, *Brasil sede da monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa* 1st part, ed. Vicente Tapajós, Brasília: Editora Univ. de Brasília, FUNCEP, 1983.

Malerba, Jurandir, *A corte no exílio: civilização e poder no Brasil às vésperas da independência (1808-1821)*, S. Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000.

Manchester, Alan K., *British preëminence in Brazil its rise and decline: a study in European expansion*, New York: Octagon Books, 1972. 1st ed., 1933.

Manchester, Alan K., 'The growth of bureaucracy in Brazil, 1808-1821' *Journal of Latin American studies*, 4:I (1972), 77-83.

Manchester, Alan K. 'The transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro' in *Conflict and continuity in Brazilian society*, Columbia SC, University of South Carolina Press, 1969, pp. 148-183. Edition in Portuguese: 'A transferência da corte portuguesa para o Rio de Janeiro' *Revista do Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro*, 277, (1967), 3-44.

Marques, A. H. de Oliveira, 'A conjuntura' in *Portugal e a instauração do liberalismo*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2002, pp. 544-604.

Martins Filho, Enéas, *O Conselho de Estado português e a transmigração da família real em 1807*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministerio da Justiça; Arquivo Nacional, 1968.

Maxwell, Kenneth, 'Ideias imperiais' in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (ed.), *História da expansão portuguesa*, vol. 3, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998, pp. 410-420.

Merêa, Paulo, 'Da minha gaveta: os secretários de Estado do antigo regimen' *Boletim da Faculdade de Direito*, 40 (1964) 173-190.

Middleton, Charles R., 'The foundation of the Foreign Office' in Roger Bullen (ed.), *The Foreign Office, 1782-1982*, Frederick, Maryland: University Publications of America, 1984.

Monteiro, Nuno Gonçalo Freitas, *O crepúsculo dos grandes: a casa e o património da aristocracia em Portugal (1750-1832)*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1998.

Morato, Francisco Manuel Trigo de Aragão 'Memória sobre os chanceleres mores de Portugal, considerados como primeiros ministros do despacho e expediente dos nossos soberanos' *Memórias da Academia Real das Ciências de Lisbon*, 12, (1837) 91-107.

Muir, Rory, *Britain and the defeat of Napoleon: 1807-1815*, New Haven CONN and London: Yale University Press, 1996.

Nelson, R. R., *The Home Office, 1782-1801*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1969.

Neves, José Acúrsio das, *Historia geral da invasão dos franceses em Portugal e da restauração deste reino*, Lisbon: Off. de Simao Thaddeo Ferreira, 1810-1811. Ed. António Almodovar and Armando Castro, Porto: Afrontamento, [D.L. 1984].

Norton, Luis, *A corte de Portugal no Brasil: notas, documentos diplomáticos e cartas da imperatriz Leopoldina*, 2nd ed., [Lisbon], Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, [1968]. 1st ed., S. Paulo: 1938.

Pereira, Ângelo, *Os filhos de el-rei D. João VI*, Lisbon: Editorial Labor, 1946.

Pereira, Ângelo, *D. João VI: príncipe e rei*, 4 vol., Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1953-1958.

Pereira, Sara Marques, *D. Carlota Joaquina e os "espelhos de Clio": actuação política e figuras históricas*, Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1999.

Prado Junior, Caio, *The colonial background of modern Brazil*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967. Trans. Suzette Macedo *Formação do Brasil contemporaneo: colonia*, 2nd ed., S. Paulo: 1945.

Reis, A. do Carmo, *Invasões francesas: as revoltas do Porto contra Junot*, Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, D.L. 1991.

Ribeiro, José Silvestre, *História dos estabelecimentos scientificos, literarios e artisticos de Portugal nos sucessivos reinados da monarchia*, 19 vol., Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1871-1914.

Ribeiro, Gladys Sabina, 'Os portugueses na formação da nação brasileira – o debate historiográfico desde 1836' *Ler história*, 38 (2000) 111-161.

Russell-Wood, A. J., 'Governantes e agentes' in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (ed.), *História da expansão portuguesa*, vol. 3, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998, pp. 169-192.

Russell-Wood, A. J., 'Local government in Portuguese America: a study in cultural divergence' in *Society and government in colonial Brazil, 1500-1822*, [London]: Variorum, 1992, pp. 187-231.

Saraiva, José Mendes da Cunha, *A administração superior da fazenda e os seus ministros*, Lisbon: Ministério das Finanças, 1952.



Schwarcz, Lilia Moritz, with Azevedo, Paulo Cesar de, and Costa, Angela Marques da, *A longa viagem da biblioteca dos reis: do terremoto de Lisboa à independência do Brasil*, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002.

Schwartz, Stuart, 'O Brasil no sistema colonial' in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (ed.), *História da expansão portuguesa*, vol. 3, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998, pp. 138-155.

Schwartz, Stuart B., *Sovereignty and society in colonial Brazil: the High Court of Bahia and its judges*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1973.

Seckinger, Ron, *The Brazilian monarchy and the South American republics, 1822-1831: diplomacy and state building*, Baton Rouge LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1984.

Serrão, Joaquim Veríssimo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 6, *O despotismo iluminado (1757-1772)*, Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1982.

Serrão, Joaquim Veríssimo, *História de Portugal*, vol. 7, *A instauração do liberalismo (1807-1832)* 3rd ed., Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1994.

Silbert, Albert, *Les invasions françaises et les origines du liberalisme au Portugal*, Coimbra, Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura da Universidade, 1980. Sep. *Revista história das ideias*.

Silva, Domingos Oliveira, 'The apogee and decline of British hegemony in Portugal, 1807-1820', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southampton: 1985.

Silva, Maria Beatriz Nizza da (ed.), *Nova história da expansão portuguesa: o império luso-brasileiro 1750-1822*, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1986.

Soriano, Simão José da Luz, *História da guerra civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portuga compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: segunda epocha: guerra da Peninsula*, 4 vol., Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1870-1876.

Soriano, Simão José da Luz, *História da guerra civil e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal compreendendo a historia diplomatica, militar e politica deste reino desde 1777 até 1834: terceira epocha: estabelecimento do Governo Parlamentar*, vol. 1, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1881; vol. 6, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1887.

Subtil, José, *O Desembargo do Paço 1750-1833*, 1st ed., Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma, 1996. Doctoral dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa: 1994.

Subtil, José, 'A formulação das hipóteses e a observação em história. O caso da história política e institucional moderna: com um anexo sobre o sistema de arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino em 1808, transcrição do original' *Anais: série história*, Lisbon, 3-4 (1996-1997), 155-188.

Subtil, José (ed.), *O Ministério das Finanças (1801-1996): estudo orgânico e funcional*, Lisbon: Ministério das Finanças-Gabinete do Ministro, 1997.

Subtil, José, 'Os poderes do centro' in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 4, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores: 1993, pp. 157-193.

Thomson, Mark A., *The secretaries of state, 1681-1782*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932.

Valente, Vasco Pulido, 'O povo em armas: a revolta nacional de 1808-1809' in *Tentar perceber*, [Lisbon]: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, impr. 1983, pp.13-121.

Vargues, Isabel Nobre, 'O processo da formação do primeiro movimento liberal: a revolução de 1820' in José Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 5, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores: 1993, pp. 45-63.

Ventura, António, 'A revolução vintista' in João Medina (ed.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 8, Lisbon: Ediclube, 1993, pp. 99-105.

Vicente, António Pedro, *Le génie Français au Portugal: Aspects de son activité à l'époque de l'invasion et de l'occupation de ce pays par l'armée de Junot – 1807-1808*, Lisbon: Direcção do Serviço Histórico Militar, 1994.

Vicente, António Pedro, *Um soldado da guerra peninsular, Bernardim Freire de Andrade e Castro*, Lisbon: s.n., 1970.

Vicente, António Pedro, 'A tempestade napoleónica' in João Medina (ed.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 8, Lisbon: Ediclube, 1993, pp.11-96.

Vicente, António Pedro, *O tempo de Napoleão em Portugal: estudos históricos*, 2nd ed., Lisbon: Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2000.

Vichness, Samuel E., 'Marshall of Portugal: the military career of William Carr Beresford, 1785-1814', PhD dissertation, Florida State University: 1976.

Vincent, David, *The culture of secrecy: Britain 1832-1998*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Vinhosa, Francisco Luiz Teixeira, *História administrativa do Brasil*, vol. 8, *Brasil sede da monarquia. Brasil-Reino: administração da política externa*, 2nd part, ed. Vicente Tapajós, Brasília: Editora Univ. de Brasília, FUNCEP, 1984.

Ward, S. G. P., *Wellington's headquarters: a study of the administrative problems in the Peninsula 1809-1814*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Wehling, Arno, *História administrativa do Brasil*, vol. 6, *Administração portuguesa no Brasil de Pombal a D. João (1777-1808)*, ed. Vicente Tapajós, Brasília: FUNCEP, 1986.

Wehling, Arno and Maria José C. de M., *Formação do Brasil colonial*, Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1994.

Woolf, Stuart, *Napoleon's integration of Europe*, London: Routledge, 1991.

Woolgar, C. M. (ed.) *Wellington studies*, Southampton: Hartley Institute, University of Southampton, 1996.

### 3 Legislation, treaties

Albuquerque, Luis (ed.) 'Coleção de legislação antiga (1455-1834)' *Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino*, 1-2 (1867).

Castro, José Ferreira Borges de (ed.), *Colleção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos publicos celebrados entre a Coroa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao presente*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1857, vol. 4-5.

Oliveira, José Manuel Cardoso de, *Actos diplomaticos do Brasil: tratados do período colonial desde 1493*, vol. 1, Rio de Janeiro: Jornal do Commercio 1912. Facsimile reprint, Brasília: Senado Federal, 1997.

Ribeiro, João Pedro, *Indice chronologico e remissivo da legislação portugueza posterior à publicação do Codigo Filippino com hum appendice*, 2nd impr., 6 vol., Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1805-1830.

Sousa, José Caetano Pereira e, *Esbôço de um dicionário juridico, teorético e práctico, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*, 3 vol. in 1, Lisbon: Tipographia Rollandiana, 1825-1827.

Sousa, José Roberto Monteiro de Campos Coelho e, *Systema ou colecção dos Regimentos Reaes contem os Regimentos pertencentes a administração da Fazenda Real...etc.*, 6 vol., Lisbon: Officina de Francisco Borges de Sousa 1783-1791.

*Suplemento à coleção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e atos públicos celebrados entre a coroa de Portugal e as mais potências desde 1640*, comp. and ed. Visconde Borges de Castro and continuation Julio Firmino Judice Biker, vol. 7 (1805-1814), Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1878; vol. 8 (1808-1853), Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1878; vol. 9, (1809-1814) Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1878; vol. 10 (1813-1816), Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1879; vol. 11 (1816-1825), Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1880; vol. 16 (1825-1827), Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1880.

### 4 Published primary sources

Alcochete, Nuno Daupias d', *Lettres de Diogo Ratton a António de Araújo de Azevedo, comte da Barca, 1812-1817*, Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973.

Barreiros, José Baptista (ed.), *Correspondência inédita entre o conde da Barca e José Egídio Alvares de Almeida, secretário particular de El-Rei Dom João VI*, Braga: Delegação Bracarense da Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1962. Sep. *Revista militar*.

*Colleção das Ordens do Dia do Illustrissimo e Excelentissimo Senhor Guilherme Carr Beresford...*, Lisboa: António Nunes dos Santos, 1809-1820.

Foy, General Maximilian, *Junot's invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808*, 1829. Facsimile reprint, Felling: Worley Publications, 2000.

Marrocos, Luís dos Santos, 'Cartas de Luís Santos Marrocos, escritas do Rio de Janeiro à sua família em Lisboa, de 1811 a 1821' ed. Rodolfo Garcia, *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, 56 (1939).

Santos, Pe. Luiz Gonçalves dos, *Memórias para servir à História do Reino do Brasil*, ed. Noronha Santos, 2 vol., Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Editôra Zelio Valverde, 1943. 1st ed., Lisbon: 1825.

## 5 Journals

*Almanach de Lisboa*, 1787, 1807, 1812, 1814, 1817, 1820, 1823.

*Almanach do Rio de Janeiro*, 1811, 1816, 1817.

*Diario das Cortes Geraes e Extraordinarias da Nação Portuguesa*, January-June 1821.

*Diario do Governo*, January-March 1821.

*Gazeta de Lisboa*, October 1807-December 1820.

*Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 1809-1810 and 1815-1816.

## 6 Archival and diplomatics studies, standards and terminology

Alves, Ivone, *et al.*, *Dicionário de terminologia arquivística*, Lisbon: Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1993.

*The archival fonds: from theory to practice*, ed. Terry Eastwood, [Ottawa]: Bureau of Canadian Archivists, Planning Committee on Descriptive Standards, 1992.

Auer, Leopold, *Disputed archival claims: analysis of an international survey: a RAMP study* prepared for the General Information Programme and UNISIST, Paris: UNESCO, 1998.

Barbiche, Bernard, 'La diplomatique des actes de l'époque moderne, XVIe-XVIIe siècle' *La gazette des archives*, n.s.,172 (1st quarter 1996), 49-70.

Bautier, Robert-Henri, 'Les archives' in Charles Samaran (ed.), *L'histoire et ses méthodes*, Paris: Gallimard, cop. 1961, pp. 1121-1166.

Bautier, Robert-Henri, 'La phase cruciale de l'histoire des archives: la constitution des dépôts d'archives et la naissance de l'archivistique (XVIe-début du XIXe siècle)' *Archivum*, 18 (1968) 139-150.

Bearman, David, 'Diplomatics, weberian bureaucracy, and the management of records in Europe and in America', *The American archivist*, 55, (Winter 1992), 168-180.

- Bearman, David, 'Documenting documentation', *Archivaria*, 34 (Summer 1992), 33-49.
- Bearman, David A. and Lytle, Richard, 'The power of the principle of provenance' in Randall C. Jimerson (ed.) *American archival studies: readings in theory and practice*, Chicago IL: Society of American Archivists, 2000, pp. 345-360.
- Bellardo, Lewis J.; Bellardo, Lynn Lady, *A glossary for archivists, manuscripts curators, and record managers*, Chicago IL: Society of American Archivists, 1992.
- Belotto, Heloisa Liberalli, 'Diplomática luso-brasileira do século XVIII: tipologia dos documentos ascendentes e descendentes' *Páginas a&b*, 3 (1999) 19-30.
- Blouin, Francis, 'Cadre de réflexion pour la prise en compte de la diplomatie dans l'environnement électronique' *La gazette des archives*, 172 (1st quarter 1996), 71-87.
- Blouin Jr, Francis X. and Arbor, Ann, 'Introduction: nineteenth century' in Francis Blouin Jr. (ed.) *Vatican Archives: an inventory guide to historical documents of the Holy See*, New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 20-22.
- Brochier, André, 'Papiers d'érudits' *La gazette des archives*, n.s., 182-183 (3rd and 4th quarters 1998), 224-231.
- Camargo, Ana Maria de Almeida and Belotto, Heloísa Liberalli (eds.), *Dicionário de terminologia arquivística*, S. Paulo: Associação dos Arquivistas Brasileiros, 1996.
- Cobb, H. S., 'Archivists and history', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 16:2 (1995), 139-144.
- Comission Internationale de Diplomatie. Comité International des Sciences Historiques; M<sup>a</sup> Milagros Carcél Ortí (ed.) *Vocabulaire internationale de la diplomatie*, 2nd ed. revised, València: Conselleria de Cultura; Universitat de València, 1997.
- The concept of record: report from the second Stockholm conference on archival science and the concept of record, 30-31 May 1996*, [Stockholm]: Riksarkivet, c1998.
- 'Conselho Internacional de Arquivos - ISAD(G): normas gerais internacionais de descrição em arquivo' *Cadernos de biblioteconomia, arquivística e documentação*, 2 (1995) 87-116.
- Cook, Terry, 'Arquivos pessoais e arquivos institucionais: para um entendimento arquivístico comum da formação da memória em um mundo pós-moderno' *Estudos históricos*, Rio de Janeiro, 11:21 (1998), 129-149.
- Cook, Terry, 'The concept of the archival fonds in the post-custodial era: theory, problems and solutions' *Archivaria*, 35 (Spring 1993), 24-37.
- Cook, Terry, 'What is past is prologue: a history of archival ideas since 1898, and the future paradigm shift' *Archivaria*, 43 (Spring 1997) 17-63.

Cox, Richard J., 'Archival research and writing: expanding horizons and continuing needs, 1901-1987' in *American archival analysis: the recent development of the archival profession in the United States*, Metuchen, N.J. and London: Scarecrow Press, 1990, 164-181.

Cox, Richard J., 'More than diplomatic: functional requirements for evidence in record keeping' *Records management journal*, 7:1 (April 1997), 31-57

Cox, Richard J., 'On the value of archival history in the United States' in *American archival analysis: the recent development of the archival profession in the United States*, Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1990, 182-200.

Delmas, Bruno, 'Manifeste pour une diplomatie contemporaine: des documents institutionnels à l'information organisée' *La gazette des archives*, 172, (1st quarter 1996), 49-70.

Delsalle, Paul, *Une histoire de l'archivistique*, Québec: Presse Universitaire Québec, 1998

*Dictionary of archival terminology = Dictionnaire de terminologie archivistique: English and French with equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish*, Peter Walne (ed.) 2nd rev. ed., München [etc.]: K. G. Saur, 1988.

Duchain, Michel, 'La clef du trésor: l'évolution des instruments de recherche d'archives du Moyen Age à nos jours d'après des exemples français' *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique*, 57:1/2 (1986) 109-126.

Duchain, Michel, 'The history of european archives and the development of the european archival profession' *The American archivist*, 55:1 (Winter 1992) 14-24.

Ducrot, Ariane, 'A classificação dos arquivos pessoais e familiares' *Estudos históricos*, Rio de Janeiro, 11:21 (1998), 151-168. French version: 'Le classement des archives de personnes et de familles' *La gazette des Archives*, n.s., 182-183 (3rd and 4th quarters 1998) 208-223.

Duranti, Luciana, 'Archives as a place', *Archives and manuscripts*, 24:2 (November 1996), 242-56.

Duranti, Luciana, *Diplomatics: new uses for an old science*, Lanham, Maryland and London: Scarecrow Press, 1998. Ed. in Spanish: *Diplomatica: usos nuevos para una antigua ciencia*, tr. Manuel Vásquez, Córdoba, Argentina: 1995.

Duranti, Luciana, 'The odyssey of records managers' in Tom Nesmith (ed.), *Canadian archival studies and the rediscovery of provenance*, Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1992, pp. 29-53.

Foote, Kenneth E., 'To remember and forget: archives, memory, and culture' in Jimerson, Randall C. (ed.) *American archival studies: readings in theory and practice*, Chicago IL: Society of American Archivists, 2000, pp. 29-46.

Garcia, Maria Madalena Arruda de Moura Machado, 'Os documentos pessoais no espaço público' *Estudos históricos*, Rio de Janeiro, 11: 21 (1998), 175-187.

Guyotjeannin, Olivier, 'La diplomatique médiévale et l'élargissement de son champ' *La gazette des archives*, 172 (1st quarter 1996), 12-18.

Hildesheimer, Françoise, 'Des triages au respect des fonds: les archives en France sous la Monarchie de Juillet' *Revue historique*, 286:2 (1991) 295-312.

Horsman, Peter, 'Dirty hands: a new perspective on the original order' *Archives and manuscripts: the journal of the Australian Society of Archivists*, 26:1 (May 1997), 42-53.

Horsman, 'Taming the elephant: an orthodox approach to the principle of provenance' in *The principle of provenance: report from the first Stockholm conference on archival theory and the principle of provenance*, n.p.: Kerstin Abukhanfusa and Jan Sydbeck, 1994, pp. 51-63.

Jenkinson, Hilary, *A manual of archive administration*, a reissue of the revised second edition with an introduction and bibliography by Roger H. Ellis, London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd, 1966.

Jenkinson, Hilary, 'Reflections of an archivist' in Maygene F. Daniels and Timothy Walch (ed.), *A modern archives reader: basic readings on archival theory and practice*, Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1984, pp.15-21.

International Council on Archives. Ad Hoc Commission on Descriptive Standards *ISAD (G): general international standard archival description*, Ottawa: I.C.A., 1994.

*ISAD(G): Norma geral internacional de descrição arquivística adoptada pelo Comitê de Normas de Descrição, Estocolmo, Suécia, 19-22 de Setembro de 1999 / Conselho Internacional de Arquivos*; transl. Grupo de Trabalho para a Normalização da Descrição em Arquivo, 2nd ed., Lisbon: Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, 2002.

*ISAD (G): norma internacional de descrição arquivística: Adotada pelo Comitê de Normas de Descrição, Estocolmo, Suecia, 10-22 de setembro de 1999* [Versão brasileira preparada por Grupo de Trabalho do Arquivo Nacional], 2nd ed., Madrid: Subdirección General de los Archivos Estatales, 2000.

Livelton, Trevor, *Archival theory, records, and the public*, Lanham, MD and London: Society of American Archivists and Scarecrow Press, 1996.

Lodolini, Elio, *Archivistica: principi e problemi*, 7th ed. augm., Milan: Franco Angeli, 1995. 1st ed., Milan: 1984. Ed. in Spanish: *Archivistica: principios y problemas*, Madrid: Editorial La Muralla, 1993.

Mackenzie, George, 'Archive: the global picture: the Maurice Bond memorial lecture 1998' *Archives: the journal of the British Records Association*, 24:101 (October 1999), 2-15.

Martín-Pozuelo Campos, M. Paz, *La construcción teórica en archivística: el principio de procedencia*, Madrid: Universidad Carlos III, Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1996.

Mulè, Antonella, 'The principle of provenance: should it remain the bedrock of the profession?' *Archivum*, 43, (1996), 233-256.

Nesmith, Tom, 'Archival studies in English-speaking Canada and the North American rediscovery of provenance' in Tom Nesmith (ed.), *Canadian archival studies and the rediscovery of provenance*, Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1992, pp. 1-28.

O'Toole, James M., 'The symbolic significance of archives' in Jimerson, Randall C. (ed.) *American archival studies: readings in theory and practice*, ChicagoIL: Society of American Archivists, 2000, pp. 47-72.

Panitch, Judith M., 'Liberty, equality, posterity?: some archival lessons from the case of the French revolution' in Randall C. Jimerson, (ed.) *American archival studies: readings in theory and practice*, Chicago IL: Society of American Archivists, 2000, pp. 101-122.

Posner, Ernst, 'Some aspects of archival development since the French revolution' in F. Daniels Maygene and Timothy Walch (ed.), *A modern archives reader: basic readings on archival theory and practice*, Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service, 1984, pp. 3-14.

*La pratique archivistique française*, Jean Favier (ed.), Paris: Archives Nationales, 1993.

Procter, Margaret and Cook, Michael, *Manual of archival description*, 3rd ed. Aldershot: Gower, c2000. Rev. ed. of 2nd ed. c1989.

Ribeiro, Fernanda, 'O acesso à informação nos arquivos' 2 vol. (Doctoral dissertation, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1998).

Ribeiro, Fernanda, 'A classificação em arquivos: processo natural ou arranjo a posteriori?' *Leituras*, series 3, 2 (October 1997-April 1998), 119-126.

Ribeiro, Fernanda, *Indexação e controlo de autoridade em arquivos*, Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, Departamento de Arquivos, 1996. English version: 'Subject indexing and authority control in archives: the need for subject indexing in archives and for an indexing policy using controlled language' *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 17:1 (1996), 27-54.

Roper, Michael, 'Archival theory and the principle of provenance: a summing-up' in *The principle of provenance: report from the first Stockholm conference on archival theory and the principle of provenance*, n.p.: Kerstin Abukhanfusa and Jan Sydbeck, 1994, pp. 187-192.

Rundle, Jim, 'Public records as arsenals of accountability in Great Britain: an eighteenth century case study' in *Archival documents: providing accountability through record keeping*, Melbourne: Ancora Press, 1993, pp. 119-129.

Sandri, Leopoldo, 'La storia degli archivi' *Archivum*, 18 (1968), 101-113.

Skemer, Don C., 'Diplomatics and archives', *The American archivist*, 52:3 (Summer 1989), 376-381.



Silva, Armando Malheiro da, Ribeiro, Fernanda, Ramos, Júlio and Real, Manuel Luís, *Arquivística: teoria e prática de uma ciência da informação*, vol. 1, Porto: Afrontamento, 1998.

Sommerville, Robert, 'Letter to the editor' *Archives: the journal of the British Records Association*, 7:34 (October 1965), 93-94.

Storch, Susan E., 'Diplomatics: modern archival method or medieval artifact' *The American archivist*, 61:2 (Fall 1998), 365-383.

Taylor, Hugh, 'My very act and deed: some reflections on the role of textual records in the conduct of affairs' *The American archivist*, 51: 4 (Fall 1988), 456-469.

Walne, Peter, 'Letter to the editor' *Archives: the journal of the British Records Association*, 7:35 (April 1966), 163-166.

Yakel, Elizabeth, 'La façon dont les choses fonctionent: procédures, traitements et archives institutionnelles' *La gazette des archives*, 172 (1st quarter 1996), 37-48.

Yax, Maggie, 'Arthur Agarde, Elizabethan archivist: his contributions to the evolution of archival practice' *The American archivist*, 61:1 (Spring 1998), 56-69.

## **7 Finding Aids and studies about archives, libraries and records**

### **7.1 Portugal**

Abrantes, Maria Luísa, 'Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino' in Francisco Santana and Eduardo Sucena (eds.), *Dicionário de História de Lisboa*, Lisbon: Carlos Quintas & Associados, 1994, pp. 89-91.

Abrantes, Maria Luísa, (ed.) 'Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino: inventário das séries relativas ao Brasil', Lisbon: June 1997. Unpublished typescript.

Almeida, Eduardo de Castro e, *Arquivo de Marinha e Ultramar: inventario*, 2 vol., Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1907-1908.

Almeida, Eduardo de Castro e, *Catalogo de mappas, plantas, desenhos, gravuras e aguarellas*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1908.

Almeida, Eduardo de Castro e, *Inventario dos documentos relativos ao Brasil existentes no Arquivo de Marinha e Ultramar de Lisboa*, 8 vol., Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas Graphicas da Biblioteca Nacional, 1913-1936. Vol. 1: Bahia: 1613-1762; vol. 2: Bahia: 1763-1786; vol. 3: Bahia: 1786-1798; vol. 4: Bahia: 1798-1800; vol. 5: Bahia 1801-1807; vol. 6 Rio de Janeiro: 1616-1729; vol. 7: Rio de Janeiro: 1729-1747; vol. 8: Rio de Janeiro: 1747-1755.

Arêas, José da Silva, *Relação e métodos de arranjo de documentos: série "instrumentos de trabalho"*, Rio: Ministério de Justiça, Arquivo Nacional, 1973.

‘Arquivo do conde de Lippe: índice dos documentos que contém a caixa no. 1 (1736-1763)’ *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, 19 (1949) 145-151.

‘Arquivo Geral da Marinha: índice dos códices’, vol.1, [Lisbon] Biblioteca Central de Marinha-Arquivo Histórico, 30. Unpublished typescript.

‘Arquivo Geral da Marinha: índice dos documentos avulsos existentes no Arquivo Histórico’, [Lisbon], Biblioteca Central de Marinha-Arquivo Histórico, 32. Unpublished typescript.

*O Arquivo Histórico Militar de Lisboa*, 2nd ed. revised and augmented, Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Militar, 1992.

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Inventário de códices e de documentos avulsos do Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino referentes à Baía: documentos dos sécs. XVI a XIX*, [Lisbon]: Junta de Investigação Científica Tropical, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, [1981].

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Inventário de códices e de documentos avulsos do Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino referentes ao Rio de Janeiro: documentos dos sécs. XVI a XIX*, [Lisbon]: Junta de Investigação Científica Tropical, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, [1982].

Azevedo, Pedro de, ‘Ano e meio de vida no Arquivo dos Feitos Findos’ in *Anais das bibliotecas e arquivos de Portugal*, 1:5 (1915), 191-203.

Azevedo, Pedro de ‘O engenheiro Manoel da Maia e a Tôrre do Tombo’ *O Archeologo português*, 22 (1917) 237-285 and 23 (1918) 323-355.

Azevedo, Pedro de, ‘Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire em Lisboa’ *Boletim da Classe de Letras, Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 14 (1921), 93-121.

Azevedo, Pedro de, and Baião, António, *O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo: sua história, corpos que o compõem e organização*, 1st ed., Lisbon: Academia de Estudos Livres, 1905. Facsimile reprint, Lisbon: AN/TT, Livros Horizonte, 1989, with an addendum.

Baião, António, *A infância da Academia (1788-1794). Visita aos arquivos do Reino: correspondência a tal respeito de João Pedro Ribeiro, Santa Rosa Viterbo, etc.*, Lisbon, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1934.

Baião, António, ‘Uma pequena achega para a história da arquivologia portuguesa’ *Anais das bibliotecas e arquivos*, Lisbon, 2nd series, 14:55/56 (1939), 10-12.

Baião, António, *O visconde de Santarém como guarda-mór da Torre do Tombo: de simples leitor a guarda-mór*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1909.

Baião, António, *O visconde de Santarém como guarda-mór da Torre do Tombo: additamento*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1910.

Bellotto, Heloísa Liberalli, 'Presença do Brasil no Arquivo da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa: catálogo seletivo da série azul de manuscritos' *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros – Universidade de São Paulo*, 33 (1992), 165-189.

Bethencourt, João Leão Cardozo de, *Catalogo dos manuscriptos da Real Biblioteca da Ajuda referentes à guerra da península*, ed. Ramalho Ortigão, Lisbon: Typographia da Academia das Sciencias, 1910.

Boschi, Caio César, *Roteiro-sumário de arquivos portugueses de interesse para o pesquisador da história do Brasil*, Lisbon: Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 1995.

Branquinho, Isabel, *Informe sobre los archivos de Portugal*, Coimbra: 1994. Typewritten.

*Acervo: revista do Arquivo Nacional*, 10:1 (Jan.-Jun.1997). Special issue *O Brasil nos Arquivos Portugueses*.

Calmon, Pedro 'Os arquivos portugueses e a história do Brasil' *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 192 (Jul.-Sept. 1946), 134-136.

Capela, José V., 'Antônio Araújo Azevedo e o Brasil: a importância do arquivo de Antônio Araújo Azevedo 1º conde da Barca para a história do Brasil no fim do período colonial' *Bracara Augusta*, 43: 94/95 (1991/1992), 13-25.

*Cartografia portuguesa do Marquês de Pombal a Filipe Folque, 1750-1990: o património histórico cartográfico do Instituto Geográfico Cadastral*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982. Catalogue of exhibition.

Castilho, José Feliciano de [Report of 21 January 1843] *Diario do Governo*, 28 (2 Feb. 1843) 167. On the Torre do Tombo.

'Catálogo da documentação avulsa existente no Arquivo Histórico da Marinha Portuguesa com interesse para o Brasil e sua Marinha até 1825' [Lisbon: ?2000]. Unpublished typescript.

'Catálogo da documentação encadernada existente no Arquivo Histórico da Marinha Portuguesa com interesse para o Brasil e sua Marinha até 1825', [Lisbon: ?2000]. Unpublished typescript.

*Catalogo de documentos manuscritos avulsos da capitania do Pará existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino de Lisboa (1616-1833)*, 3 vol., Belém: SECULT and Arquivo Público do Pará, 2001.

Centro de Referencias REFMAP, *Catálogo: instrumentos de investigación sobre fuentes manuscritas de interés para la historia de Brasil y Portugal*, [Madrid], Fundación Histórica Tavera: June 1997.

*Coleção de Portugal*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério de Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional, 1959.

Corrêa Filho, Virgílio, *Missões brasileiras nos arquivos europeus*, México, Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1952.

Costa, Eugénia and Lomelino, Maria Paula, 'Os Ministérios do Reino e do Interior: a propósito de duas novas incorporações' *Memória*, Lisbon, 1 (Apr. 1989), 219-249.

Dias, Manuel Nunes, 'Alguns arquivos portugueses que importam ao Brasil' *Revista de história*, S. Paulo, 7:16 (Oct.-Dec. 1953), 455-56.

Dias, Manuel Nunes, 'Fontes do "sistema colonial" português nos arquivos de Lisboa' in *Universidade Estadual Paulista Júlio de Mesquita Filho (UNESP). Memória da III Semana de História*, S. Paulo: Congraf, 1981, pp. 113-125.

*Elenco das publicações e dos documentos, originais ou em reprodução fotográfica, com o respectivo relacionamento, apresentados pelo diretor do Arquivo Nacional da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil em execução de parte do seu programa de colaboração com a Comissão Brasileira dos Centenários de Portugal,...* Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1941.

Estevens, Manuel Santos, *Arquivo Geral e Biblioteca Central da Marinha: relatório*, sep. *Anais da Marinha*, 9 (1944).

Estevens, Manuel Santos, *Sinopse cronológica da legislação portuguesa sobre bibliotecas e arquivos, 1796-1948*, Coimbra: Biblioteca da Universidade, 1949.

Farinha, Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias, *Os documentos dos Negócios Estrangeiros na Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, 1990.

Farinha, Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias and Jara, Anabela Azevedo, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, Lisbon: IAN/TT, 1998.

Ferrão, António, *Os arquivos da história de Portugal no estrangeiro. Da necessidade de estudar e inventariar nas bibliotecas e arquivos estrangeiros os documentos relativos à história de Portugal*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1916.

Ferreira, Carlos Alberto, *Índice dos documentos relativos ao Brasil existentes na Biblioteca da Ajuda*, Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1968.

Ferreira, Carlos Alberto, *Inventário dos manuscritos da Biblioteca da Ajuda referentes à América do Sul*, Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, 1946.

Ferreira, Carlos Alberto, *A livraria real portuguesa*, Lisbon: Inspeção Superior das Bibliotecas e Arquivos, 1978.

Ferreira, Carlos Alberto, 'As livrarias reais de D. João IV a D. João VI' in *Congresso do Mundo Português*, vol. 7, Lisbon: Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940, pp. 589-606.

Ferreira, Carlos Alberto, *O regresso dos arquivos das secretarias dos Ministérios do Reino, Marinha, Estrangeiros e Guerra do Rio de Janeiro*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1943. Sep. *Brasília*, 11.

Ferreira, J. D. Bettencourt, 'O Museu da Ajuda e a invasão francesa' *Boletim da Segunda Classe: actas e pareceres, estudos, documentos e noticias*, 5 (1911) 376-380.

Ferreira, J. D. Bettencourt, 'A missão de Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire em Espanha e Portugal, durante a Invasão Francesa, em 1808', *Boletim da Segunda Classe: actas e pareceres, estudos, documentos e noticias*, 17 (1927), 208-227.

Ferreira, Ma. Ma., *Biblioteca da Ajuda: esboço histórico*, Lisbon: Biblioteca da Ajuda, 1980.

Fiztler, Hedwig and Enes, Ernesto, *A Secção Ultramarina da Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1929.

Fonseca, Luísa da, 'Mapas e plantas do Brasil do arquivo de desenhos da Direcção da Arma de Engenharia' in *Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, Washington, 1950 – Actas*, Nashville TN: The Vanderbilt University Press, 1953, pp. 224-234.

Frazão, António, *O Conselho da Fazenda: inventário e estudo institucional*, Lisbon: AN/TT, 1995.

Guerra, Luís de Bivar, 'A biblioteca de Lord Stuart de Rothesay núcleo de duas importantes livrarias portuguesas' *Panorama: revista portuguesa de arte e turismo*, 46/47, series 4 (September 1973), 120-123.

*Guia de fontes portuguesas para a história de África*, 2 vol., Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1991-1993.

*Guia de fontes portuguesas para a história da América Latina*, vol. 1, Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997.

*Guia geral dos fundos da Torre do Tombo. Primeira Parte: instituições do antigo regime*, 4 vol., Lisbon: IAN/TT, 1998-2002.

*Guia preliminar dos fundos de arquivo da Biblioteca Nacional*, ed. Lígia Azevedo Martins, et al., Lisbon: Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1994.

*Inventário do Arquivo Histórico da Biblioteca Nacional*, ed. Madalena Garcia and Lígia Azevedo, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1996.

Iria, Alberto, 'Bahia no Arquivo Histórico Colonial de Lisboa: nótulas de heurística e arquivologia' in *Congresso de História Nacional, 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1949 – Anais*, vol. 2, Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 1950, pp. 15-30.

Iria, Alberto, *Inventário de códices e de documentos avulsos do Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino referentes ao Rio de Janeiro*, Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, 1982.

Iria, Alberto, *Inventário geral dos códices do Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino apenas referentes ao Brasil: fontes para a história luso-brasileira*, Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1966. Sep. *Studia*, 18 (Aug. 1966).

Lima, Henrique de Campos Ferreira, 'Documentos manuscritos e cartográficos relativos ao Brasil que existem no Arquivo Histórico Militar' in *Congresso do Mundo Português*, vol. 11, Lisbon: Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940, pp. 219-241.

Manique, Luís de Pina, 'Plantas topográficas de Lisboa: a colecção levada para o Brasil durante as invasões' in *Lisboa e seu termo: estudos e documentos*, vol. 2, Lisbon: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, 1948, pp. 179-203.

Martinheira, José Sintra, *Catálogo dos códices do fundo do Conselho Ultramarino relativos ao Brasil existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, Rio de Janeiro: Real Gabinete Português de Leitura, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000.

Mello, José Brandão Pereira de, 'O arquivo militar de Lisboa (arquivo do conde de Lipe)' *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, 19 (1949), 29-32.

Mendes, H. Gabriel, 'O convénio cartográfico luso brasileiro de 1867: a cartografia portuguesa ao serviço da comunidade luso brasileira' in *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Cadastral*, 3 (December 1983), pp. 53-95.

Moreira, Alzira Teixeira Leite, *Inventário do fundo geral do Erário Régio: Arquivo do Tribunal de Contas*, Lisbon: no publisher, 1977.

Mora, Luís Miguel García, *Fuentes manuscritas para la historia de Portugal: guía de instrumentos de investigación*, [Madrid]: Cyan, 1998.

Mota, A. Teixeira da, *Acerca de recente devolução a Portugal, pelo Brasil, de manuscritos da Sociedade Real Marítima, Militar e Geográfica: 1793-1807*, Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1972 (Agrupamento de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Secção de Lisboa), 74, sep. of: *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Classe de Ciências*, 16, 1972.

Pescatello, Ann, 'Relatorio from Portugal: the archives and libraries of Portugal and their significance for the study of Brazilian history' *Latin America research review*, 5:2 (Summer 1970), 17-52.

Pestana, Manuel Inácio, *O Arquivo Histórico da Casa de Bragança: história sumária de um notável acervo documental*, Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1996.

Pestana, Manuel Inácio, 'O arquivo da sereníssima Casa de Bragança: informação documental', 3 vol. typescript, 1947-1967.

Ribeiro, Fernanda, 'Notícia de instrumentos de acesso de interesse para a comunidade lusófona' *Páginas a&b*, 3, 1999, 31-57.

Ribeiro, João Pedro, *Memorias authenticas para a historia do Real Archivo*. Lisbon: Imprensa Regia, 1819.

Ribeiro, João Pedro, 'Novos adittamentos ás memorias sobre o R. Archivo, impressas em 1819' in *Reflexões historicas*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1836, part 2, pp. 186-194.

Ribeiro, João Pedro, 'Sobre o estado actual dos cartorios do Reino e necessidade de acautelar pelos meios oportunos a sua total ruina' in *Observações históricas e críticas para servirem de memorias ao systema da diplomatica portugueza*, Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1798, part 1, pp. 1-58.

Rodrigues, Ana Maria do Rosário S., *Desembargo do Paço: inventário*, 2 vol, Lisbon, IAN/TT, 2000.

Sampaio, Luís Teixeira, 'O Arquivo Historico do Ministerio dos Negócios Estrangeiros: subsídios para o estudo da história da diplomacia portuguesa' in Eduardo Brazão (ed.), *Estudos históricos*, [Lisbon]: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, [1984], pp. 163-256.

Serrão, Joel, (ed.), *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea*, vol. 1-2, *Arquivos de Lisboa, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1984.

Serrão, Joel, (ed.), *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea*, vol. 3, *Arquivos de Lisboa, arquivos do estado, Arquivo da C. M. de Lisboa*, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1985.

Silva, André Mansuy Diniz, 'La correspondance familière de D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho' *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, vol. 41 (2001), pp. 71-81,

Simões, Luís Henriques Pacheco, 'Notícia histórica dos arquivos das Direcções Gerais do Ministério da Guerra (1640-1923)' *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, 1 (1930) 23-66.

Simões, Luís Henriques Pacheco, 'Plantas topográficas de Lisboa: a colecção levada para o Brasil durante as invasões' in *Lisboa e seu termo. Estudos e documentos*, vol. 2, Lisbon: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, 1948, pp. 181-203.

Sousa, Maria Augusta da Veiga e, 'Arquivo da familia de Linhares: documentos microfilmados e conservados na Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa' *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, 33-34 (1968), 331-397.

Sousa, Maria Augusta da Veiga e, 'Roteiro e descrição sumária dos documentos que existem, em microfilmes, na Filmoteca do Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga' *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, 47 (1986) 7-176.

Sousa, Teresa Andrade e, 'Guia das colecções de manuscritos da Divisão dos Reservados' *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, Lisbon, 2nd series, 3:1 (Jan.-Apr. 1988) 95-129.

Souza Júnior, Gen. António de, *Manuscritos do Brasil nos arquivos de Portugal e da Espanha*, Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa do Exército, 1969.

*A Torre do Tombo na viragem do milénio: catálogo*, Lisbon: IAN/TT, 2000. Catalogue of exhibition.

Tovar, Conde de, 'O arquivo do Conselho de Estado' *Anais – Academia Portuguesa da História*, Lisbon, 2nd series, 11 (1961), 53-67.

Tremoceiro, Paulo *et alii*, *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino / Ministério do Reino: inventário*, Lisbon: IAN/TT, 1999.

## 7.2 Brazil

Adonias, Isa, *Mapas e planos manuscritos relativos ao Brasil Colonial: 1500-1822*, 2 vol., Brasília: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 1960.

Arquivo Nacional, *Guia de fundos do Arquivo Nacional: separata: fundos com data-limite inicial anterior a 1822*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça, Arquivo Nacional-Brasil, September 1996. Printout from database.

Arquivo Nacional, *Guia de fundos do Arquivo Nacional*: <http://www.arquivonacional.gov.br>

Arquivo Nacional, 'Relação de códices da antiga Secção de Documentação Histórica', Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1962. Unpublished typescript, partially revised in 1996.

Casadei, Thalita de Oliveira, 'Diplomas portugueses no Arquivo Nacional' *Mensário do Arquivo Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, 6:7 (July 1975), 17-19.

*Coleção Portugal: inventário analítico*, Rio de Janeiro: Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, 2000.

*Coleção de Portugal*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Internos, Arquivo Nacional, 1959.

Damasceno, Darcy and Cunha, Lygia da Fonseca Fernandes, 'Fontes primárias da história na Seção de Manuscritos da Biblioteca Nacional' in *Anais do VIII Simpósio Nacional da ANPUH*, S. Paulo (1974), pp. 1371-1382.

'Documentos portugueses existentes no Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro' *Anais das bibliotecas e arquivos*, 10:39-40 (July-Dec. 1932), 144-156.

Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Base guia – fundos coleções da Divisão de Manuscritos*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003]. Printout from database.

Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Inventário de códices em arcaszes*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003]. Printout from database.

Fundação da Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Manuscritos, *Inventário de códices em armários*, [Rio de Janeiro: 06-01-2003]. Printout from database.

Gans, Claudio, 'Arquivo do Instituto Histórico. catálogo de manuscritos que interessam a Portugal' *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, 250 (Jan-Mar. 1961), 38-117.

Herkenhoff, Paulo, *Biblioteca Nacional: a história de uma coleção*, 2nd ed., Rio de Janeiro: Salamandra, 1997.



Lima, Henrique Campos Ferreira, 'Relatório de uma missão de estudo ao Brasil em 1936' *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, 7 (1937), 317-331.

Magalhães, Ivete, 'Arquivo Nacional, Seção de Documentação Histórica: documentos em caixas', [Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional] 1962. Unpublished typescript, additions and changes handwritten.

'Manuscritos sobre África e a Ásia' *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, 96 (1976), 177-217.

'Manuscritos portugueses existentes no Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro' *Anais das bibliotecas e arquivos*, 11:41-42 (Jan.-July 1933) 48-62.

'Manuscritos portugueses existentes na Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro' *Anais das bibliotecas e arquivos*, Lisbon, 12:45-50 (July 1936-Dec. 1937), 41-50.

Mendonça, Marcos Carneiro de, 'Documentos do arquivo do 2º. marquês do Lavradio, 3º. vice-rei do Brasil: relação organizada por Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça' *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 215 (April-June 1952), 80-102.

Mendonça, Marcos Carneiro de, *D. João VI e o Império no Brasil: a independência e a Missão Rio Maior*, Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Reprográfica Xerox, 1984.

Ministério das Relações Exteriores, *Catálogo do Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty: parte III – 30 - documentação anterior a 1822*, 2nd. ed. revised and augmented, Brasília: FUNAG, 2000. 1st ed., 1956.

Moreno, Carmen Tereza Coelho (ed.), *Colecção Linhares (catálogo)*, Lisbon: CNCDP, 2001.

Norton, Luís, *Notícia sobre o 'Arquivo militar de Lisboa': encontrado no Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro: s.n., 1938.

'Reinado de D. João VI: relação dos documentos que pertenceram ao real gabinete do soberano' *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 215 (April-June 1952), 83-102.

Rodrigues, José Honório, *A situação do Arquivo Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, 1959.

Serrão, Joel (ed.), *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea IV: arquivos do Brasil*, Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1989.

Silva, Maria Beatriz Nizza da, 'A documentação do Desembargo do Paço no Arquivo Nacional e a história da família', *Acervo*, 2 (July-Dec. 1988), 37-53.

Verhoen, Inah Cyrino, 'Relação de códices da antiga Seção de Documentação Histórica', Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1962. Unpublished typescript, index added, list changed and in revision in 1996.

### 7.3 United Kingdom

Atherton, Louise, *"Never complain, never explain": records of the Foreign Office and State Paper Office 1500-c.1960*, London: PRO Publications, 1994.

Biggins, Alan and Cooper, Valerie, *Latin American and Caribbean library resources in the British isles: a directory*, London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London and Advisory Council on Latin American and Iberian Information Resources, 2002.

Figanière, Frederico Francisco de la, *Catálogo dos manuscritos portugueses existentes no Museu Britânico em que também se dá notícia dos manuscritos estrangeiros relativos à história civil, política e literária de Portugal e seus domínios, e se transcrevem na integra alguns documentos importantes e curiosos*, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1853.

Galbraith, V. H., *An introduction to the use of the public records*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963. 1st ed., 1934.

Galbraith, V. H., *Studies in public records*, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1948.

Laidlar, J. F., (ed.), *Iberian resources in the United Kingdom: a directory of libraries*, London: Advisory Council on Latin American and Iberian Information Resources, 1996.

Lima, Manuel de Oliveira, 'Relação dos manuscritos portugueses e estrangeiros de interesse para o Brasil existentes no Museu Britannico de Londres' *Revista trimestral do Instituto Historico Geographico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, 65/2 (1903), 5-138.

Macdonald, Roger and Travis, Carole, *Libraries and special collections on Latin America and the Caribbean: a directory of European resources*, 2nd ed. London: Published for the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London by Athlone, 1988.

Mackworth-Young, Sir Robin, 'The royal archives, Windsor Castle' *Archives: journal of the British Records Association*, 13:59 (Spring 1978), 115-130.

Roper, Michael, *The records of the Foreign Office 1782-1968*, Kew: PRO Publications, 2002.

Roper, Michael, *The records of the War Office and related departments: 1660-1964*, Kew: PRO Publications, 1998.

Tovar, Conde de, *Catálogo dos manuscritos portugueses ou relativos a Portugal existentes no Museu Britânico*, Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1932.

Thurston, Anne, *Records of the Colonial Office, Dominions Office, Commonwealth Relations Office and Commonwealth Office*, London: The Stationery Office, 1995. (British Documents on the End of Empire, Series C/Sources for Colonial studies in the Public Record).

Varnhagen, Francisco Adolfo de, *Sucinta indicação de alguns manuscritos importantes respectivos ao Brasil e a Portugal, existentes no Museu Britânico em Londres e não compreendidos no catálogo Figanière*, La Habana: Imprensa Antilla, 1863.

Walne, Peter (ed.), *A guide to manuscript sources for the history of Latin America and the Caribbean in the British Isles*, London: Oxford University Press [for] the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1973.

‘Wellington papers: [printout relating to Portugal]’, [Southampton: University], 1988. Correspondence from and to the Duke of Wellington, extracted from the Wellington papers kept in the Southampton University, covering mainly 1819-1830.

#### 7.4 France

1887. *AB I-XXIX. Documents relatifs à l'organisation et au service des archives [nationales]: inventaire*. Répertoire numérique ms. commencé par L. Lecestre en 1887, puis tenu au courant.

Estevens, Manuel dos Santos, *Bibliotecas e arquivos do Reino Unido, Eire, Belgica, Holanda e França*, Coimbra: Instituto de Estudos Históricos Doutor António de Vasconcelos, 1953.

Gateri, Nicole, *Secrétairerie d'État Impériale. Guerre (an VIII-1814): inventaire des articles AF IV 1590 à 1670*, Paris: Archives Nationales, 1988.

*Guia de fontes para a história franco brasileira: Brasil colônia, vice-reino e reino unido. Acervos de manuscritos em arquivos franceses*, Recife: L. Dantas Silva, 2002.

*Manuscritos do fonds portugais da Biblioteca Nacional de França*, ed. Luís Ramalhosa Guerreiro, [Lisbon]: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses - Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, 2001.

Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts. Direction des Archives, *État sommaire des versements faits aux archives nationales par les ministères et les administrations qui en dépendent (séries F, BB, Justice et ADXIX)*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1924.

*Orsay Inventaire. Correspondance politique. AFF-ETR 2*.

*Orsay Mémoires et documents – Fonds France et Fonds Divers*.

Vicente, António Pedro (ed.) *Manuscritos do Arquivo Histórico de Vincennes referentes a Portugal, III (1807-1811)*, Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1983.

## 8 Records

### 8.1 Portugal

Lisbon

#### 8.1.1 Arquivo Histórico Militar

The criteria for the arrangement of the records in the Arquivo Histórico Militar was established in 1921 and confirmed in 1924, continuing to be employed till 1973. The records were divided in three big divisions (*divisão*) subdivided in sections (*secção*) according to different criteria: chronological, by subjects and geographically. The records were catalogued in files following this arrangement. Fonds and series were mixed up aggravating the disorganisation that already existed in some groups of documents.

Correspondência do Conde de Linhares para os Governadores do Reino.

1811 Maio	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 2
1811 Junho	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 3
1811 Agosto	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 4
1811 20 Novembro	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 145, no. 28
1811 Dezembro	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 5

Correspondência do Conde das Galveias para os Governadores do Reino.

1811 Dezembro	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 272, no. 5
---------------	--

Correspondência do Marquês de Aguiar para os Governadores do Reino.

1815 Janeiro-Julho	1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 2, no. 1
1815 Julho-Dezembro	1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, 1815, cx. 2, no. 2
[1815]	1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 3, no. 3
1816 Janeiro-Julho	1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 3, no. 1
1816 Julho-Dezembro	1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 3, no. 2

Correspondência de Tomaz António de Vilanova Portugal os Governadores do Reino.

1817-1820	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 262, no. 6
-----------	--

Registo de despachos do Governo do Rio de Janeiro para os Governadores do Reino.

1815-1819	1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 5, no. 1
-----------	--------------------------------------

Correspondência dos Governadores do Reino para o Governo do Rio de Janeiro.

1809-1814	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 188, no. 1
-----------	--

Correspondência de D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz para Beresford.

1809	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 36, no. 1
------	---------------------------------------

Correspondência de D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz para João Diogo Carvalhosa.

1810	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 64, no. 45
------	--

Carta de Lord Wellington para D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz.

1810 Outubro 9	1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 10, no. 39
----------------	--

Correspondência de Gomes Barreto para Gregório Gomes da Silva.

1815-1820	1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 57, no. 60
-----------	--

Correspondência francesa apreendida ao Exército de Massena  
1810 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 7, nos. 9, 14, 15

Instruções para o oficial maior da Secretaria de Estado.  
1811 1ª Divisão, 14ª Secção, cx. 244, no. 33

Portarias.  
1815 1ª Divisão, 16ª Secção, cx. 10, nos. 14, 16

### 8.1.2 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino

Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar.<sup>1</sup>

Registo de correspondência dos governadores do Reino para o secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos.

1808–1812	Cod. 577
1812-1816	Cod. 578
1820 Agosto	Cod. 580

Registo de correspondência do secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos e, depois de Outubro de 1808, do secretário dos Negócios da Marinha, para diversas autoridades no Reino e cônsules no Norte de África.

1803-1816	Cod. 940
-----------	----------

Caixas do Rio de Janeiro, não catalogadas.

The records in these caixas (boxes) are being rearranged. This includes cataloguing and new reference numbers. A table of equivalence between the latter and the current reference numbers is being made.

1808	cx. 244
1809	cx. 245
1810 Set.-Outubro	cx. 248
1815 Jan.-Maio	cx. 261
1821 Janeiro-Agosto	cx. 282

### 8.1.3 Biblioteca da Ajuda

Copiador de correspondência de Junot para Napoleão.  
1806 Julho 26 – 1808 Junho 7 Cod. 46-XIII-29

---

<sup>1</sup> This is the standardized form of name used in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. The records of this *Secretaria de Estado* constitute a separate fonds, but they are inserted in the fonds *Conselho Ultramarino*.

### 8.1.4 Biblioteca Central da Marinha - Arquivo Histórico

#### Códices

Registo de correspondência entre o ministro da Marinha e outros ministros de Estado e o presidente do Real Erário.

1807-1821 Cod. 117

1821-1822 Cod. 118

Recibos das embarcações que levaram despachos para a Ilha da Madeira, Ilhas de Cabo Verde e Rio de Janeiro

1813 Cod. 2318

#### Documentos avulsos

Conselho de Estado.

1822 cx. 140

Correio.

1809 cx. 185

Correio marítimo, [correspondência dos governadores do Reino para o Príncipe Regente].

1810-1819 cx. 185

Correios dos ministérios, colectivos.

1812-1821 cx. 189

Correios dos ministérios, correspondência estrangeira.

n.d., 1808 cx. 189

Entradas e saídas de navios nos portos de Lisboa.

n.d., 1807-1811 cx. 244

1812 cx. 245

Guerra Peninsular.

1813 cx. 340

Invasões Francesas

1808 cx. 340

Ofícios diversos.

1808-1815 cx. 841

Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos.

n.d., 1809-1814 cx. 1283, 1

1815-1819 cx. 1283, 2

1820-1824 cx. 1283, 3

### 8.1.5 Biblioteca Nacional

#### Divisão de Reservados

##### Arquivo Lencastre Basto

Copiador de correspondência de Junot para Napoleão.

1806 Julho 26 – 1808 Junho 7 Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 112, 181

Copiador de correspondência de Junot para Napoleão, cópia.  
1807 Outubro 10 - 1808 Junho 7 Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 115, 190

Correspondência da administração francesa em Portugal:

- L. F. Troussel, Commissaire Ordonateur en Chef para o Duc d' Abrantes, Général en Chef de l' Armée à Lisbonne;
- Petronnier para Junot;
- Brigadier Charlot para Junot;
- Correspondência de Lagarde, Intendente Geral da Polícia, para Junot e correspondência anexa (corregedor de Alenquer para o intendente geral da Polícia; juiz de fora de Santarém para o intendente geral da Polícia).

1808 Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 105, 163

Registo de correspondência dos governadores do Reino para o secretário dos Negócios da Marinha e da distribuição dessa correspondência.  
1818-1820 Núcleo do Recolhimento da Encarnação, pac. 24, liv. 12.

Registos de ofícios de expediente do Brasil para o secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros, da Guerra e da Marinha. 12 cadernos.  
1809 Janeiro 2 – 1820 Maio 17 Núcleo Av. de Roma, pac. 96, 138

Diário das ordens expedidas pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra.  
1808 Setembro – Dezembro Núcleo da Av. de Roma, pac. 111, 179

Diário dos avisos e mais ordens expedidos pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra.  
1812 Núcleo do Recolhimento da Encarnação, pac. 37, liv. 43.

### Códices

Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, 'Memória das cousa mais notáveis que se trataram nas conferências do governo (...) desde o dia 9 de Agosto de 1810 (...) até 5 de Fevereiro de 1820', 6 vol.  
Cod. 6848-6853.

### Manuscritos

'Catalogo dos Gabinetes Nacionaes. Desde quando foram creadas as primeiras secretarias d'estado até ao actual. 1736 a 1916. Apontamentos transcriptos em diversos dictionarios e no Diario do Governo por J. A. F. e L' 1917.  
Ms. 10368.

### **8.1.6 Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa**

Cascais, Arquivo da Família Linhares

Copiador de correspondência do Governador do Reino, Principal Sousa, para o Príncipe Regente e Rei. 2 vol.

1810 Agosto 8 – 1813 Setembro 20

1813 Outubro 1 – 1817 Agosto 7

### **8.1.7 Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo**

Arquivo do Arquivo

Correspondência do guarda-mór e de oficiais para o ministro e secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino.

1833

AA, S/pasta 76, cx. 33

Documentos relativos ao encaixotamento de documentação do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo no tempo das Invasões Francesas.

1810 Outubro 17

AA, pasta 31 A, 44, cx. 17.

Arquivo do Rio de Janeiro

Correspondência dos governadores do Reino para o Príncipe Regente e Rei. 1ª via.

1809-1820

ARJ, 1-23.

Casa Real

Registo do expediente do bolsinho particular.

1808 Set. 10 – 1818 Agosto

CR, liv. 2979

Intendência Geral da Polícia

Papéis Diversos. Devassas, informações para o intendente geral da Polícia.

1811-1813

IGP, mç. 585

Mesa da Consciência e Ordens

Secretaria da Mesa e Comum das Ordens.

Registo de consultas.

1809-1821

MCO, liv. 41

Registos Gerais.

Registo de cartas e alvarás.

1799-1821

MCO, liv. 86



Registo de papéis da Real Assinatura  
1795-1819 MCO, liv. 220

Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino/Ministério do Reino

Cultura<sup>2</sup>

Negócios diversos do Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo.

Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo.

1754-1833 MR, mç. 495

Aula de Diplomática.

1796-1831 MR, mç. 353

Expediente Geral<sup>3</sup>

Correspondência recebida.

Da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Fazenda.

1821-1823 MR, mç. 420

Da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros.

1805-1806, 1821-1826 MR, mç. 427

Correspondência de ministros do corpo diplomático estrangeiro e nacional e outras individualidades.

Ofícios e cartas do Marechal Beresford, Marquês de Campo Maior.

1808-1814 MR, mç. 356, mct. 21

Ofícios de Mr. Villiers, ministro de Inglaterra.

1809-1810 MR, mç. 356

Ofícios de Mr. Stuart, ministro de Inglaterra.

1810-1811 MR, mç. 356

Ofícios e cartas do Marechal Duque de Vitória, Lord Wellington.

1810-1812 MR, mç. 356, mct. 22

Ofícios do conde do Funchal, ministro de Portugal na Grã-Bretanha.

1810-1814 MR, mç. 356

Relações do Conselho da Regência do Reino de Portugal.

1807, Novembro-1808, Janeiro MR, mç. 356, mct. 6

Correspondência do secretário do governo dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Guerra e Marinha.

1809-1820 MR, mç. 429-430

Memórias sobre diversos assuntos.

Entrada das tropas francesas em Portugal.

1807 MR, mç. 355

---

<sup>2</sup> This 'section' or class 'Culture' does not make sense in the description of the records that it comprises. In fact, the actual description of the records of the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino/Ministério do Reino* reflects often and in a wrong way, the blind compliance with the ISAD(G).

<sup>3</sup> According to the record-keeping system developed in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, during the period studied, the majority of these records were generally classified as *Papeis diferentes* (different papers).

Sequestro de bens de Franceses.  
1811-1821 MR, mç. 355

Relação dos documentos de Aires de Saldanha, Conde da Ega, remetidos pelo secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Guerra e Marinha.  
1808-1820 MR, mç. 445

Requerimentos de mercês com despacho favorável.  
1756-1833  
Pedro José a Pedro P MR, mç. 892

#### Corte no Rio de Janeiro<sup>4</sup>

Avisos com remessas de requerimentos.  
1815 MR, mç. 230  
Avisos ao Governo de Portugal concedendo licenças.  
1809-1820 MR, mç. 235  
Ordens ao Governo de Portugal.  
1809-1812 MR, mç. 236  
1813, 1815-1817 MR, mç. 237

Registo de cartas dos governadores de Portugal para o Rio de Janeiro.  
1808-1820 MR, liv. 314-321

Registo de ordens expedidas pelo Príncipe Regente aos governadores do Reino.  
1809-1820 MR, liv. 380-383

Requerimentos à Corte do Rio de Janeiro.  
1809-1820  
F MR, mç. 249  
N-R MR, mç. 258  
S-V MR, mç. 259

Negócios Diversos relativos ao Governo do Rio de Janeiro.  
1809-1820 MR, mç. 242

#### Secretaria Geral 2ª Repartição Registo Geral.<sup>5</sup>

Registo de avisos expedidos.  
1806-1808 MR, liv. 38  
Índice MR, liv. 625

---

<sup>4</sup> According to the record-keeping system developed in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, during the period studied, this class did not exist.

<sup>5</sup> During the period studied, the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* had a simple structure. The *Secretaria Geral* and the *repartições* did not exist. Besides, the *livros de registo* (register books) were subdivided into two classes, *livros de registo geral* and *livros auxiliares*, what is neither considered nor mentioned in the present arrangement.

1808-1809	MR, liv. 39
Índice	MR, liv. 626
1810-1811	MR, liv. 41
Índice	MR, liv. 628
1810	MR, liv. 42
Índice	MR, liv. 629
1811-1812	MR, liv. 43
Índice	MR, liv. 630

Registo de cartas, alvarás, patentes e mercês lucrativas.

1805-1822	MR, liv. 1138
Índice	MR, liv. 1139

Registo de 'Papéis expedidos' / 'Livros de Porta'.

1807-1807	MR, liv. 1796
1808-1808	MR, liv. 1797
1817-1817	MR, liv. 1809
1820-1821	MR, liv. 1815

Registo de consultas do Desembargo do Paço.

1805-1809	MR, liv. 262
1809-1812	MR, liv. 263

Registo de consultas, decretos, avisos e outros diplomas do Conselho Ultramarino.

1700-1833	MR, liv. 179
-----------	--------------

Registo de nomeações e avisos para o Conselho de Estado.

1796-1833	MR, liv. 158
-----------	--------------

Registo de correspondência expedida para as Juntas Ultramarinas.

1821-1831	MR, liv. 435
-----------	--------------

Sistêma que regula a divizão e colocação dos Papeis do Archivo desta Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino, organizado na Epoca da Restauração da Monarquia no anno de 1808. Por Pedro de Alcantara Pereira Rollim.

MR, liv. 2560

Catalogo dos livros de Registo desta Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Reino, ordenado por Systema que regula a sua colocação e arrecadação (...) Rollim. Em o 1º de Julho de 1812.

MR, liv. 2561

Lista dos papéis que compreendem os Negocios Públicos do Estado. Pertencem à Classe VIII.

[1812-1819]	MR, liv. 2562
-------------	---------------

Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros/Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros

Arquivo Central.

Correspondência expedida. Registo.

Dos governadores de Portugal para as legações portuguesas.

1808-1820 MNE, liv. 115-118

Do secretário de Estado para as legações e para os consulados portugueses (em conjunto).

1811-1833 MNE, liv. 355

Despachos do secretário de Estado para a legação em Londres.

1808-1823 MNE, liv. 566-570

Despachos do secretário de Estado para a legação em Paris.

1814-1822 MNE, liv. 614

Extractos da correspondência recebida por D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra.

Dos embaixadores em Madrid.

1808-1816 MNE, liv. 134

Dos embaixadores em Londres.

1808-1816 MNE, liv. 132

Dos ministros ingleses.

1808-1816 MNE, liv. 133

Correspondência recebida.

Correspondência do governo, dos ministérios e de outras instituições.

[Legação em Londres]<sup>6</sup>

Despachos da Corte no Rio de Janeiro.

1807-1811 MNE, liv. 642

Ofícios dos governadores do Reino.

1809 MNE, cx. 885 and 886

1810 MNE, cx. 886

1811 MNE, cx. 888

1820 MNE, cx. 912

Correspondência recebida.

Correspondência das legações estrangeiras em Lisboa.

Inglaterra.<sup>7</sup>

1805-1809 MNE, cx. 461

---

<sup>6</sup> This correspondence was neither created nor kept in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros* in Rio de Janeiro, as the actual description and arrangement implies. It was received and kept in the Legation of Portugal in London.

<sup>7</sup> This series comprises the correspondence from the English Legation to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1820.

Guerra Peninsular [Colecção A. J. Beresford-Hope]<sup>8</sup>  
1809-1813 MNE, cx. 204-207

Memórias.  
1805-1834 MNE, liv. 635

Real Gabinete de Abertura.  
1807-1827 MNE, cx. 947

Secretaria de Estado - Expediente e Arquivo.  
Inventário.  
1716 MNE, liv. 191  
1828 MNE, liv. 192

#### Arquivos das legações

Legação em Londres.  
Despachos da Corte.<sup>9</sup>  
Correspondência do Governo de Lisboa.  
1813-1815 MNE, liv. 518  
Ofícios dos Açores.  
1808-1815 MNE, liv. 521  
Despachos da Corte, Rio de Janeiro.  
1815-1816 MNE, liv. 522

#### Documentos tratados individualmente.<sup>10</sup>

Extractos de despachos do Marquês de Aguiar para, entre outros, o Marquês de Marialva,  
embaixador em Paris.  
1816 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 10 (7)

Extracto dos ofícios para a Legação em Viena de Áustria.  
1808-1822 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 23 (8)

---

<sup>8</sup> Correspondence from several English officers and others to Marshal William Carr Beresford, in his *Estado Maior*. Part was received by him, part by his secretary, Major R. Arbuthnot. The correspondence concerned military affairs connected to the Peninsular War. In fact, this correspondence belonged to the A. J. Beresford-Collection and was bought by the Portuguese State at Sotheby's on 14 January 1972. The insertion of the whole of this correspondence in the fonds of the *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, in the IAN/TT, (MNE, cx. 204-215), classified Arquivo Central, Guerra Peninsular, without any mention of this private provenance, may be misleading.

<sup>9</sup> This series is called 'Dispatches from the Court. Registers' but it comprises the original records and also, from 1808 to 1821, ofícios from the government in Lisbon in parallel to the despachos from the Court, then in Rio de Janeiro. Besides, the series includes ofícios from the governor and captain-general of the Azores islands.

<sup>10</sup> Records arranged and described individually, without attending to their provenance and order, in systematic card files.

Documentos da Comissão Diplomática das Cortes, sobre a inquirição judicial acerca das anomalias ocorridas na transferência dos arquivos das secretarias de Estado, do Rio de Janeiro para Lisboa.

1821 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 11 (31)

Relação dos ofícios dos Ministros de Portugal noutros Países, que faltam no Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros.

ca. 1828 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 23 (15)

Relação dos papéis da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra no Rio de Janeiro a serem enviados aos arquivos portugueses.

1843 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 23 (17)

Regulamento geral para o Correio e ordens antigas.

1817-1819 MNE, cx. 62, mç. 5 (20)

Relações de correspondência das legações para a Corte.

Legação em Hamburgo.

1790-1820 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 23 (9)

Legação em Paris.

1814-1818 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 23 (19)

Quadros políticos de D. Domingos António de Sousa Coutinho para o Conde Linhares.

1811 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 24 (1-3)

Relação de documentos de natureza diplomática ou consular transferidas do Arquivo Histórico Militar para o Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros.

1924 MNE, cx. 52, mç. 5 (9-20)

Documentos relativos às extorsões e roubos praticados pelos exércitos e comissários franceses no tempo da sua dominação em Portugal, em 1808, pela primeira das Invasões Francesas.

1815-1816 MNE, cx. 57, mç. único

Documentos relativos aos roubos efectuados pelos franceses em 1808 e 1809 nas Misericórdias, Hospitais, Conventos e Paróquias.

[1815-1816] MNE, cx. 54, mç. 3

Documentos relativos aos roubos efectuados pelos franceses em 1808 e 1810.

1815-1816 MNE, cx. 55, mç. único

Descrição dos papéis existentes na secretaria da embaixada em Paris, que se não acham submetidos aos selos postos no espólio do Marquês de Marialva.

1824 MNE, cx. 38, mç. 25 (4-6)

Papéis e livros restituídos ao arquivo da Legação em Paris.

1824 MNE, cx. 43, mç. 18 (1-9)

Índice dos officios para a Legação em Filadélfia.

1810-1824 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 22 (2)

Inventário da correspondência com legações de Portugal encontrada no Gabinete do Visconde de Santarém.

ca. 1833 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 23 (5)

Índice da 3ª série dos Livros de Funções de Corte, relativamente aos Estados Unidos da América.

1807-1821 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 22 (3)

Índices dos Livros de Funções de Corte, relativamente à França e a outros países.

1815-1816 MNE, cx. 36, mç. 21

Votos dos conselheiros de Estado sobre o Manifesto da declaração de guerra à França, sobre as Cartas Régias a enviar para Portugal e sobre as instruções para o Governo de Portugal.

1808 MNE, cx. 53, mç. 1 (1-21)

Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e de Justiça/Ministério dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e de Justiça.

Registo das contas dos governadores do Reino para o Príncipe Regente.

1808-1811 MNEJ, ms. 10329

#### Instrumentos de Descrição Documental

‘Intendencia Geral da Policia. Papeis Diversos. Relação dos maços de papeis diversos existentes no cartorio da Intendencia Geral da Policia da Corte e Reino’. Manuscript.

[Lisbon: 18 ] IDD, liv. 298

‘Inventario dos livros, maços e documentos que se guardam no Real Archivo da Torre do Tombo: feito sendo guarda-môr João Pereira Ramos de Azeredo Coutinho, no anno de 1776.’ Manuscript.

1776 IDD, liv. 299A

#### Série Preta

Legislação Portuguesa: 1808 a 1817 SP 2275.

## 8.2 Brazil

Rio de Janeiro

### 8.2.1 Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty

Bilhetes de D. João, Príncipe Regente, para D. João de Almeida.

1812 Agosto-1813 lata 169, mç. 3, pasta 7-9, 13

- Bilhetes de D. João VI para Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal.  
 1819-1820 lata 169, mç. 3, pasta 11, 13-16  
 lata 169, mç. 5, pasta 4  
 lata 169, mç. 6, pasta 2
- Carta de Camilo Martins Lage para Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal.  
 1819 Abril 19 lata 169, mç. 6, pasta 1
- Aviso de D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho para D. João de Almeida.  
 1808 Abril 13 lata 170, mç. 3, pasta 3
- Mínutas de documentos de João Paulo Bezerra para o rei.  
 1815-1816 lata 170, mç. 4, pasta 1  
 lata 170, mç. 5, pasta 1
- Carta e voto anexo do Conde dos Arcos para D. João VI.  
 1818 Julho 1 lata 170, mç. 6, pasta 4
- Carta de Simeão Estelita Gomes da Fonseca para o ministro e secretário de Estado dos  
 Negócios do Reino e Estrangeiros.  
 1821 Dezembro 19 lata 186, mç. 4, pasta 1 (17)
- Registo de correspondência secreta dos secretários de Estado dos Negócios da  
 Estrangeiros e da Guerra.  
 1808-1816 estante 343, prateleira 4, vol. 3
- Correspondência ostensiva e reservada de D. José Luís de Sousa.  
 1820 Agosto-1821 Abril estante 338, prateleira 2, vol. 5

## 8.2.2 Arquivo Nacional

### Arquivo Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça

Livros de Registro Diário  
 1943-1952

### Gabinete de D. João VI

1808-1826 cx. 1-7

### Códices

- Casa Imperial<sup>11</sup>

Registo da Tesouraria  
 1809 Janeiro-1821 Novembro Cod. 1, vol. 1  
 Chancelaria-Mor do Estado do Brasil.

Registo de leis e alvarás  
 1808 Janeiro-1811 Novembro Cod. 48, vol. 1.

---

<sup>11</sup> During the period studied the predecessor institution was the *Casa Real*.



- Mesa do Desembargo do Paço e Mesa da Consciência e Ordens

Registo de posses  
1808 Maio-1827 Cod. 22, vol. 1

- Mesa do Desembargo do Paço.

Registo das consultas da Secretaria  
1808 Junho –1810 Agosto Cod. 17, vol. 1  
1815 Fevereiro- 1817 Fevereiro Cod. 17, vol. 6  
1816 Novembro–1819 Fev. Cod. 17, vol. 7  
Registo de consultas  
1808 Junho–1814 Outubro Cod. 149, vol. 1  
1820 Setembro – 1822 Abril Cod. 149, vol. 5  
Registo de avisos régios para a Mesa do Desembargo do Paço.  
1820 Agosto–1821 Junho Cod. 20, vol. 4  
Registo das cartas passadas pelo Desembargo do Paço a diversos ministros.  
1808 Agosto–1812 Maio Cod. 150

- Mesa da Consciência e Ordens.

Registo de consultas e resoluções da Mesa de Consciência e Ordens.  
1808 Junho-1809 Novembro Cod. 26, vol. 1  
1809 Novembro-1811 Fevereiro Cod. 26, vol. 2  
1821 Setembro-1823 Outubro Cod. 26, vol. 9  
Registo das cartas e alvarás expedidos pela Secretaria da Mesa de Consciência e Ordens.  
1808 Maio-1808 Outubro Cod. 27, vol. 1  
1820 Junho-1822 Dezembro Cod. 27, vol. 11

- Ministério do Império<sup>12</sup>

Registo de mercês.  
1808-1810 Cod. 15, vol. 1  
1810-1812 Cod. 15, vol. 2  
1812-1814 Cod. 15, vol. 3  
Registo das leis, cartas e alvarás.  
1808 Março-1813 Novembro Cod. 528, vol. 1  
1813 Dezembro-1818 Junho Cod. 528, vol. 2  
1818 Junho-1823 Outubro Cod. 528, vol. 3

- Negócios de Portugal<sup>13</sup>

Registo de avisos e portarias para Lisboa  
1810 Outubro-1812, Janeiro Cod. 251, vol. 2  
Registo das consultas da Universidade de Coimbra  
1812 Maio–1815 Janeiro Cod. 260.

---

<sup>12</sup> During the period studied the predecessor institution was the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil / do Reino*.

<sup>13</sup> This classification does not correspond to the provenance of the records, whose majority belonged, then, to the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil / do Reino*.

Registo das consultas da Junta da Administração da Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro

1812 Abril-1820 Junho Cod. 261

Registo das consultas da Congregação Camarária de Lisboa

1812 Setembro-1820 Junho Cod. 262

Registo de assinatura real para o Reino

1813-1820 Cod. 264

Registo de avisos e ordens da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos para os Açores, Madeira, Cabo Verde e S. Tomé

1808 Março-1821 Fevereiro Cod. 268

Registo de decretos e cartas régias para Lisboa

1809 Janeiro-1812 Setembro Cod. 252, vol. 1

1819 Janeiro-1821 Cod. 252, vol. 4

- Real Junta do Comércio

Registo de Letras da Contadoria

1810 Janeiro-1827 Julho Cod. 165

Registo das provisões de matrículas dos aulistas da Aula do Comércio

1817 Março-1833 Janeiro Cod. 168, vol. 2

Secretaria. Termos de juramento das testemunhas, oferecido pelos negociantes e varjistas que se pretendem matricular

1809 Setembro-1817 Fevereiro Cod. 171, vol. 1

Diário da Contadoria.

1809 Outubro-1827 Dezembro Cod. 173, vol. 3.

Registo de lembrança dos papéis para a Contadoria

1811 Maio-1822 Setembro Cod. 178

Termos de juramento e posse dos oficiais da Secretaria

1809 Maio-1847 Março Cod. 187

Termos de juramento e posse dos deputados

1809 Maio-1834 Maio Cod. 520

Negócios de Portugal  
Caixas<sup>14</sup>

616

622, pac. 3

626

632

639, pac. 1.

642, pac. 1, pac. 2.

644, pac. 1

654, pac. 1, pac. 2

679

686, pac. 1, pac. 2

692

694, pac. 1, pac. 2, pac. 3

---

<sup>14</sup> This classification covers several provenances of records that are explained in the text.

702  
705  
709  
713-714  
720  
721  
722  
728  
730  
820-824.

### 8.2.3 Biblioteca Nacional

Divisão de Manuscritos

#### Códices

Correspondência diplomática de Rodrigo Navarro de Andrade para Domingos de Sousa Coutinho.

1807 Setembro-1810 COD 15, 1, 6

Copiador de correspondência de Domingos António de Sousa Coutinho, Conde do Funchal sobre as negociações em Paris.

1814 Maio 10-1814 Junho 13 COD 19, 3, 38

Billhetes de D. João VI e de D. Carlota Joaquina para Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal.

1816-1821 COD 5, 1, 40

#### Colecção Linhares

Lista de naus e pessoas que saíram de Lisboa no Domingo 29 de Novembro de 1807.

CL, I-29, 20, 1, no. 7

Carta de João Guilherme Christiano Müller para D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho.

10 Janeiro 1808 CL, I-29, 20, 1, no. 88

Carta de D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho para D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho.

1808 Setembro 25 CL, I-29, 16, 46

Carta do Conde das Galveias para o Conde de Linhares.

1812 Janeiro 31 CL, I-29, 19, 12, no. 1

Carta de Joaquim Severino Gomes para D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz.

1812 Novembro 23 CL, I-29, 15, 43, no. 8

Despacho do Marquês de Aguiar para o Conde do Funchal.

1814 Abril 2 CL, I-29, 17, 12, no. 1

Relação do Conde de Palmela para o Conde do Funchal e nota anexa.

1814 Maio 23 CL, I-29, 14, 55, no. 14, no. 15

Ofício de D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz para o Conde do Funchal.

1814 Maio 23 CL, I-29, 14, 55, no. 16

Lista dos documentos do ofício de D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho para o secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros.

[1814] CL, I-29, 15, 44, no. 91

Despacho do Marquês de Aguiar para o Conde do Funchal.

1814 Outubro 20 CL, I-29, 17, 1

Carta de Cipriano Ribeiro Freire para o Conde do Funchal.  
 1815 Abril 1 CL, I-29, 17, 21  
 Conde do Funchal para Cipriano Ribeiro Freire.  
 1815 Setembro 23 CL, I-29, 18, 1  
 Carta de Cipriano Ribeiro Freire para o Conde do Funchal.  
 1816 Maio 28 CL, I-29, 15, 44, no. 4-10  
 Despacho de João Paulo Bezerra para D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho.  
 1817 Setembro 6 CL, I-29, 17, 2  
 Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal para o Conde do Funchal.  
 1818 Julho 23 CL, I-29, 17, 3, no. 5  
 Carta do Conde do Funchal para Pedro de Melo Breyner.  
 1818 Dezembro 20 CL, I-29, 17, 19, no. 2  
 Aviso de Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal para o Conde de Funchal.  
 1819 Janeiro 22 CL, I-29, 14, 56, no. 23  
 Despacho de Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal para o Conde do Funchal.  
 1819 Janeiro 23 CL, I-29, 17, 3, no. 5  
 Carta de Pedro de Melo Breyner para o Conde do Funchal.  
 1819 Agosto 28 CL, I-29, 17, 18  
 Lista de individualidades e letras de código.  
 CL, I-29, 20, 2, no. 114

#### **8.2.4 Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro**

Notas avulsas do Ministro Tomás Antonio de Vilanova Nova Portugal.  
 1817-1818 DL 21.26

Aviso do Conde de Linhares para o Conde das Galveas.  
 1808 Dezembro 20 DL 105.17  
 Parecer de D. João Almeida Melo e Castro para o Príncipe Regente  
 1808 Dezembro 23 DL 105.17

Correspondência do Principal Sousa.  
 1809-1813 DL 356.1  
 1812 DL 394.8  
 1814 DL 394.7  
 1815 DL 394.6

Correspondência de D. Domingos António de Sousa Coutinho para Lord Strangford.  
 1805-1820 DL 434.5-434.18

#### **Colecção Ourém**

Método antigo seguido desde 1808 até 1821 no Arranjo do Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra.  
 DL 164.30

Método antigo seguido de 1808 até 1821 no Arranjo dos Papéis do Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra. Negócios Estrangeiros.  
 DL 164.30

Relação dos officios, notas, tratados, livros e mais papéis que existiam no Arquivo da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra no Rio de Janeiro, e que ora se remetem para Lisboa em 10 caixões.

[1821]

DL, 264.18

### 8.3 United Kingdom

London

#### 8.3.1 Public Record Office

Records created and inherited by the Foreign Office		FO
Foreign Office and predecessor: Political and Other Correspondence before 1906, Portugal		Departments: General FO 63
1807 Oct-Dec	Viscount Strangford	FO 63/56
1807 Jan-Sept	Domestic, Chev de Souza and various	FO 63/57
1807 Oct-Dec	Domestic, Chev de Souza and various	FO 63/58
1808 Ap-Sept	Viscount Strangford (Brazil)	FO 63/59
1808 Sep-Nov	Viscount Strangford	FO 63/60
1808 Nov-Dec	Viscount Strangford	FO 63/61
1808 Jan-May	Chev de Souza, Domestic and various	FO 63/64
1808 Aug-Sept	Chev de Souza, Domestic and various	FO 63/65
1808 Nov-Dec	Chev de Souza, Domestic and various	FO 63/66
1809 Jan-Apr	Viscount Strangford (Brazil)	FO 63/68
1809 Apr-July	Viscount Strangford	FO 63/69
1809 July-Dec	Viscount Strangford	FO 63/70
1808 Nov-1810 Jan	To J. C. Villiers	FO 63/74
1808 Dec-1809 March	From J. C. Villiers	FO 63/75
1809 March-Aug	From J. C. Villiers	FO 63/76
1809 Sep-Nov	From J.C. Villiers	FO 63/77
1809 Nov-1810 Feb	From J.C. Villiers	FO 63/78
1810	To Viscount Strangford (Brazil)	FO 63/82
1810	From Viscount Strangford	FO 63/83
1810	From Viscount Strangford	FO 63/84
1810	From Viscount Strangford	FO 63/85
1810	From Viscount Strangford	FO 63/86
1810	To Charles Stuart	FO 63/88
1810 Feb-April	From Charles Stuart	FO 63/89
1810 Apr-June	From Charles Stuart	FO 63/90
1810 June-August	From Charles Stuart	FO 63/91
1810 August-Sept	From Charles Stuart	FO 63/92
1810 Sept-October	From Charles Stuart	FO 63/93
1810 October-Nov	From Charles Stuart	FO 63/94
1810 Nov-December	From Charles Stuart	FO 63/95
1814 January-Feb	From Charles Stuart	FO 63/171

1815 Jan-March	From George Canning	FO 63/185
1815	Lord Beresford and consuls (Portugal and Brazil)	FO 63/188
1816 January	H. Chamberlain, Brazil	FO 63/192
1816	Lord Beresford and consuls (Portugal and Brazil)	FO 63/198
1817	E. Ward	FO 63/205
1819 July-August	H. Chamberlain, Brazil	FO 63/221
1820	E. M. Ward	FO 63/231
1820 July-December	“Portugal. Domestic Various”	FO 63/236
1821	Ed. Thorton, Brazil	FO 63/237
1822	To Eward M Ward	FO 63/250
1822	Domestic. M Chev Souza, M Sarmento	FO 63/254

Foreign Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Embassy and Legation, Portugal:  
General Correspondence. FO 179

1808-1811	General	FO 179/7
1812–1813	General	FO 179/8
1822	General	FO 179/22

Embassy and Consular Archives. Portugal. Miscellanea. FO 180

1811-1813	Proceedings and accounts of the committee to manage the fund for the relief of distressed Portuguese subjects	FO 180/1
1812-1813	Correspondence and accounts relative to the distribution of the above. Castelo Branco, Coimbra, Leiria and Trancoso.	FO 180/2

Stuart de Rothesay Papers FO 342

1812	Correspondence. Portugal. From Foreign Office	FO 342/14
1813 July 24-Oct 2	Correspondence. Portugal. To Foreign Office	FO 342/42

Records created or inherited by the War Office, Armed Forces, Judge Advocate General  
and related bodies WO

War Office and predecessors: Secretary at War, Secretary of State for War, and  
Commander-in Chief, In-letters and Miscellaneous Papers

		WO 1
1808 June-November	Wellesley	WO 1/228
1808	British officers liaising with Spanish and Portuguese Troops	WO 1/231
1809	British officers liaising with Portuguese troops	WO1/239

1808 Convention of Cintra. Papers relating to the Board of General Officers. Documents presented by Dalrymple WO 1/416

### 8.3.2 British Library

#### Manuscripts Room

Despatches from Sir Charles Stuart [afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay], Envoy to Portugal to [Robert Stewart] Viscount Castlereagh, and the finances of Portugal, chiefly in connexion with the Commissariat and pay of the Portuguese troops.  
1812 July 5- 1812 November 7 Add Mss 31236

Correspondence from Arthur Wellesley, Viscount [afterwards Duke of] Wellington, and Field Marshal to Sir William Carr Beresford, K. B. [afterwards Viscount Beresford, Duke of Elvas in Portugal] Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army, upon military affairs in Portugal.  
Wellington letters orig. Beresford some. Copies.  
1811 November-1811 December Add Mss 21504

Letters from Arthur Wellesley, Viscount [afterwards Duke of] Wellington, Commander in Chief of the Forces in Portugal, to Lieutenant-General Sir William Carr Beresford, Marshal in the Portuguese Service, with one from Beresford to Wellington.  
1810-1811 Add Mss 36306

#### Bathurst Papers

Correspondence mainly political and official. Letters in and few copies or drafts of letters out.  
1809, Sept.-1811 Loan 57/4  
1812, January 2-1812 August Loan 57/5  
1812, August, 22-1813, Mar Loan 57/6

### 8.4 France

#### Paris

#### 8.4.1 Archives nationales

Secrétairerie d'État Impériale. Guerre. Armée du Portugal. Corps d'observation de la Gironde.  
1807 AF IV 1604

Secrétairerie d'État Impériale. Guerre. Affaires d'Espagne.  
1808 AF IV 1616

## Appendix 1

### Governors of the Kingdom and Secretaries, Lisbon, 1807-1820

#### 1 Governors of the Kingdom

D. Pedro de Lencastre da Silveira Castelo Branco Sá e Meneses, Marquis of Abrantes, 26 November 1807-24 September 1808.

D. Francisco Rafael Castro, Principal Castro, King's *regedor* of Justice, 26 November 1807-24 September 1808.

Pedro de Mello Breyner, president of the *Real Erário* in the absence of Luís de Vasconcellos e Sousa, 26 November 1807-24 September 1808.

Francisco da Cunha Meneses, *tenente general*, and after president of the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço*.

26 November 1807-6 July 1809, effectively October 1809.

D. Francisco Xavier de Noronha, *tenente general*, president of the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*. 26 November 1807-6 July 1809, effectively October 1809.

D. Francisco de Melo da Cunha Mendonça e Meneses, Count of Castro Marim, Monteiro-mór, afterwards Marquis of Olhão, also mentioned as Count or Marquis Monteiro-mór, *tenente general*, president of the *Senado da Câmara* of Lisbon.

26 November 1807-effectively 1817.

Fr. António de S. José e Castro, Bishop of Porto, after Patriarch Elected of Lisbon.

24 September 1808, effectively April 1809-1814.

D. João Sousa Lencastre Noronha, Marquis das Minas, 24 September 1808-24 May 1810, effectively August 1810.

Charles Stuart, after Lord de Rothesay, British envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Lisbon. 24 May 1810, effectively 24 September 1810-March 1814.



José António de Meneses e Sousa, Principal Sousa.

24 May 1810, effectively August 1810-1817.

D. Fernando Maria de Sousa Coutinho, Count of Redondo, after Marquis of Borba,  
director of the *Real Erário*, after president of the *Junta do Comércio*.

24 May 1810, effectively August 1810-16 September 1820.

Doutor Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, rector of the *Real Colégio dos Nobres*

24 May 1810, effectively August 1810-31 August 1819, effectively 5 February 1820.

Gomes Freire de Andrade, Principal Freire, Patriarch Elected of Lisbon.

12 February 1816. Never held the post.

D. Caetano José de Noronha e Albuquerque, Count of Peniche,.

23 December 1817, effectively March 1818.

Carlos da Cunha Menezes, Principal Cunha, Patriarch Elected of Lisbon.

4 July 1818, effectively 1819-16 September 1820.

D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Count of Funchal, diplomat.

22 January 1819. Never held the post.

## 2. Secretaries

D. Manuel António de Sampaio Melo e Castro Moniz Torres de Lusignan, Count of  
Sampaio.

26 November 1807-24 September 1808.

D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz, later Count da Feira.

26 November 1807-16 September 1820.

*Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra* and *Secretaria de Estado  
da Marinha*, 24 September 1808.

Withdrew from the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, 26 September 1808.  
Held again the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, end of October 1809.

Cipriano Ribeiro Freire, president of the *Real Erário* since 24 September 1808.  
*Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, 26 September 1808-October 1809.

João António Salter de Mendonça *desembargador do Paço* and *procurador da Coroa*.  
26 November 1807-16 September 1820, effectively before.

*Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino e da Fazenda*, 24 September 1808.

Replaced often by the *desembargador* Alexandre José Ferreira Castelo, August 1811-  
March 1812, June-August 1812, August 1813, and other periods till July 1820.

Castelo was replaced by the *desembargador do Paço* António Gomes Ribeiro, 23 August  
1820-16 September 1820.

## Appendix 2

### Secretaries of State, Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821

**1** *Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Brasil/do Reino, Ministro Assistente*  
and President of the *Real Erário*:

D. Fernando José de Portugal, later Count of Aguiar, and afterwards Marquis of Aguiar.  
11 March 1808–30 December 1816, effectively end of November 1816.

António de Araújo de Azevedo, Count of Barca.  
30 December 1816-21 June 1817.

João Paulo Bezerra.  
Only president of the *Real Erário*, 23 June 1817-29 November 1817.

Tomás António Vilanova Portugal.  
*Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino*, 23 June 1817-6 February 1821.  
Also President of the *Real Erário*, December 1817-February 1821.

**2** *Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*

D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, later Count of Linhares.  
11 March 1808–26 January 1812.

D. Fernando de Portugal, Count of Aguiar.  
*ad interim* January 1812-1812.

D. João de Almeida Melo e Castro, Count of Galveias.  
25 January 1812-18 January 1814.

D. Fernando de Portugal, Marquis of Aguiar.  
19 January 1814-24 January 1817, effectively end of November 1816.

D. António de Araújo de Azevedo, Count of Barca.

30 December 1816-21 June 1817.

D. Pedro de Sousa e Holstein, Count of Palmela.

23 June 1817, effectively 20 December 1820-26 February 1821.

João Paulo Bezerra.

*ad interim* June 1817-29 November 1817.

Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal.

*ad interim* 30 November 1817-20 December 1820.

### **3 *Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos***

João Rodrigues de Sá e Melo Meneses e Souto Maior, Viscount of Anadia, later Count of Anadia.

Reappointed 11 March 1808–30 December 1809.

D. João de Almeida de Melo e Castro, Count of Galveias.

December 1809-18 January 1814.

D. Fernando de Portugal, Marquis of Aguiar.

January 1814-February 1814.

António de Araújo de Azevedo, later Count da Barca.

February 1814-21 June 1817.

Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal.

*ad interim*, June 1817-February 1818.

D. Marcos de Noronha e Brito, Count dos Arcos.

23 June 1817, effectively February 1818-26 February 1821.

### **Appendix 3**

#### **Councillors of State, Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821.**

D. José de Noronha e Camões, Marquis of Angeja, till ?1814

D. Henrique José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis of Pombal, till ?1814

D. José Vasconcelos e Sousa, Marquis of Belas, till ?1814

D. João Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes, Viscount of Anadia, till 30 December 1809.

D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, later Count of Linhares, till 26 January 1812.

D. João Almeida e Castro, later Count of Galveias, till 18 January 1814.

D. António Araújo de Azevedo, later Count da Barca, till 24 January 1817.

D. Fernando José de Portugal, Count of Aguiar, later Marquis of Aguiar, till 21 June 1817.

D. Pedro de Sousa e Holstein, Count of Palmela

Tomás António Vilanova Portugal

D. Marcos de Noronha e Brito, Count dos Arcos

D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Count of Funchal, appointed in June 1817, did not go to Rio de Janeiro.

## Appendix 4

### Chronology

**1807 July-August** Napoleon orders Portugal to comply with the blockade of Great Britain.

**October 22** Secret convention signed in London by Portugal and Great Britain on the transfer to Brasil of the Portuguese Monarchy and on the occupation of Madeira by the British.

**27** Treaty signed in Fontainebleau by Spain and France on the partition of Portugal.

**November 26** The Prince Regent D. João appoints a Regency Council to rule Portugal during his absence.

**28** The Prince Regent D. João, the Court and many Portuguese depart to Rio de Janeiro.

**30** The French Army, led by General Junot, begins to enter in Lisbon.

**December** The British commanded by William Carr Beresford occupy Madeira.

**1808 January 22-23** Arrival of the Prince Regent to Bahia.

**28** The Prince Regent orders the opening of Brazil to the commerce and navigation of the friendly nations.

**February 1** Napoleon decrees the extinction of the Bragança dynasty and Junot replaces the Portuguese Regency Council by a Government Council.

**March 7** The Prince Regent D. João arrives to Rio de Janeiro.

**11** D. João begins to re-set up the administrative apparatus in Rio de Janeiro appointing three ministers and secretaries of state for the *Negócios do Brasil* (also assistant minister and president of the *Real Erário*), the *Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos* and the *Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra*.

**April 1** D. João revokes the prohibition on the production of certain manufactures in Brazil and in the overseas dominions.

Creation of the *Conselho Supremo Militar* in Rio de Janeiro.

**22** Establishment of the *Mesa do Desembargo do Paço e da Consciência e Ordens* and of the *Chancelaria-Mor do Estado do Brasil* in Rio de Janeiro.

**May** Uprisings against the French in Spain.

The British occupy Goa.

**9** Creation of the *Registo de Mercês* in Rio de Janeiro.

**10** Replacement of the *Relação do Rio de Janeiro* by the *Casa da Suplicação do Brasil*.

Creation of the post of *Intendente Geral da Polícia da Corte e Estado do Brasil*.

**June** Uprisings against the French begin in the North of Portugal and erupt in several places, giving origin to Juntas.

**28** Establishment of the *Real Erário* and *Conselho da Fazenda* in Rio de Janeiro.

**July 22** Lord Strangford, British Minister and Extraordinary Envoy at the Portuguese Court, arrives at Rio de Janeiro.

**August 1** The British begin to disembark in Portugal.

**17** Battle of Roliça.

**21** Battle of Vimeiro.

**23** Establishment of the *Real Junta do Comércio, e Agricultura, Fábricas e Navegação do Estado do Brasil e Domínios Ultramarinos* in Rio de Janeiro.

**30** Convention of Sintra.

**September mid** Evacuation of the majority of the French Army from Portugal.

**18** The British re-establish the Regency Council in Lisbon.

**December** John Charles Villiers, British Minister Plenipotentiary in Lisbon, arrives there.

**1809 January** Portugal occupies the French Guyannes.

**March** Major General William Carr Beresford, appointed commander of the Portuguese Army, arrives at Lisbon.

**March-May** Second French Invasion to Portugal commanded by Soult and occupation of Porto.

**April** Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lieutenant General, appointed commander-in-chief of the combined Anglo-Portuguese Army, returns to Lisbon.

**May** The royal confirmation and instructions to the Governors of the Kingdom are received in Lisbon.

**1810 February 19** Portugal and Great Britain sign the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, Treaty of Alliance and Friendship, and the Packet Convention.

**June** Third French Invasion, commanded by Marshal Massena.

**September** *Setembrizada*, deportation to the Azores, ordered by the governors of the Kingdom, of people suspected of sympathy with the French.

**24** Charles Stuart, who replaced Villiers as British Minister Plenipotentiary in Lisbon, begins to participate in the government of Portugal.

**27** Battle of Buçaco.

**October** Wellesley withdraws to Lisbon and the French Army stops before the Lines of Torres Vedras around the town.

**1811 May** Withdrawal of Massena to Spain.

**1811 mid** Portuguese military interference into the Rio de la Plata affairs.

**1812 March 19** The Spanish Cortes issue the Liberal Constitution of Cadiz.

**May 26** Armistice between the delegate of the Portuguese Prince Regent and the provisional government of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata.

**May 29-June 10** Reestablishment and prorogation of the political and commercial relations between Portugal and Russia.

**1814 May 4** Fernando VII of Spain, returned to Madrid, rejects the Constitution of 1812.

**April** Charles Stuart returns to England and is not replaced in the government of Lisbon.

**10** Wellington assaults Toulouse, last military act of the Napoleonic Wars where Portuguese troops participated.

**11** Unconditional abdication of Napoleon.

**May 30** First Treaty of Paris.

The Prince Regent D. João and the Court remain in Brazil.

Marshall Beresford goes on commanding the Portuguese Army and British officers remain in Portugal.

**1815** Congress of Vienna and signature of several diplomatic acts between Portugal and Austria, France, Great Britain, Spain, Prussia, Russia and Sweden.

**June 18** Battle of Waterloo.

**22** Second abdication of Napoleon.

**September** Marshall Beresford goes to Brazil in order to reinforce his powers regarding the army and the government in Portugal.

**December 16** Elevation of Brazil to Kingdom.

**1816** Marriage of the Infantas D. Maria Isabel de Bragança and D. Maria Francisca de Assis, to the King of Spain, D. Fernando VII, and his brother D. Carlos Isidro de Bourbon

**May** A Portuguese military expedition is sent to the south of Brazil against Artigas and intervenes in the Rio da Plata region.

**June** Death of Queen Maria I.

**September** Marshall Beresford returns to Portugal with reinforced powers and opposition grows.

**1817 January** Portuguese troops occupy Montevideo.

**March** Revolt in Pernambuco, in the northeast of Brazil, which is controlled two months later.



**May** Conspiracy of General Gomes Freire de Andrade in Lisbon severely punished.

Beresford is blamed for the repression.

**November** Marriage of the Portuguese Prince heir D. Pedro to the Austrian Princess

D. Leopoldina in Rio de Janeiro.

**1818** Acclamation of D. João VI in Brasil.

The conspiratorial association *Sinédrio* is formed in Porto.

**1820 January 1** A military insurrection begins in the south of Spain in favour of

Constitutionalism.

**April** Beresford goes again to Brazil to be more empowered and obtains a seat in the government in Lisbon.

**August 24** The Army rebels in Porto in support of the assembling of the Cortes to adopt a Constitution. The north of Portugal adheres.

**September 15-16** Military forces rebel in Lisbon and replace the Governors of the Kingdom by an interim government.

**October mid** The news of the liberal insurrection in Portugal arrive in Rio de Janeiro.

**November 11** Uprising of *Martinhada* in Lisbon defending the immediate proclamation of the Constitution of Cadiz.

**1821** Provincial Juntas with connexion to the Portuguese Cortes multiply in Brazil.

Election of Brazilian deputies to the Cortes.

**January 1** The Province of Pará adheres to the Portuguese constitutional government.

**26** Opening of the Cortes in Lisbon to establish a Constitution.

**February 10** Bahia adheres to the Portuguese Constitutionalism.

**26** A military movement breaks out in Rio de Janeiro advocating the support to the revolution in Portugal and to future Constitution what was agreed by D. João VI.

**March 7** The departure of D. João VI is announced as well as the nomination of the Prince heir D. Pedro as Regent of Brazil.

**April 27** King D. João VI leaves Rio de Janeiro.

**June 5** Military uprising in Rio de Janeiro in favour of the Portuguese Constituent Cortes.

**July 4** D. João VI, after disembarking in Lisbon, gives oath to the Cortes.

**1822 January 9** D. Pedro declares in Rio de Janeiro his decision to stay, regarding the Cortes order to return to Portugal.

**September 7** D. Pedro declares the independence of Brazil.

**October 12** D. Pedro becomes emperor of Brazil.

**1823 May** Absolutist coup of Vilafrancada in Portugal.

**1825 August 25** Portugal recognizes the independence of Brazil and both countries sign a Treaty of Friendship.

## Appendix 5

### Glossary

#### 1 General

Benefício	Benefice. Granted office.
Brigadeiro	Major General
Caixa	Treasurer.
Caixa militar	Military chest.
Câmara Municipal	Municipal Council.
Capitão-General	Captain-General
Casa da Moeda	Royal Mint.
Casa da Suplicação	Court of Appeal. Supreme Court of Appeals.
Casa de Bragança	House of Braganza, Portuguese Dynasty.
Casa do Infantado	Infantado Estates: part of the Crown property administrated in the name of the sovereign, for the benefit of his younger children.
Casa dos Vinte e Quatro	Representative body of the artisan guilds in Portugal.
Chanceler	Chancellor of a high court: judge, as <i>Regedor</i> in Casa da Suplicação.

Chanceler-mor	Principal chancellor of the Kingdom.
Chancelaria-mor	Great Chancellery.
Comarca	Judicial district significantly larger than a municipality.
Condestável	Supreme commander of the Army.
Conselheiro	Councillor.
Conselho do Almirantado	Council of the Admiralty
Conselho de Estado	Council of State. Privy Council.
Conselho e Estado das Rainhas	Queen's Council and Estate.
Conselho da Fazenda e do Ultramar	Council of Finance and Overseas.
Conselho da Fazenda or Conselho da Real Fazenda	Council of Finance or Council of the Royal Finance.
Conselho de Guerra	Council of War.
Conselho Ultramarino	Overseas Council.
Contador-mor	Chief accountant.
Contadoria	Accountant's section.
Corregedor	Royal magistrate: a superior crown magistrate in charge of a <i>correição</i> .

Corregedor do Crime da Corte e Casa	Corregidor of the Court's Crime.
Corregedor-mor	Chief or principal corregidor.
Correição	A judicial district; <i>fazer correição</i> : to make a circuit tour of a judicial district.
Desembargador	High court magistrate.
Desembargador do Paço	Desembargador of the Mesa do Desembargo do Paço.
Desembargo do Paço	<i>See</i> Mesa do Desembargo do Paço.
Dízimo real	Royal tithe.
Donativo	Contribution to the Crown, nominally raised by voluntary subscription but in practice often by official pressure.
Erário Régio	Royal Exchequer. Royal Treasury. Royal Fisc.
Escriturário	An official in charge of the records, accounts, etc. Office assistant.
Escrivão	Notary public.
Estado-Maior	General staff.
Estribeiro-mór	Chief equerry.
Fazenda	Finance. Revenue.

Fidalgo	Nobleman. Gentleman. Lit. <i>filho d'algo</i> , 'son of somebody'.
Fiel	Treasurer's assistant. Cashier.
Físico-mór	Chief physician.
Gentil-homem da Câmara or camareiro	Valet.
Governadores do Reino	Governors of the Kingdom.
Governador das armas	Military governor.
Guarda-mor do Arquivo	Keeper of the Record Office.
Guarda-roupa da Casa Real	Chamberlain.
Intendente Geral da Polícia	Intendant General of Police.
Inspector Geral	Inspector general. Senior inspector.
Juiz de fora	Outside judge. District crown or court judge. Justices of the peace. Charged with administrative and judicial tasks within the limits of a municipality, inferior to a circuit judge (ouvidor). Appointed from a region other than that in which he administered justice.
Juiz ordinário or juiz da terra	Locally elected magistrate with judicial powers in minor cases.
Juiz do Povo	Judge of the People, elected.

Juiz dos Orfãos	Probate judge.
Junta do Comércio, Agricultura, Fábricas e Navegação	Royal Committee for or Board of Trade, Agriculture Manufacturing and Navigation.
Junta do Estado e Casa de Bragança	Board of the Estate and House of Bragança.
Junta da Fazenda	Board of Revenue or Treasury Board consisting of several high royal officials headed by senior administrative official, charged with management of royal finances within a captaincy-general in Brazill as well as in other territories.
Junta da Inconfidência	Disloyalty or Distrust Board or Committee.
Junta Suprema do Porto	Supreme Council of Government of Porto.
Junta dos Viveres	Provisions Board.
Mercê	Honor. Award. <i>See also</i> prebenda.
Mesa da Consciência e Ordens	Board or Table of Conscience and Orders. Board of the King's Conscience and of Military Orders.

Mesa do Desembargo do Paço	Board or Table of Disembargo do Paço. Desembargo = raising of an embargo, clearing, dispatching. Desembargar = remove embargos.
Mesa da Inspecção	Board of Inspection, established in major colonial ports charged with overseeing production and export of sugar, tobacco and other commodities.
Monteiro-mór	By the end of the eighteenth century, this was purely an honorary title, but it originally designated the official in the Casa Real who directed the stables and the royal hunts.
Mordomia-mór	Department of the Casa Real responsible for its accounts.
Mordomo-mor	Chief steward. Lord chamberlain. Post of the Casa Real accountable for its expenses.
Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra	Foreign and War Affairs.
Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos	Marine Affairs and Overseas Dominions. Navy Affairs and Overseas Dominions.
Negócios do Reino	Affairs of the Kingdom. Home Affairs. Realm Affairs.



Oficial	Official. Public officer. Those employed in public offices.
Oficial maior	Senior official.
Oficial da reforma or da cópia.	Official who reform (restore) documents copying them.
Oficio	Civil post. Office.
Ordenanças	Territorial military units of all able-bodied males of the Kingdom. A kind of second line militia in time of emergency.
Ouvidor	Superior Crown magistrate who performed administrative and judicial duties within a comarca.
Paço	Court.
Porteiro	Porter. Door porter.
Prebenda	Benefices awarded by the state in exchange for administrative services.
Principal	Title held by the prelate at the head of an ecclesiastical organization, who, in the case of the Holy Church Patriarchal in Lisbon, was the principal deacon .
Procurador da Coroa	Procurator of Crown. Kings Attorney General.

Provedor	Superintendent usually with financial responsibilities. Comptroller.
Provedor da Alfândega	Superintendent of Customs House.
Provedor de defuntos	Superintendent of intestate property.
Provedor da Fazenda	Crown purveyor. Principal local financial administrator. Royal treasurer.
Provedor-mór da Fazenda	Chief financial officer. Treasurer-general. Superintendent of royal treasurers and their staffs.
Provedor dos Orfãos	Financial officer. Treasurer of orphans.
Provedoria	Purveyor's office.
Real Erário	<i>See</i> Erário Régio.
Real Colégio dos Nobres	Royal College of Nobles.
Real Junta da Fazenda da Marinha	Royal Board of Finance of the Navy.
Regedor	Chairman judge who presided over the Casa da Suplicação. Regidor, presiding officer in a High Court.
Regedor da Justiça	Chairman of Justice.
Registo de Mercês	Register of Honor Awards. Register of Benefices.

Reinól	Portuguese born in the <i>Reino</i> , i.e. in European Portugal
Relação, Tribunal da	Court of Appeal. High Court of Appeals.
Secretaria de Estado	Secretariat of State Secretaryship of State. Ministry of State.
Senado da Câmara	Municipal Council. Town Council.
Supremo Conselho Militar	High Military Council.
Tabelião	Notary.
Tenente-general	Lieutenant general.
Termo	County. Territorial limit.
Terreiro Público or Terreiro do Trigo	Department responsible for providing wheat.
Tribunais	Tribunals is the direct translation. These were not courts and referred to a category comprising high and relatively autonomous public institutions, apart from its nature, administrative, judicial, advisory. They were designated <i>Mesas</i> , <i>Juntas</i> and <i>Conselhos</i> .
Vereador	Municipal councillor or aldermen.

## 2 Archival and diplomatics terminology

Acervo	Holdings. The whole of documents under custody of an archive service or other entity.
Acordão justice.	Sentence or resolution of a court of justice.
Acta	Proceedings or transactions: a record of business transacted at a meeting or conference.
Alvará	Royal decree to remain in force for one year, but usually issued with provision for indefinite extension. Kind of general law whose object are modifications and statements about things already established, on the contrary to the Carta de Lei that creates new things and establishments. They are also different concerning their duration. The Cartas de Lei are perpetual and the Alvarás last only for one year, if they do not mention anything different.
Arquivística	Archival studies. The theoretical and practical study of policies, procedures and problems relating to archival functions.

Arquivo 1	Records, archives. In Portugal, organical set of records, apart its date, form and material, produced and received by a juridical entity or by a private or public department, during its activity and kept as evidence or information. It is the largest archival unit. Each archive correspond to a provenance.
Arquivo 2	Record Office, Archives, Archives service, Archives agency.
Arquivo corrente	Active records, current records.
Arquivo privado	Records or archives of non-governmental agencies, institutions and organisations and or of non-governmental provenance. Papers, personal, family and estate records or archives of corporate bodies. In Portugal, private records or archives, produced by an entity of private Law.
Arquivo público	Public records or archives, those legally defined as public. In Portugal, public records or archives, those produced by a person of public Law.
Auto	Act, action against, public document certifying a judicial act. Official record. Also lawsuit.

Auto de posse	Document of the act of taking public office.
Aviso	Order issued by the secretaries of state on behalf of the monarch and addressed to a tribunal, magistrate, corporation or individual.
Bilhete or bilhete de recado	Billet. Note. Brief informal letter.
Caderno	Quire.
Capa	Folder.
Capilha	Thin folder.
Carta de beneficio	Letter issued by the King using his volunteer jurisdiction or discretionary power granting a benefice.
Carta de gabinete	Royal letter.
Carta de lei	<i>See</i> alvará.
Carta patente	Letter patent. Open document, not signed, neither sealed by the Chancellor, nominating to public offices, conferring rank.
Carta de prego	Closed letter with instructions to the commander of the ship for him to open only out of the bar of the harbour entrance.

Carta régia	A royal provision intended to be permanent, which began with the name of the person or authority to whom it was addressed, followed by 'Eu el Rei vos envio muito saudar...' and signed 'Rei'.
Colaço	Collation, 'nomination for an ecclesiastical benefice'.
Consulta	Minute of a council meeting, recommendation by council to King; also a decree-in council with the force of a law. Minutes or record of a council meeting with the relevant decision signed by those attending. Record of a discussion in council, and by extension a council's decision. Advice that the King orders to take about some affair, or request of the parties in the high departments, to ponder and decide.
Conta	Report.
Copiador	A copybook, often of selected documents. Letterbook, volume in which draft or fair copy letters sent have been written, usually in chronological order; also used for copies on single sheets of letters sent, subsequently bound together.
Credencial, carta	Letter of credence
Data tónica	Place date.

Decreto	Decree. It is especially the primary resolution of the King signed only by him with his paraph. This decree does not have a regular formula. But usually it does not begin with the name of the King, as the Carta de Lei and Alvará, nor with the addressee, as the Carta Régia. It usually addresses to the tribunais, in order that they issue the orders for the decree to be applied. Generally the decrees regard special cases, but sometimes they produce or revoke Law.
Despacho	Dispatch. Document sent from the secretary of state for Foreign Affairs to the diplomatic representatives. Sometimes it is also designated as officio. Order from the ministers and secretaries of state sent by express mail due to the importance of their content for the State. Decision.
Devassa	Judicial inquiry.
Documento	Document.
Documento anexo	Annexe document. Document sent by another document, which is considered the main document. Might contain further information or evidence regarding what is stated in the main document.
Documento apenso	Document ordered to be attached afterwards to another, because it includes



elements of evidence or information regarding the same administrative or judicial action.

Documento de arquivo

Record.

Documento avulso

Loose paper.

Documento composto

File. An organised unit (folder, volume, etc.) of documents grouped together either for current use or in the process of archival arrangement. In Portugal some distinguish documento composto and processo, both designated in English by file. The documento composto is, in this case, a unit of single documents. The processo is a unit of documents. Both units relate to the same administrative or judicial transaction. Processo is a traditional designation in the Portuguese administration.

Documento oficial

Official record. A record in law having the legally recognised and judicially enforceable quality of establishing some fact. In Portugal, a document issued or recognised by a public office.

Documento público

See documento oficial.

Documento(s) privado(s)

See arquivo privado.

Documento simples

Document. A single archival, record or manuscript item.

Documentos de função	Office file(s). Documents relating to or belonging to an office or position or connected with a person holding an office or position. Documents or copies thereof papers and/or publications kept by or for official for their private or personal use, relating directly or indirectly to their official duties. Also called convenience/personal file (US); semi-official records (UK).
Edital	Edict. Municipal decree.
Fé de ofício	Record of service carried out by a civil servant or a military.
Folha corrida	Certificate of conduct.
Folha de despesa	Expense sheet
Folha de pagamento	Payroll.
Fundo	Fonds. Record group. Archive. <i>See</i> archive.
Informação	Report. Information.
Instrumento de descrição documental	Finding aid.
Lembrete	Reminder. Note.
Livro de entrada	Entry book of in-letters

Livro de funções de Corte	Book where protocol letters were recorded.
Livro de posses	Book of register of entrances into office.
Livro de porta	Door book.
Macete	Small bundle.
Maço	Bundle.
Memória	Memorandum.
Minuta	Minute. Preparatory version of a document before its definitive form, but whose text is settled.
Nota diplomática	Diplomatic note. Document exchanged between the diplomatic representative and the responsible for the Foreign Affairs of the country where the former was carrying out his duty. Initially the diplomatic note from the Portuguese representative was more solemn and written in the third person and the name of the author and his official job (intitulatio) appeared immediately ast the beginning of the document (in the protocol). During the period in study its features were similar to the features of the ofício.
Ofício, carta de	Official letter.

Organização	Arrangement. Classify and order a holdings or part of it. <i>See</i> tratamento.
Parecer	Recommendation. A considered opinion.
Passe de perdão	Pardon pass or permit.
Pasta	Folder.
Pauta	List. Register. Roll.
Petição	Petition. A written request to an authority for the performance of specific action.
Portaria	Order issued by the secretaries of state on behalf of the monarch, beginning by ‘Manda El-Rei Nosso Senhor’, without a specific addressee.
Processo	<i>See</i> documento composto.
Processo judicial	Records of a court case.
Provisão	A kind of law and royal order granting a benefit or a oficio (civil post), issued by any tribunal on behalf of the King and due to delegation of his powers.
Rascunho	Draft. A rough or preliminary form of a document still to be changed and corrected.
Recredencial, carta	Letter of recall.

Regimento	Standing orders, instructions, specifying the duties, powers and restrictions of a particular office or instructions to a particular official issued before he assumed a new post.
Registo	Register. A document, usually a volume in which regular entry is made of data of any kind by statutory authority or because of the data are considered of sufficient importance to be exactly and formally registered. This designation applies either to finding aids produced to control and describe documents produced and received in a service (registo de correspondência) or to records that evidence acts, facts or events (for instance registo civil, registo paroquial, registo de notariado).
Representação	Representation: a statement or account made to influence opinion or action.
Requerimento	Request. <i>See</i> petição.
Resolução régia	Royal resolution or determination. In general all the sovereign's determinations. But in especial the royal determinations assenting to the <i>consultas</i> from the <i>tribunais</i> . They should be issued by the legal and authentic <i>repartições</i> , such as <i>tribunais</i> , generals and governors through orders or <i>provisões</i> , and also

secretaries of state, through *avisos* or *portarias*. They do not obey to precise formulas.

Série

Series. Item or documents arranged in accordance with a filing plan/system or maintained as a unit because they relate to a particular function or subject, result from the same activity, have a particular form or because of some other relationship arising out of circumstances of their creation or use.

Termo

A legal or official written declaration.

Termo de abertura

Opening term: a legal or official written declaration, opening a book and characterizing it, namely through its functions. It is dated and signed.

Termo de encerramento

Closing term: a legal or official written declaration, closing a book and characterizing it, namely through its functions. The date and signature are identical to those of the termo de encerramento.

Termo de posse

*See* auto de posse.

Tratamento

Arrangement. Technical procedures to identify, arrange and describe records and information they convey. See *organização*.

Unidade de instalação	Storage unit
Unidade arquivística	Archival unit or archival entity.
Verbete	Jotting. Ticket. A slip on a document recording information connected with its content.
Via	Copies in the form of originals, but sent separately, for security purposes. The first original was titled primeira via (1a. via), the second original was the 2da. via, and the triplicate the 3ra. via.

For the glossary as well as for the writing of the text, we referred to Portuguese and English records, as well as to bibliography, in particular the following.

Alden, Dauril, *Royal government in colonial Brazil with special reference to the administration of the marquis of Lavradio, vice-roy, 1769-1779*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1968.

Alves, Ivone, *et al.*, *Dicionário de terminologia arquivística*, Lisbon: Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 1993.

April, Brian R., 'The Sousa Coutinho family and the influence of Portugal on British policy, 1808-1812', (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University 1994).

Atherton, Louise, "*Never complain, never explain*": *records of the Foreign Office and State Paper Office 1500-c.1960*, London: PRO Publications, 1994.

Bellardo, Lewis J.; Bellardo, Lynn Lady, *A glossary for archivists, manuscripts curators, and record managers*, Chicago IL: Society of American Archivists, 1992.

Boxer, C. R., *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

Boxer, C. R., *The golden age of Brazil, 1695-1750*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1962.

Boxer, C. R., *The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415-1825*, Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1991. Reprint 1997. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. London, 1969.

Boxer, C. R., *Salvador de Sá and the struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602-1686*, [London]: University of London; Athlone Press, 1952.

Chester, Sir Norman, *The English administrative system: 1780-1870*, Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1981.

Clayton, Arnold B., 'The life of Tomás António de Vilanova Portugal: a study in government of Portugal and Brazil, 1781-1821', Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University: 1977.

Cohen, Emmeline Waley, *The growth of the British civil service, 1780-1939*, Cass, 1941. 2<sup>nd</sup> impression 1965.

Collinge, J. M. (comp.), *Foreign Office officials, 1782-1870*, London: University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 1979.

Comission Internationale de Diplomatie. Comité International des Sciences Historiques; M<sup>ª</sup> Milagros Carcél Ortí (ed.) *Vocabulaire internationale de la diplomatie*, 2nd ed. revised, València: Conselleria de Cultura; Universitat de València, 1997.

*Collins COBUILD, English dictionary for advanced learners*, Lingea; HarperCollins Publishers, 2001. CD-ROM.



*Dicionário de inglês- português*, Porto: Porto Editora, 1995.

*Dicionário de português-inglês*, Porto: Porto Editora, 1995.

*Dictionary of archival terminology = Dictionnaire de terminologie archivistique: English and French with equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish*, Peter Walne (ed.) 2nd rev. ed., München [etc.]: K. G. Saur, 1988.

Duranti, Luciana, *Diplomatics: new uses for an old science*, Lanham, Maryland and London: Sacrecrow Press Inc., 1998.

*Enciclopedia Britannica 2002*. CD-ROM.

Ferreira, Aurélio Buarque de Holanda, *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa*, 2nd ed. rev. and augmented, Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1992.

Foy, General Maximilian, Foy, General Maximilian, *Junot's invasion of Portugal: 1807-1808, 1829*. Facsimile reprint, Felling: Worley Publications, 2000.

Fuente, Francisco de la, 'Dom Miguel Pereira Forjaz: his early career and role in the mobilization and defence of Portugal during the peninsular war, 1807-1814', Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University: 1980.

Fryman, Mildred L., 'Charles Stuart and the "Common Cause": The Anglo-Portuguese alliance, 1810-1814', 2 vol., Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University: 1974.

'Glossary' in *Guide to the contents of the Public Record Office*, vol. 1, *Legal records, etc.*, revised (to 1960) from the Guide by the late M. S. Giuseppe, London: HM Stationery Office, 1963, pp. 201-211.

Hespanha, António Manuel, *História das instituições: épocas medieval e moderna*, Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1982.

Jones, Ray, 'Introduction: the Foreign Office 1782-1848' in *The nineteenth-century Foreign Office: an administrative history*, London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1971, pp. 11-21.

*Managing public sector records: a study programme: glossary*, comp. Laura Millar, Michael Roper and Kelly Stewart, London: International Records Management Trust, 1999, version 1/99.

Manchester, Alan K., 'The growth of bureaucracy in Brazil, 1808-1821' *Journal of Latin American studies*, 4/1 (1972), 77-83.

Manchester, Alan K. 'The transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro' in *Conflict and continuity in Brazilian society*, Columbia S C, University of South Carolina Press: 1969, pp. 148-183. Edition in Portuguese: 'A transferência da corte portuguesa para o Rio de Janeiro' *Revista do Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro*, 277, (1967), 3-44.

Maxwell, Kenneth, *Conflicts and conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750-1808*, Cambridge: University Press, 1973.

*Michaelis: moderno dicionário inglês-português, português-inglês*, São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos, 2000.

Nelson, R. R., *The Home Office, 1782-1801*, Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1969.

Prado Junior, Caio, *The colonial background of modern Brazil*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1967. Trans. Suzette Macedo *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo: colônia*, 2nd ed., S. Paulo: 1945.

Procter, Margaret, and Cook, Michael, *Manual of archival description*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Aldershot, England, Gower, 2000. Mainly 'Dictionary of technical terms', pp. 245-257 and 'Standard listing of conventions', pp.125-135.

Public Record Office, Foreign Office: 63/61, 63/66, 63/75, 63/76, 63/77, 63/78, 63/83, 63/90, 63/221, 342/44.

Roper, Michael, *The records of the Foreign Office 1782-1968*, Kew: PRO Publications, 2002.

Roper, Michael, *The records of the War Office and related departments: 1660-1964*, Kew: PRO Publications, 1998.

Russell-Wood, A. J., 'Local government in Portuguese America: a study in cultural divergence' in *Society and government in colonial Brazil, 1500-1822*, [London]: Variorum, 1992, pp. 187-231.

Schwartz, Stuart B., *Sovereignty and society in colonial Brazil: the High Court of Bahia and its judges*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1973.

Silva, Andréa Mansuy Diniz, 'Imperial re-organization, 1750-1808' in Bethell, Leslie, (ed.), *Colonial Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1988], pp. 244-283.

Silva, Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da, *História do Direito português: fontes de Direito*, Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985.

Sousa, José Caetano Pereira e, *Esbôço de um dicionário jurídico, teórico e prático, remissivo as leis compiladas e extravagantes*, 3 vol. in 1, Lisbon: Tipographia Rollandiana, 1825-1827.

Thurston, Anne, *Records of the Colonial Office, Dominions Office, Commonwealth Relations Office and Commonwealth Office*, London: The Stationery Office, 1995. (British Documents on the End of Empire, Series C/Sources for Colonial studies in the Public Record).

