Burdened by “a thousand afflictions, sorrows, and duties that I never thought I would endure.” So the Portuguese royal archivist Luiz Marrócos described his state of being aboard the *Princeza Carlota*, bound for Brazil in 1811, in a letter to his father, a philosophy professor and librarian, who had remained behind in war-torn Lisbon. Marrócos had embarked upon such a painful separation from his family and his *pátria* to escort the invaluable royal archive, saved from Napoleon’s armies, to the new royal court in Rio de Janeiro. In the years that followed, Marrócos, together with other royal advisors, servants, attendants, and nobles who had joined the royal family in their new place of residence, would struggle to resolve the contradictions of such an undertaking: rather than defeat, leaving behind Portugal and suffering through an exile in Brazil meant the survival, and as some officials claimed publicly, the triumph of the monarchy in the New World. Here I examine how Marrócos and other exiles confronted this dilemma as the colonial city of Rio de Janeiro was transformed into the capital of the Portuguese empire. Although in initial descriptions of their plight the exiles appealed to well established images of tropical inferiority, many came to realize that overcoming estrangement, and an empathetic sense of the loss that their own departure had created, also demanded a reexamination of the relationship between Europe and America. In the

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process, what were once sites of difference between the Old World and the New - culture, civilization and morality – were recognized as the basis of redemption and prosperity, for the exiles, for Brazil, and for the Portuguese nation itself.2

\textit{A Patriotic Exile}

Although a transfer of the Portuguese royal court to the Americas had been envisioned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in various moments of political crisis, when it occurred as an effort to save the royal family from the captivity of Napoleon and his invading armies in 1807, it nevertheless produced shock and confusion for those who experienced it in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro and for those who made what was reportedly a chaotic transatlantic journey. As they then took up residence in the new royal court the exiles began to perceive the deprivation and deplorable conditions of the Atlantic crossing as having foreshadowed the suffering and estrangement they were to experience in Brazil. They were beset by a painful \textit{saudade} (nostalgic longing), one royal counselor assured his wife who had stayed behind in Portugal.\textsuperscript{3} This sense of loss and of sentimental fragility was joined by fears of physical exposure to the “innumerable illnesses,” heavy rains, heat and pestilence that reportedly plagued Rio de Janeiro. The city=s churches are continually announcing deaths,” lamented Marrôcos in 1812.

\footnote{2 An extended examination of the transfer of the court can be found in Kirsten Schultz, \textit{Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy and the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821} (New York: Routledge, 2001), from which the material presented here is drawn.}

\footnote{3 José Correa Picanço to Caterina Picanço [his wife], March 10, 1808, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon) (hereafter, AHU) Caixa 306, Documento 81.}
AOnly in the Church of the Misericórdia of this City, he reported to his father, Athey buried over 300 persons, natives of Lisbon."  

Such physical challenges were quickly construed as moral tribulations. A range of new experiences, the exiles found, was to be explained by appealing to a topos of physical and moral degeneration in America, inaugurated in the sixteenth-century Jesuit indictment of Portuguese settlers “gone native” in Brazil and rearticulated in eighteenth-century assertions that in the New World nature and humankind were inferior (due to immaturity or degeneracy) as well as in claims about the relationship between climate, customs and law that equated the tropics with servitude and barbarism. As he complained in numerous letters to his father, in Rio Marrócos was overwhelmed by the dirt, the isolation, and the city’s “indignant, arrogant, vain and libertine residents.” For others, life in “a sad and sickly land” became a “degredo” (punitive banishment), akin to those dispensed by the Portuguese Inquisition and civil courts. Rio de Janeiro became an “inferno,” or, as one exile described it drawing on long-established images of Brazil as a land of vice, a modern day “Babylon,” where slavery corrupted both slaves and their owners and where “indecency” and other “amusements” led to perdition. “This is a new

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4 Marquês de Borba to the Condessa do Redondo [his daughter-in-law], Rio de Janeiro, February 20, 1809, in Ângelo Pereira, Os filhos de el-rei Dom João VI (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1946), 140; Marrócos to his father, February 27 and 29, 1812, Cartas, 60, 63-64.


6 Marrócos to his father, October 24, 1811, and Marrócos to his sister, March 31, 1812, Cartas, 38, 68.

7 Anonymous in Os filhos, 123; Borba to Condessa, in Os filhos, 140.
world, but for the worst,” reported the Marquês de Borba to a son who stayed behind; a world of “abomination and scandal” attributable, he concluded, only to an absence of “religion and the fear of God.” While stopping short of such a withering indictment, the newly-arrived bishop nevertheless joined in the exile lament, declaring that Rio de Janeiro was place where the “infirmites of languor and weakness, from which few escape in a swampy country” precluded even the piety of Lent.\(^8\) In a moment when the empire and Portugal itself faced ruin, the exiles thus reacted by reconstructing the relationship between Portugal and Brazil as what Mary Louise Pratt has described as “an essentialized relationship of negativity,” one in which America necessarily defined Europe=s afflictions.\(^9\) Accordingly, lines of division were also dramatically drawn. As Marrócos vowed in one letter to his father, residing in Rio de Janeiro provoked in him such “hate and rage” that he suspected he cursed Brazil “even in his sleep.”\(^{10}\)

The exiles= disaffection and their self-representation as both apart from and threatened by the city in which they now lived sustained their overwhelming nostalgia for and loyalty to Portugal. And it was, above all, the moment of departure that marked this nostalgia and their exile, making them, as Amy Kaminsky has written of twentieth-

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\(^8\) Borba to the Conde de Redondo [his son], [Rio de Janeiro], May 10, 1810, transcribed in *Os filhos*, 143. In a letter to his sister, March 31, 1812, Marrócos also complained of the residents= failure to abstain from eating meat during Lent. See *Cartas*, 68. The Bishop=s dispensation, *D.José Caetano da Silva Coutinho, Por Mercê de Deos [...] ([Rio de Janeiro]: Impressão Régia, [1811]),* is cited in Ana Maria de Almeida Camargo and Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Bibliografia da Impressão Régia do Rio de Janeiro* v.1 (São Paulo: EDUSP/Kosmos, 1993), 73-74.

\(^9\) Writing on eighteenth-century discourses on America, Mary Louise Pratt describes this relationship of negativity as “the pivot of colonial semantics.” See her *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 140.

\(^{10}\) Marrócos to his father, November 21, 1812, *Cartas*, 112-13.
century exile, “no longer present in the place departed, but not part of the new place either.” As they looked back, the exiles’ memories of sailing from Lisbon formed the basis for imagining the ordeal of those who remained on the peninsula to receive the French invasionary force: the leadership of the Regency, others who were physically unprepared for the transatlantic crossing, those unable to attain passage in the royal convoy, and Lisbon’s popular classes. Even during the initial celebrations of arrival at Rio both Portugal’s remembered past and its imagined present supplanted the newcomers’ immediate experience in Brazil. The fleet that brought the royal family, one exile explained, became a symbol not of what it encountered and the future it promised, but rather of what it left behind: the Europe that cried for the absent prince.11 The image of a sorrowful, abandoned, violated Portugal was also memorialized in an elegy published in Rio shortly after the arrival of the court. “And who,” the author asked, “will dry the tearful, anguished eyes of the loving wife,/ When suddenly they see their Father distant [...] Who will offer refuge to the innocent/ Orphans, the progeny of Lusitania [...]?”12

For the exiles this effort to re-enact a presence in their absence depended, above all, on their ability to maintain current, and tangible, connections to Europe. Marrócos, who had participated in the defense of Lisbon during the second French invasion (1809),

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closely followed the remainder of the Peninsular war from Rio. He eagerly awaited the arrival of ships, hoping for greetings from Portugal and “the political, military and rural news of the Continent” that letters might contain. As one resident reported, with similar hopes of news from Portugal “people of all classes” made their way to the post office, making it, as he complained, an increasingly crowded and at times disorderly place. Gazettes, broadsides and what Marrócos referred to generally as “public Papers” were another much sought after source of information, for they “offered those far from the Old World comfort, amusement, and pleasure.” As a royal archivist, Marrócos had easy and regular access to “all the Periodicals [...] from different parts of the world,” including those sent to Rio de Janeiro from expatriates in London, where more than one Portuguese-language newspaper was published. Beyond the Palace, book dealers also offered a selection of the 2,000 books, pamphlets, flyers, proclamations and engravings published in Portugal, including translations of Spanish, French and English works on the

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14 Marrócos to his father, August 29 and November 21, 1812, Cartas, 97, 112.


16 Marrócos to his father, December 1, 1813, Cartas, 175.

17 Marrócos to his father, October 29, 1811, October 14, 1812, November 16, 1813, and July 2, 1814, Cartas, 42, 105, 172, 204. Portuguese language papers published in London included O Investigador Portuguez (1811-1819), O Portuguez (1814-1826) and the more well-known Correio Braziliense (1808-1822). See José Augusto dos Santos Alves, Ideologia e Política na Imprensa do Exílio, AO Portuguez@ (1814-1826) (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1992). O Investigador Portuguez was subsidized by the Portuguese crown to counter the initially more independent Correio Braziliense.
Napoleonic conflict, engravings of war heroes and, according to police reports, unauthorized works that slipped by censors at the customs house.\textsuperscript{18}

In addition to materials from abroad, news of the state of affairs in Europe could be found in locally-printed works. In 1808, for the first time in the history of Portuguese settlement in America, the crown reversed its ban against printing in Brazil and established the \textit{Impressão Régia} on the Rua do Passeio, using presses that had been brought along from Lisbon. While the Royal Press was founded “to print exclusively all legislation and diplomatic papers” generated by the crown, it also supplied news about the war. Twice a week in the \textit{Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro} readers could find reports of battles and negotiations, translations from foreign newspapers, editorials, advertisements for pamphlets and engravings, and local letters and notices of patriotic Portuguese residing within and beyond the prince regent’s domain.\textsuperscript{19}


\footnotesize\textsuperscript{19} ADecreto,” May 13, 1808, Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro (hereafter BNRJ), Ms. 1-46,8,14. The press was under the jurisdiction of the Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros e de Guerra. On the \textit{Gazeta} see Tereza Maria Rolo Fachada Levy Cardoso, AA Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro: subsídios para a história da cidade (1808-1821)@ (M.A. thesis, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, 1988), 96-115. In 1813, an additional gazette appeared called \textit{O Patriota}, Aa periodical,” as the editor Manuel Ferreira de Araújo Guimarães, a native of Bahia, announced, Awhich will avenge the accusations of our ineptness that foreign and, unfortunately, some national (nacionaes), authors make.” See “Prospecto” (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Regia, 1812) and its twelve issues published in 1813 by the Royal Press.
In keeping the exiles apprized of the national struggle against Napoleon, of
defeats, victories, changing strategies, and their political implications, pamphlets and
letters from Portugal allowed them, in effect, to experience the Peninsular War. Such an
experience could be both private and individual, as much of Marrócos= personal
correspondence with his family reveals, as well as public and collective. Posting pledges
of support in the Gazeta, such as one announcement of November 1808 in which “a
Sword of gold filigree” was offered “the person who most distinguishes himself in the
Restoration of Lisbon,” allowed one to display patriotism and contribute to the war
effort.20 While the Gazeta provided a common forum for expression, just as pamphlets
provided common reading, the act of procuring and reading these materials could also be
collective. As was the case prior to the court=s arrival, both private homes and public
spaces served as sites for discussions and exchanges about military defeats, victories and
their consequences. Marrócos= own abundant supply of letters and “interesting papers”
was “public” knowledge, he reported. Indeed, he wrote to his father in 1813, his house
could “be called the second office of the Gazeta, for the intense interest with which I am
sought.”21 “News about the French” also reportedly circulated at inns and shops. Such
notices and reports could be read or, as the police intendant suggested, mis-read in a
variety of ways. Indeed, talk of such disputable questions as treason, the legality of the
transfer of the court and the future place of the royal residence was, the intendant


21 Marrócos to his father, December 1, 1813, Cartas, 175.
lamented, common. And, according to Marrócos, when reliable news from Europe was unavailable, those he referred to as “bar room politicians” filled the gap with rumor.  

The exiles’ vicarious Peninsular War experience, afforded by reading pamphlets and debating the news, also included a sense of living through a national ordeal of both epic and historic dimensions, the product of the French invasion as well as its more disturbing underlying moral causes and effects. A discourse of disaster and moral vulnerability, of apocalypse and a diluvian “general calamity,” featured in pamphlets, as well as in sermons and prayers preached and published in Rio, both recalled what one historian has called as the “funereal memory” of the disastrous Lisbon earthquake of 1755, forged in Portuguese pamphlets in the second half of the eighteenth century, and described more recent misfortune. The punishing French occupation, critics in both Portugal and Brazil charged, followed from Portugal’s own corruption and decadence, just as in the 1750s Portuguese beheld “vanity, arrogance, rage, and lust” as “the four vices, that compelled Divine Justice to enact [that] lamentable devastation.”

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22 On the question of political debate and the police see Schultz, Tropical Versailles, chapter 4.

For the exiles in Rio, in particular, recalling this national history of physical peril and moral disorder not only sustained their solidarity, but also allowed them to see their own role in the ordeal. Just as the Portuguese in Europe struggled against “profane” conditions and the “impious politics” that had engendered, as the author of one pamphlet recalled, the “monstrous Portugueses afrancesados” (Frenchified Portuguese), they themselves contended with a similar threat to Portuguese political and moral integrity: Americanization. As Marrócos confirmed to both his own and his father’s dismay, there were exiles who had become “hybrids of America.” And their transgressions, the Marquês de Borba often noted along with oblique references to physical excesses, were as horrifying as those of the city’s long-standing residents. In other words, the national ordeal of the Peninsular War was experienced in both Portugal and Brazil with what Anne McClintock, writing of British colonial bureaucrats, has described as the “dread of catastrophic boundary loss,” fear of the loss of boundaries that once separated revolutionary France from an allegiant Portugal, America from Europe and, as Borba suggested in a letter to his daughter-in-law in Portugal, moral integrity and selfhood from decadence and infantilization. Indeed, Borba insisted, that in Rio the Marquês de

1810s, José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa also invoked employed images of decadence to describe post-war Portugal. See his Portugal enfermo por vícios e abusos de ambos os sexos (Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1819).

24 José de Goes, Vozes do Patriotismo, ou Falla aos Portuguezes (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1809), 26; Marrócos to his father, August 8, 1813, Cartas, 153.

25 Borba to Condessa do Redondo, in Os filhos, 140. See also Borba’s letter to his son in which he complained of the Amost supreme acts of vulgarity (bregerice),” July 4, 181[0], in Os filhos, 146.

Alegrete was “swimming in happiness [...] with little decency” contradicted, and therefore threatened to undermine, “His Person.”\textsuperscript{27} Such examples of degeneration together with what Marrócos perceived as a condition of hybridity were also at once products of the experience of empire - of the necessary physical presence of Portuguese in Brazil - and, as the exiles sustained, causes of the empire=s demise. The failure to reproduce metropolitan decorum and “ways of thinking,” they argued, undercut the restoration of Portugal=s and its empire=s political integrity as much as Napoleon and the French. As Marrócos explained, as long as “the Pseudo-Brazilians, commonly known as Janeiristas” promoted “the rumor that we will stay on here forever,” metropolitan Portugal remained a thing of the past.\textsuperscript{28}

Yet as the exiles considered their experience in Rio as part of the nation=s history of both physical and moral tribulation, they also discerned the possibility of redemption. Just as the people of Lisbon had begged for forgiveness following the earthquake=s destruction of their once opulent city,\textsuperscript{29} for the early nineteenth-century exiles, resistant moral rectitude promised to make living in Rio de Janeiro a brief purgatory. Recognized as a mode of suffering and atonement since the sixteenth century, the ordeal of the “inferno Atlântico,” displacement to the New World, provided, in this case, for a purification of Portuguese nationhood written as essentially pious, moral and heroic.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{27} Borba to Condessa do Redondo, in \textit{Os filhos}, 140. On representations of exile as feminization, see also Kaminsky, \textit{Reading the Body Politic}, 36.

\textsuperscript{28} Marrócos to his father, December 22, 1814, \textit{Cartas}, 220.

\textsuperscript{29} Araujo, ARuína,\textit{@} 332, 346, 353; and Kendrick, \textit{Lisbon Earthquake}.

\textsuperscript{30} On images of the transatlantic journey and Brazil as a purgatory see Laura de Mello e Souza, \textit{Inferno Atlântico: demonologia e colonização: séculos XVI-XVIII} (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993), 89-101.
Within the discourse of disaster, the exiles' renunciation of Rio and of its moral and physical infirmity thus became a political act, an act marked by what McClintock has called “an excess of boundary order.”\textsuperscript{31} Accordingly, the exile rejection of Brazil was not only justifiable, but also necessarily complete. As Marrócos dramatically pledged: AI am so scandalized by the Country, that I want nothing from it, and when I leave here I will not forget to wipe my boots on the edge of the docks so that I do not take back even the smallest vestige of this land.”\textsuperscript{32}

For Marrócos and Borba, in particular, resisting Americanization and remaining an integrally “European” Portuguese was also achieved in the act of correspondence itself. “Each time I take up a pen to write to Vossa Mercê,” Marrócos wrote to his father in 1811, AI feel a new spirit within myself, which brings me happiness and enlivens me.\textsuperscript{33} What Borba in turn described as “the relief of writing” restored sentimental connections upon which a unified moral and political identity and the faith in a return to the status quo ante could be based. Correspondence, as Borba wrote, gave “hope that Portugal existed.”\textsuperscript{33} Writing also promised to restore the distance that once safely separated the metropolitan exiles from the American colony. It realized what Kaminsky has described as the exile discourse of desire, intended “to recuperate, repair and return.”

\textsuperscript{31} McClintock, \textit{Imperial Leather}, 26.

\textsuperscript{32} Marrócos to his father, November 21, 1812, \textit{Cartas}, 112-113.

\textsuperscript{33} Marrócos to his father, July 3, 1811, \textit{Cartas}, 33; Borba to Condessa de Redondo, in \textit{Os filhos}, 139; Borba to his son, May 11, 1810, in \textit{Os filhos}, 145.
Writing, Marrócos could assure both his father and himself that “no one is farther from America in customs and ways of thinking than I.”

Correspondence, like reading, also re-connected a collective experience in Rio de Janeiro to the experience of those who remained in Europe. Writing, sharing in the sentimental and spiritual consequences of the “general calamity” in Portugal, the exiles could seek to minimize the consequences of their physical removal to the New World and re-establish connections severed by the French invasion. They could share with Portuguese in Portugal, their letters suggested, the experience of fear and despair for “the poor state of affairs in Europe” as well as in the “great satisfaction of the prodigious general Pacification.” Out of their initial estrangement, the exiles thus defined their experience in Rio as part of the political and moral challenge of the Peninsular War. Whether in defeat or victory, reading, writing, listening to sermons or sharing news, they sought, above all, to make the Portuguese nation, divided and besieged, once again whole.

The New Court and an Alternative to Patriotic Exile

While letters to and from Portugal, pamphlets and newspapers restored connections and allowed for a common experience as well as for the re-construction of a moral and political Portuguese identity in the New World, they also revealed differences

34 Kaminsky, *Reading the Body Politic*, 33; Marrócos to his father, August 8, 1813, *Cartas*, 153.

35 Borba to his son, in *Os filhos*, 143; Marrócos to his father, July 2, 1814, *Cartas*, 207. For further comments on the war, see also *Cartas*, 101, 112, 210-2, 229, 231.
and suggested the impossibility of a return to the former status quo. As months turned into years, the ideal of resistance to Americanization began to wither along with expectations of a prompt return to Portugal.\textsuperscript{36} The toll of living in Rio de Janeiro came to seem unavoidable. Having indicted certain newcomers for succumbing to the temptations of the New World, Marrócos himself recognized that, moral rectitude notwithstanding, simply living in a “land of vice and perdition” caused the Lisboetas (women native of Lisbon) to “degenerate.” After a few years in Rio, he noted ironically, they earned the poor reputation that in Lisbon was given to women from Brazil.\textsuperscript{37} Nor could he himself, he confessed, escape the consequences of the New World’s “dangers and deprivations.” Brazil, he wrote to his father, had “opened his eyes and taught him things not found in books,” transforming his “figure and constitution.” He was left, he despaired, “thin, tired, and old.”\textsuperscript{38}

The exiles’ insistent bemoaning of Rio de Janeiro because it was dissimilar to Lisbon and despairing at the thought of remaining in Brazil, however, also had political-cultural limits. As they confronted their growing sense of the unavoidable and indelible nature of their experience in Rio, their peninsular correspondents proposed that it was for the very fact of the New World’s difference that the exiles should be thankful. Those who accompanied the royal family to Brazil, one letter from Portugal suggested, did not realize their fortune and happiness. To be in Rio, the author imagined, was to escape “a continuous restlessness of spirit provoked by scenes of misery [...] plunder, death,

\textsuperscript{36} See Marrócos to his father, August 29, 1812, May 16, 1814, November 1, 1814, December 22, 1814, \textit{Cartas}, 97, 199-200, 215, 220.

\textsuperscript{37} Marrócos to his sister, January 31, 1818, \textit{Cartas}, 313-314.

\textsuperscript{38} Marrócos to his father, June 2, 1814, \textit{Cartas}, 204.
robbery, scorn and violence.” “Oh! my friend,” he concluded, “how much better to suffer storms at Sea for a few days, and after live peacefully!” Furthermore, the exiles were reminded, having been delivered from the pillage of French soldiers, they also eluded the specter of collaboration, what Captain António Coutinho de Seabra e Souza characterized as the “suspicious” nature of his “reputation” and his subsequent misfortune that had resulted from the “sad” fact that he had not embarked with the prince regent.

Indeed, Portugal’s suffering, the exiles became aware, established their own future in Brazil. As refugees fleeing the disasters of war and occupation continued to arrive, a return to Europe seemed not only improbable but also ill-advised. The marginal position of the Portuguese government in the war between the British and the French made any future in Europe seem bleak. As one Portuguese posed the problem to his correspondent in Rio, “after it is said what is happening in Europe, after [seeing] the total scorn with which the great Powers deal with small States, is there anyone who can be persuaded that our prince should return to a corrupted Europe?” Such a rhetorical

39 José Luís, [functionary of the almoxarifado of Royal Palaces] to Joaquim José d=Azevedo [almoxarife of the Royal Palaces], Lisbon, October 1, 1808, transcribed in Ângelo Pereira, D.João VI, Príncipe e Rei v.3 (Lisbon: Emprensa Nacional de Publicidade, 1956), 118.

40 António Coutinho de Seabra e Souza, October 24, 1808, AHU, Documentos Avulsos - Rio de Janeiro, Passaportes, Caixa 306, Documento 47.

41 On the continuing Aexodus of Portuguese” and their arrival at Rio see Paulo Fernandes Viana to Sua Alteza Real, August 27, 1810, in Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, Dom João VI e o Império no Brasil, a Independência e a Missão Rio Maior (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Reprográfica Xerox, 1984), 108.

42 Manuel José Maria de Costa e Sá to José Anselmo Correa Henriques, n.p. [Lisbon], December 14, 1815, transcribed in Pereira, D.João VI v.3, 221-222. Sá argued that those who wanted the prince regent to return to Portugal under any circumstances were only self-interested.
question both confronted the exiles with the limits to their attempts to re-inscribe
themselves into a European Peninsular War experience and suggested an alternative to
their longing to return: the transfer of the court should be permanent. After all, one exile
suggested to his family in Portugal “the example of our beloved Prince and Holy Family”
outshone the “Pátria misera, isolated by the French tyrants.”

In this case, the exiles in Rio de Janeiro were not just far from the battlefields and
the horrors of war, free from the desperation of abandonment and the stigma of collusion,
but also close to the crown. In contrast to those who stayed behind, those in Rio
confronted not the challenge of defending the besieged ancient court, but rather that of
constructing a new one. These Portuguese were, in effect, custodians of the artifacts of
governance, of what one historian has called “the paraphernalia of government” and
“essential elements of a sovereign state”: the Royal Treasury, the royal chapel=s
accouterments, the library, official documents, manuscripts, and a printing press.
Although cast out from Europe, by having delivered and unpacked this most cumbersome
cargo, the exiles were poised to broker royal power and patronage throughout the
Portuguese empire.

Indeed, as Marrócos= correspondence reveals, letters to and from Lisbon
incessantly addressed the maintenance of royal patronage for those who remained in

43 Miguel José Barradas to Joaquina Rosa [his sister], Rio de Janeiro, August 9,
1810, AHU Caixa 309, doc. 54.

44 Alan K. Manchester, “The Transfer of the Portuguese Court to Brazil,” in
Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society, eds. Henry Keith and S.F. Edwards
Portugal, requests which, as Marrócos complained to his father, grew overwhelming.”45 Many Portuguese without family and reliable associates in the new court, in turn, perceived the limits of transatlantic brokerage and relocated to Rio to maintain their royal privileges. As one royal bureaucrat explained, living in Rio was appealing “because there payments are more prompt.”46 In other cases, “to remedy their misfortune” Portuguese in Portugal found themselves adopting strategies formerly reserved for residents of the ultramar: embarking on a costly journey “to present their petitions personally.”47

As the Portuguese in both Europe and America recognized Rio de Janeiro as the new center of royal power, they also reinforced a sense of the Portuguese monarchy=s renewal in the New World, a vision of a “Great Empire” in Brazil invoked by the exiled Portuguese statesmen Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho both before and after the transfer of the

45 Marrócos to his father, (November 16, 1813, Cartas, 171. The letters of Jacome Ratton (1736-1820) and his family to the Conde de Barca and other royal servants also reveal the efforts and frustrations of royal favor seekers living far from the court in Rio. See ALettres de Jacques Ratton a António de Araújo de Azevedo, Comte da Barca (1812-1817),@ Bulletin des Etudes Portugaises (nouvelle série) 25 (1964): 137-256; and Jacome Ratton, Recordações de Jacome Ratton, sobre occorrências do seu tempo em Portugal de Maio de 1747 a Setembro de 1810 (1813) (Lisbon: Fenda, 1992).

46 Passport request for Romão José Pedrozo, Oficial da Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino, November 23, 1809, AHU, Caixa 307, doc. 99. Alan Manchester further describes requests both to move to Brazil and to send for family members remaining in Portugal, often at the expense of the crown. See Manchester, AThe Growth of Bureaucracy in Brazil, 1808-1821,” Journal of Latin American Studies 4, n.1 (1972): 77-79. As one historian of Portuguese migration has noted, an estimated 24,000 Portuguese, including royal officials, merchants, laborers and shopkeepers, arrived in Brazil between 1808-1817. See Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trinidade, APortuguese Migration to Brazil in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: An International Cultural Exchange,” in Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective, ed. David Higgs (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Toronto, 1990), 32-33.

47 Passport request, Filipe Neri de Freitas, June 15, 1808, AHU Caixa 308, doc. 68, and passport request, António Feliciano d=Albuquerque, October 17, 1809, Caixa 307, doc. 85. See also Caixa 306, doc. 47; Caixa 308, docs. 47, 75; Caixa 309, docs. 3, 12; Caixa 314, doc.22.
court. Indeed, asserted the newly-arrived playwright António Leite, the transfer of the court had produced a new imperial ascendency based on a “fortunate union.” The ancient Portuguese empire “given to [King] Afonso,” he proposed in a one-act musical drama performed in Rio in 1811, joined a newer American empire. This union, as Leite further claimed, then brought to fruition an older colonial project: the transplantation of Portuguese civilization to Brazil. “What glory!” the allegorical figure of America exclaims upon the arrival of the prince regent, “My children, now we are Lusos.” The indivisibility of the union, in turn, also appeared to enable its transcendence. Thus, as the drama ends, a tableaux of both Lusitanian and American figures usher in a timeless period of peace, prosperity and harmony.

This promise of American prosperity and potency was also manifest in the construction of the new royal court. What officials referred to as the city=s “perfection” meant the creation and enforcement of an aesthetic and cultural uniformity and the redefinition of proper rules for public conduct for both elites and the popular classes that reflected hierarchy, virtue and royal splendor. The crown began to host grand dinner parties, “as it had in Mafra,” and as the British merchant and resident of Rio John Luccock reported, the “old Court dress was required” and the city=s elites, those he described as “the private gentry” became Amore attentive to propriety and taste in their


modes of dress” as well as in the decoration of their homes, while “state livries were introduced similar to those of Lisbon.” By 1814 the construction of a larger palace for the prince regent at São Cristovão was in full swing. At considerable expense, the courtiers also built houses and estates, signs, according to Marrócos, of their “stronger roots in this Country.”

After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, as fervid anti-French patriotism began to wane, the Portuguese crown and the city’s elite also began to look to France, as they had from Lisbon, for models of aesthetic refinement for the new court. French women’s fashion and hairstyles began to compete with the traditional Iberian mantilla, while the opening of Rio’s port also gave elites easier access to foreign luxuries, such as perfumes, fabrics, and, as one notice in the city’s Gazeta announced, “wine from Champagne.” In 1815, the crown then moved to consolidate Rio de Janeiro’s cosmopolitan elegance and

50 John Luccock, Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the southern parts of Brazil; taken during a residence of ten years in that country, from 1808-1818 (London: Samuel Leigh, 1820), 245-6, 254, 548.

51 See Marrócos to his father, November 17, 1812, November 1, 1814, June 29, 1815, February 23, 1816; and to his sister, April 10, 1815, September 21, 1816, Cartas, 111, 216, 222, 232, 260-1, 289. Pianos were also imported from London. See Renault, Rio antigo, 49.

52 Marrócos both boasted of his aversion for the French and noted with interest the availability of new French wares in the city after the war. See Marrócos to his sister, April 10, 1815, in Cartas, 223, 444. On imports see also the announcement in the Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro, March 2, 1816, in Delso Renault, O Rio antigo nos anúncios de jornais, 1808-1850 (Rio de Janeiro: Franciscio Alves, 1984), 56-7. As signs of a new openness to foreign fashion and culture in Rio, Renault also notes a growing number of announcements for instruction in French as well as the suspension of an earlier prohibition (in 1802) against wearing clothes made from cloth that was not manufactured in Portugal at viceregal audiences. See Renault, Rio antigo, 39, 40-41, 44, 48, 52. On the Europeanization” of manners and other social practices in the Rio court, see also Jurandir Malerba, A Corte no Exílio: Civilização e Poder no Brasil às Vésperas da Independência (1808-1821) (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000).
“growing splendor” by recruiting and subsidizing a number of artists from France. Brazil, as the decree that formally announced these intentions explained, needed “great aesthetic assistance in order to take advantage of [its] resources, whose value and preciousness could come to make Brazil the richest and most opulent of Kingdoms.” What came to be known as the “French Cultural Mission” included over a dozen artists and artisans: painters, sculptors, engravers, a composer, an engineer, and an architect, Auguste Henri Victor Grandjean de Montigny. While, as historians have noted, the so-called mission came to fruition somewhat later, with the creation of a national museum and a national school of fine arts in the 1830s, during the Brazilian reign of João VI these artists and artisans provided the crown with a vision of civilization, progress and order inspired by French neo-classicism. Grandjean de Montigny and the painter Jean Baptiste Debret were responsible for much of the festive ephemeral architecture constructed for Dom João=s Acclamation. More generally, they came to be identified as arbiters of artistic and architectural expression, designing public buildings and monuments, such as the neo-classical merchants= exchange building known as the praça do comércio.\(^{53}\)

Beyond the implementation of current European aesthetic standards, the construction of a royal court in Rio de Janeiro also required the reestablishment of institutions identified with the particular culture of the Portuguese monarchy and its court in Lisbon. In 1808, for example, with the creation of a Royal Chapel near his own palace in Rio, the prince regent both reaffirmed a “most ancient custom” and the crown’s historic patronage of sacred music and recreated an important venue for court gatherings and the reception of foreign dignitaries. Two years later Dom João then provided for the construction of a new royal theater and appointed the Portuguese composer Marcos Portugal as its director. As the royal decree explained, Rio needed “a decent theater proportionate to the population and greater degree of elevation and greatness” which Rio de Janeiro had come to enjoy “as a result of the [prince regent’s] residence within it, and of the foreigners and other persons who come from the vast provinces of all [the crown’s] States.” Indeed, while the city’s residents continued to frequent older, small-scale casas de espectáculos, the Real Teatro de São João, inaugurated in 1813 with the one-act drama entitled O Juramento dos Numes by the Portuguese playwright Gastão 285-316; Carmen Sylvia Sicoli Seoane, AAquarelas do Brasil, estudo iconográfico e textual da natureza do índio em Debret e Rugendas (1816-1831)” (M.A. thesis, Fluminense Federal University, 1990); and an outstanding essay by Rodrigo Naves in his A forma difícil: ensaios sobre a arte brasileira (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1996). For recent analysis of the legacy of the French Mission and the Portuguese and Brazilian monarchies see Caren Ann Megreblian, AArt, Politics and Historical Perception in Imperial Brazil, 1854-1884” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1990) and Iara Lis Carvalho Souza, Pátria Coroada: O Brasil como Corpo Político Autônomo, 1780-1831 (São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 1998), chapter six.

54 See Alvará, June 15, 1808, in Código Brasiliense, ou Collecção das Leis, Alvarás, Decretos, Cartas Régias, &c. Promulgadas no Brasil desde a feliz chegada de ElRey Nosso Senhor a Este Reino (Rio de Janeiro: [Impressão Régia, 1811-1822]). On the Royal Chapel see Alcingstone de Oliveira Cunha, AThe Portuguese Royal Court and the Patronage of Sacred Music in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821” (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, 1998).
Fausto da Camara Coutinho, became an artistic and social focal point within the city. The inaugural drama itself sparked a lively debate in Rio’s press on aesthetic standards and, as Luccock noted, the prince regent’s patronage made “showing” oneself at the theater “fashionable for all, who wished to be thought persons of consequence.” The city’s popular classes, or, as Luccock remarked, “the multitude,” also joined the prince regent and the courtiers in attending the theater’s offerings.\footnote{The 1810 decree is transcribed in J. Galante de Souza, \textit{O Teatro no Brasil} v. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura/INL, 1960), 138-140. Before the royal theater, Rio de Janeiro had smaller \textit{salas} or \textit{casas de espectáculos}, the most notable being Padre Ventura’s \textit{Casa da Ópera} which opened in 1767 and burned in 1769, according to Galante. By 1776, Ventura’s theater had been replaced by the \textit{Ópera Nova}, built by Manuel Luiz de Almeida. On eighteenth-century theater see Galante de Souza, \textit{Teatro}, 110-112; Adolfo Morales de Los Rios Filho, \textit{A História do teatro do Rio de Janeiro durante o século XVIII}, “\textit{Anais do congresso comemorativo do bicentenário da transferência da sede do governo}” v.4 (1967): 319-354; Almeida Prado, \textit{D. João}, 162-188; and Ariadna Gonçalves Moreira, \textit{A The Influence of the Portuguese Royal Court on the Development of Opera, The Opera Nova, and the Real Teatro São João in Rio de Janeiro from 1808-1824}” (Doctoral Essay, Doctor of Musical Arts, University of Miami, 1998). \textit{O Juramento dos Numes} was published by Rio’s Royal Press in 1813. The editor of the periodical \textit{O Patriota}, Manuel Ferreira de Araujo Guimarães, attacked Coutinho’s work. Coutinho in turn issued \textit{Resposta Defensiva, e Analytica à Censura}, also published in 1813. For the popular presence at the theater see Luccock, \textit{Notes on Rio de Janeiro}; Viana, \textit{A Registro do Ofício expedido ao Juiz de Crime de São José},” May 15, 1809 and June 7, 1809 (including a reference to Aspies” in the audience who could determine who was being disruptive), and Viana, \textit{A Registro do Ofício expedido ao Juiz de Crime do Bairro da Candelária}” May 15, June 7 and June 11, 1809, ANRJ Códice 323 v.1, f53v, f81, f86; Viana, \textit{A Registro do Ofício expedido ao Inspector do Teatro},” August 4, 1814, ANRJ Códice 329 v.2, f206v. Viana, \textit{A Registro do Ofício expedido ao Juiz de Crime do Bairro de Santa Rita.”} April 18, 1818, ANRJ Códice 329 v.4, f89v-90.}

Such vitality and even affluence provided a stark contrast to what was increasingly construed in both Portugal and Brazil as the “undeniable fact that this Country [Portugal] is everyday more wretched.” Together, the possibility of renewal in the new court and the truth of Portugal’s demise then led many newcomers to Rio to reconsider their initial understandings of the moral imperatives of their exile.
Marrócos explained, along with moral challenges, the city presented an alternative to his own personal tribulations: celibacy and what he described as the “misanthropic” solitude and vulnerability to vice that followed such an option. The physiological nature of the experience of exile that Marrócos first lamented indeed could be, he came to recognize, an opportunity for welcome transformation. AI came to this Court,” he wrote his father in 1813, “and changing climate, I also modified earlier decisions.”

Referring to his commitment to marry a carioca (native of Rio de Janeiro), Marrócos justified his decision with allusions to the reinvigorated potency of a paterfamilias, claims of a shared culture and standards, and the promise of moral renewal. Indeed, Marrócos argued, his wife, Ana Maria de São Tiago Souza, embodied virtue itself. The daughter of a Brazilian-born woman and a Portuguese-born merchant, Ana came from a family that was, as Marrócos described it, “clean, honest and wealthy.” With her mother’s supervision, he explained to his sister, Ana had escaped the laziness and ignorance that characterized the daughters of other Brazilian families. Consequently, “although Brazilian” she was, Marrócos wrote, “better than many Portuguese women.” For her simplicity, he explained, freed her from the superficiality and decadence of European aristocrats who carelessly danced and played instruments, or “with a fan and handkerchief served as window decorations.”

Having thus envisioned his own regeneration in the arms of his innocent, American bride, Marrócos stood for a renewal of paternal authority writ large, an

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56 Marrócos to his father, August 24, 1819, Cartas, 376; and Marrócos to his father, December 23, 1813, Cartas, 177.

57 Marrócos to his father, November 1, 1814, Cartas, 217-219; and Marrócos to his sister, November 1, 1814, Cartas, 213.
authority that was jeopardized in Portugal by the separation of fathers and sons in exile and in war, and by the absence of the political father-figure of Dom João. Once again, however, this renewal, like that of feminine virtue, was identified not with Portugal, but rather with Brazil. Indeed, founding a family in Rio de Janeiro resulted in a transformation of son into father that paralleled Brazil’s own transformation from colony into the center of empire; what the city’s residents came to refer to as an “emancipation.” While both transformations depended upon a recognition of the cultural and moral authority of ancestry, they also implied a redefinition of allegiances and a repositioning of the locus of power. For Marrócos one such moment of redefinition and repositioning came in response to his father’s scathing charge that in marrying Ana he had behaved “as a stupid African, and presumptuous American.” Rather than resorting to his once defensively European identity, Marrócos refused any compromise with his father’s disappointment and defended his decision as Avery serious, politic, and resolute.”

Marrócos’s claim that Rio de Janeiro was a place where personal honor and paternal authority could be reestablished corresponded with a larger vision of Rio de Janeiro as a place that the exiles themselves could make. Reenacting earlier efforts to colonize and civilize the New World, the exiles cast aside their initial rejection of American degeneration in favor of American innocence and potential and came to recognize that they could rebuild the city in their own image. The new court would be both a model of civility and morality, as were its European antecedents, and now, in the wake of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, a singular place within the Portuguese

58 Marrócos to his father, November 23, 1815, Cartas, 249-253. On a similar embrace of paternal power in the colonies as it was Awithering in the European metropolis,” see McClintock, Imperial Leather, 70, 240.
world in which a public and national virtue could be reasserted.\footnote{That the royal court provided a civilizing process was recognized earlier, particularly in the seventeenth century as the Portuguese grappled with the absence of the royal court during the union of the Iberian crowns. See Diogo Ramada Curto, ARitos e cerimônias da monarquia em Portugal,” in Memoria da nação (Lisbon: Livraria Sa da Costa, 1991), 226.} After all, as one playwright claimed, the “fall of despotism” (of Napoleon) followed not only from victories on the battlefields, but also from a rededication to “industry” and “the arts”;\footnote{See [Nuno Álvarez Pereira Pato Moniz], A Queda do Despotismo: Drama Dedicado a Sua Alteza Real o Principe Regent Nosso Senhor. (Reprint) (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1810).} from a restoration of a quotidian morality now as manifest in Rio as it was seemingly unattainable in Portugal. Indeed, Marrócos explained to his father in 1819, Rio de Janeiro afforded a “solid, satisfactory, peaceful” life; a more “decent, dignified, and splendorous” life than was available in post-war Lisbon. Portugal, on the contrary, the “pátria” for which Marrócos once had longed so desperately, now seemed to be, as he described it, a “frivolous pretext of the senile” that offered nothing but ingratitude.\footnote{Marrócos to his father, August 24, 1819, Cartas, 377.} And if, as Marrocos suggested in his letters, women marked the boundaries between civility and degeneration within the empire, the New World court of Rio de Janeiro then marked these same boundaries between the empire and beyond. It provided the Portuguese monarchy freedom from what the exiled bishop José Caetano da Silva Coutinho characterized as “the contagion that had debauched and lacerated Europe,” just as living in Rio de Janeiro allowed the exiles to escape what their peninsular correspondents decried as the corruption of Portugal.\footnote{[José Caetano da Silva Coutinho], Memória Histórica da Invasão dos Francezes em Portugal no Anno de 1807 (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1808), 83-84.}
This vision of the new court as sustaining the Portuguese nation’s regeneration and progress also drew on a new understanding of national character that had taken shape during the course of the eighteenth century. Within the Portuguese discourse of the nation, the idea that humankind was fundamentally equal had displaced the perception of national characters as “natural.” Manifest in a distinct tradition, Portuguese critics sustained, national character nevertheless was shaped by education, laws and government, what contemporaries also described as polícia. With polícia virtues could be preserved, and vices which, many argued, had contributed to the empire’s decadence, could be amended. Accordingly, some years before the French invasion, in the interest of reform, Portuguese statesmen set out to inventory the nation’s vices as part of what Soares and Hespanha describe as “an encounter with o estrangeiro,” in this case, other European nations recognized by the Portuguese as more “refined and enlightened” (polidas e ilustradas). Such reformist thinking was also akin to what Anthony Pagden has described as a “defense of civilization” that stands in contrast to Rousseauian attacks on civilization as corrupting. In Rio this defense was grounded to a certain extent in the work of political economy, embraced by statesmen following the transfer of the court in their quest to analyze the empire’s weaknesses and redefine its future. Commerce and,

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63 See Ana Cristina Nogueira Soares and António Manuel Hespanha, AA identidade portuguesa,” in Historia de Portugal: O Antigo Regime v. 4, ed. António Manuel Hespanha (Lisbon: Estampa, n.d), 32; Anthony Pagden, AThe >defence of civilization= in eighteenth-century social theory” (1988), reprinted in Pagden, The Uncertainties of Empire (Norfolk, G.B.: Variorum, 1994). In Portugal a recognition that national character was not immutable is also evident in criticism of efforts at reform and change. The Marquês de Penalva, for example, argued that it was a vassal’s duty to preserve the integrity of national character defined in terms of customs, the Amoral will of the Sovereign, and of the People.” “the result of much meditation” and “the consequence of climate, Religion, and the nature of the great family of the State [...].” See Fernando Teles da Silva Caminha e Meneses, Marquês de Penalva, Dissertação sôbre as obrigações do vassalo (Lisbon: Régia Officina Tipographica, 1804), 134.
more specifically, free trade, José da Silva Lisboa argued, would serve to bring the
Portuguese civilizing mission in Brazil to fruition. As he asserted in his history of the
reign of Dom João, paraphrasing Montesquieu, “Where commerce is free, this openness
brings with it the correction of transitory anomalies.”64

Together with others inhabiting the Atlantic world, the Portuguese also
appreciated that an enlightened refinement, as well as a public morality, required an
engagement with classical antiquity and its disciples. As the exiled Conde de Aguiar
noted in 1810 in the preface to his translation of Alexander Pope’s An Essay on Criticism
(1711), along with eighteenth-century translations of Horace and Aristotle, it was a
“useful service” to make available Pope=s Arules and precepts” of both writing and
judging verse. Although Pope did not emerge as a symbol of republican virtue, as was the
case in British North America, for those in the new court of Rio de Janeiro he offered a
guide, as Aguiar noted the following year in his translation of An Essay on Man (1733-
34), to “particular ethics, or practical morality; considered in all circumstances, orders,
professions and exercises of human life.”65

64 José da Silva Lisboa, Memoria dos Beneficios Politicos do Governo de El-Rey
Nosso Senhor D. João VI (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1810), 145. For an extended
discussion of the reception of political economy, see Schultz, Tropical Versailles, 201-
202.

65 See Ensaio sobre a Critica de Alexandre Pope traduzido em Portuguese pelo
Conde de Aguiar (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1810) and Ensaios Moraes de
Alexandre Pope em Quatro Epistolas a Diversas Pessoas Traduzidos em Portuguese pelo
Conde de Aguiar (Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Régia, 1811). The Conde de Aguiar,
Fernando de Portugal, had served as governor of Bahia from 1788 to 1801. Pope, along
with La Rochefoucauld and Bacon, also provided inspiration for a contemporary series of
maxims published in a local periodical. See Amaxims, Pensamentos, e Reflexões
Moraes Por hum Brazileiro,” O Patriota (January-March and August 1813). A similar
career with the cultivation of the arts and sciences, with the Areestablishment of
discipline” and “The obligations of the Citizen, and of Man” can be seen in a funeral
This recognition of “the origins of civilization in civility,” as Gordon Wood has noted, marked much of eighteenth-century political discourse. For the Portuguese exiles, in particular, the new court of Rio and the renewal of morality and civility that it was held to foster, also allowed for a reconciliation of their initial self-representation as “European” with what they increasingly construed to be the imperative of a post-European empire. Conceived as an endeavor to civilize Rio de Janeiro, to imbue the city with morality, their exile produced what Pratt has described as a “transatlantic appropriation” in which “European” was distinguished from “Europeanizing” in the quest to find Aesthetic and ideological grounding” for a new imperial capital. In other words, while the exiles’ quest to restore the integrity of nationhood led to an initial rejection of the New World, their understanding of the nation’s boundaries as above all moral and political also allowed them then to re-envision nationhood within a transformation of the New World based on the ideals of civilization and civility. The “relocation and renegotiation of oppositions and boundaries” that characterized the European colonial project had allowed Europeans, in this case, to forgo Europe itself. Once conceived of

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Wood, *Radicalism*, 194; Pagden, AThe >defense of civilization’.”

Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 175.

as a land of perdition, Brazil was now a haven from decrepitude; and America, as one exiled playwright proclaimed, would be the new “metropolis.”