



O séjour de D. Pedro I em Paris e a imprensa francesa: familiaridade e exotismo

The séjour of Dom Pedro I in Paris and the French Press: Familiarity and Exoticism

Isabel LUSTOSA*

Resumo: A imagem de d. Pedro I na imprensa francesa, durante o período em que viveu em Paris (de agosto de 1831 a janeiro de 1832), foi fundamental para o sucesso que ele alcançou na busca de apoios para a expedição com que retomaria a coroa de D. Maria II usurpada por D. Miguel. Graças ao empenho de estudiosos do Brasil, já circulava na Europa um considerável volume de informações sobre o país. Ao caráter liberal que d. Pedro dera ao modelo político brasileiro que lhe garantiria o apoio dos liberais franceses, juntavam-se aspectos míticos de sua trajetória e do país onde vivera. A familiaridade com que d. Pedro tratava a todos, nobres e plebeus, também seria um fator importante para a conquista de adesões à causa de d. Maria.

Palavras-chave: Dom Pedro I; Paris; imprensa.

Abstract: The French press' portrayal of Dom Pedro I during his sojourn in Paris (August 1831 to January 1832) was fundamental to Dona Maria II's and Dom Pedro I's success in seeking support to return to Brazil and retake the crown that had been usurped by Dom Miguel I. Thanks to the efforts of Brazilian scholars, Europeans were already quite familiar with the country. In addition to the liberal nature that Dom Pedro had afforded the Brazilian political model, which would ultimately guarantee the support of French liberals, there were the mythical aspects of his career and the country whence he came. The verbal familiarity with which Dom Pedro addressed everyone, from royalty to commoners, was also an important factor in garnering support for Dona Maria II's cause.

Keywords: D. Pedro I; Paris; press.

* PhD in Political Science and Full Researcher in History at the Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa in Rio de Janeiro. Research leading to this article was conducted under the auspices of the Sergio Buarque de Holanda Professorship, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, in the first half of 2012. This work is also related to the project entitled "The Transatlantic Circulation of the Press," coordinated by Márcia Abreu and Jean-Yves Mollier: <http://dgp.cnpq.br/buscaoperacional/detalhegrupo.jsp?grupo=0079705BNW4D7G>

News from Brazil

News of Dom Pedro I's abdication of the Brazilian monarchy in 1831 had quite an impact in France. The former emperor and his wife, Dona Amélia, had disembarked at four in the afternoon on June 10, 1831 at the port of Cherbourg, Normandy. A few days later, the news reached the main French newspapers: *Le Moniteur*, *Le Temps*, *Le National*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *La Gazette de France*, etc.¹ Despite the emperor's fall at a time when European monarchies were suffering from a massive shake-up nearly as inevitable as that which had led to the French Revolution, intensified by the settling of values, ideals, and ideas that had been spreading since the 18th century,² the sentiment expressed in the news was one of incredulity in the face of an occurrence considered unprecedented, unbelievable, and unexpected.

In Cherbourg, D. Pedro was welcomed with all of the honors due a monarch in power. The English sailors who had accompanied the king on HMS *Volage* donned their dinner dress and gave him nine cheers, while the ship and all the forts on land welcomed him with a 21-cannon salute. In welcome speeches, he was introduced as a defender of liberty, a giver of constitutions. Five thousand soldiers in the National Guard stood at attention so that he could inspect them. The mayor of the city offered him a palace where he could set up court. D. Pedro ultimately made Cherbourg his first base in Europe, inviting his faithful friends, Antônio Telles da Silva, the Marquis of Resende, and Francisco Gomes, the famous Chalaça, to meet with him there.

Brazil was far away, but plenty of information about the country had already reached Europe. This was due in large part to reports by so many foreign scientists, diplomats, businessmen, and travelers who had been authorized to visit the country since 1808, with the arrival of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro. Thanks to the publication of their reports, contemporary Brazil was relatively well-known. Europeans were cognizant of the predominance of Portuguese culture and habits over the native Brazilians and African slaves. They knew that the majority of the country's elite consisted of businessmen and uncouth ranchers, yet that a part

of the elite had been educated in Europe and was familiar with the cultural, economic, and political advances in the West. Therefore, it was a well-known fact that the elite in Brazil followed European traditions, while the culture of the Brazilian masses was as mixed as its ethnic make-up.

Ferdinand Denis (1798-1890) and Eugène Garay de Monglave (1796-1873) were partially responsible for promoting Brazil in France. The former lived in Brazil from 1816 to 1821 and published “Le Brésil, ou Histoire, mœurs, usages et coutumes des habitants de ce royaume”, in 1822 in conjunction with Hippolyte Taunay. This six-volume work was later condensed in “Résumé de l’Histoire du Brésil, suivi du Résumé de l’Histoire de la Guyane” (Paris: Lecointe & Durey, 1825). He also published a number of studies of Brazil in *Revue de Deux Mondes*.³ Eugène Garay de Monglave also lived in Brazil during the reign of D. Pedro I, whom he befriended, translating the monarch’s correspondence with his father, D. João VI. He was a well-known figure among Europe’s cultured elite and, in 1833, was one of the founders and lifetime secretary of the Institut Historique de Paris. Monglave translated *Marilia de Dirceu* by Tomás Antônio Gonzaga (1825) and the epic poem *Caramuru* by Frei Santa Rita Durão (1829). Both Denis and Monglave lent their support to D. Pedro and to the cause of D. Maria II.

The French press helped familiarize the French public with contemporary Brazil through its frequent publication of synopses of Brazilian travel books written by Europeans. On April 15, 1830, the *Gazette littéraire*⁴, issue number 20, published an excerpt of the book by Reverend Walsh,⁵ *Notices of Brazil* in 1828 and 1829, which had just been published in London. The chapter selected, “État de la presse periodique dans le Brésil”, was a detailed and perfectly accurate report of the state of the diversified and lively Brazilian press. One of the book summaries published in the *Gazette*, issue number 30, on June 24, 1830, was *Le Rio de Janeiro tel qu’il est: 1824-1826* by the German author Schlichthorst – a colorful, lively, and very detailed report on Brazil’s capital. The most important book, and one that was accorded a lengthy write up in the journal, was *Voyage au Brèsil* by Spix and Martius, published in issue number 41, on September 16, 1830.

In 1831, the year of D. Pedro’s arrival in France, *Revue de Deux Mondes* (first volume,

Jan/Mar, pp. 149-181) published a long article by Ferdinand Denis summarizing *Voyages dans l'Intérieur du Brésil* by Auguste de Saint-Hilaire. According to Camargo, in addition to brushing over Saint-Hilaire's book, Denis produced a historical overview "showing the general progression of European/French discourse on Brazil up to 1830." In stressing the impact of the Portuguese Court's arrival on contemporary Brazil, Denis' article succeeded in shifting the focus from the man-Indian to the shape Western civilization was taking in the New World (Camargo).

In this sense, the article published by Saint-Hilaire himself regarding the latest revolutions in Brazil (*Tableau des dernières révolutions du Brésil*) in the same magazine in the same year (*Revue de Deux Mondes*, fourth volume, October 1831) was equally important both for publicizing contemporary Brazil and for portraying D. Pedro. In the article, Saint-Hilaire recounted Brazil's recent history from the arrival of D. João VI and painted a very favorable portrait of the former emperor. Another useful publication at a time when European eyes were turned to Brazil was the publication in French of the former monarch's accounts of his reign and the causes of his abdication⁶. In 32 pages, the well-written and clear text describes openly and honestly the impasse that existed between D. Pedro and the Brazilian elite.

L'Empereur Du Brésil, Don Pedro Ier, vient de débarquer sur nos cotes, apportant lui-même La nouvelle de La révolution qui l'a privé du trône. La renommé libérale de ce jeune prince justifie l'intérêt qui s'attache à sa fortune, et doit préparer un accueil favorable à cette Notice dont le sujet fait tout le prix.

A very Brazilian form of familiarity

The first articles published by the French press on D. Pedro's arrival devoted considerable space to describing his appearance and that of D. Amélia. Despite the modesty of their clothes and the simplicity of their manners, both the emperor's and the empress' physical appearance left a favorable impression. *Journal des Débats* (June 24, 1830) described D. Pedro as a "fort bel homme" with a somewhat Brazilian skin color (*le teint un peu brésilien*). The conservative *La Mode*⁷ used nearly the same expression when it called him "un fort beau Prince", although it also

claimed his looks were slightly less becoming than those of his brother, D. Miguel.

The longest article covering D. Pedro's arrival in France was a three-page piece detailing the event in the *Revue de Paris*.⁸ The reporter expressed his surprise, upon his arrival in the port city of Cherbourg, at learning of the disembarkation of D. Pedro: "I went to Cherbourg on leisure travel. Imagine my surprise when I met, just arrived from Brazil the evening prior - the spoils of a revolution - the first monarch that America had ever exiled to our old Europe."

After explaining the circumstances surrounding the arrival of D. Pedro's ship, the narrator reports on the Court entourage accompanying the couple, "two valets, some security guards, and four free negroes with sashes bearing the colors of Brazil." Of their clothes, he commented on "leurs modes européennes taillées à Rio-Janeiro", notable for the air of foreignness and for the empress' use of a yellow silk cape that was somewhat faded from the sun and wrinkled from the voyage. Nevertheless, the couple exuded serenity and "bienveillance". The emperor appeared to be an honest man, who, tired of royalty, "was retiring with full rights and honor," in the face of the "tempest of the very liberty that he established under the tropical sun of a country still dominated by semi-barbarous customs."

The narrator describes how D. Pedro was received in the palace salons that the municipal government had granted to him. "The meeting was simple, homages were offered without discomfort, and received cordially." He relates that the guests sat in a circle and that the empress herself took a seat at the piano and played, concluding: "Voilà ce qui succédait au gala d'une cour du midi, au baise-main de Rio-Janeiro". The text further emphasizes the way in which D. Pedro received his old friend, the Marquis of Rezende, embracing him with familiarity. Simplicity and familiarity were to become the marks of courtesy expressed by the imperial family. "Elles parlent familièrement à toutes les personnes", reads the *Journal des Débats* (June 15, 1831 edition). This familiarity was sometimes excessive by French standards. The same issue reports that D. Pedro had established such intimacy with one of the captains of the French Navy, whom he had met at the port, that he had confided in him news of the empress' pregnancy.

D. Pedro's appearance in Paris in late July 1831, however, had been preceded by much news of his person as well as speculations as to his fate. Everything he did - his visits to French cities,

his travels to England, his negotiations, etc. – was reported in the news. Thus, when D. Pedro finally arrived in Paris on the evening of July 26 to participate in the festivities on the occasion of the first anniversary of the July Revolution, there was already a considerable amount of information on the emperor and much interest on the part of the newspaper-reading public.

His abdication had coincided with a new liberal wave that had marked the ascension of Louis Philippe to the throne of France. In Brazil, this wave had encouraged the liberals to relieve themselves of an emperor that had assumed the throne bearing the flag of liberalism but who had reined with the powers of an autocrat. Meanwhile, in Europe, D. Pedro was considered a champion of constitutionalism, the American prince who had built a liberal empire, a stable monarch of a massive country in wild and primitive South America. The image of D. Pedro as a modern, constitutionalist politician also assumed greater proportions when the monarch was compared to his brother, whose reign in Portugal was based on backwardness, superstition, and violence. Indeed, the French press emphasized the prestigious treatment afforded him by Louis Philippe and his ministers during the commemorations.⁹ For Louis Philippe, a king who had ascended the throne just a year earlier and thanks to the support of the republicans led by Lafayette, it was important to be associated with such a democratic prince and one who, on account of his arrival from an exotic country, sparked the public's interest.

According to the *Figaro*, during the parade on the 27th, the people greeted D. Pedro as he passed yelling “Long live the emperor!” He responded to this warm welcome with the same familiarity that he had used with his subjects in the streets of Rio de Janeiro. According to *Jornal de Débats*, instead of entering the Palais Royal immediately after the parade, D. Pedro dismounted from his horse and mingled with the people. The monarch's aide-de-camp tried to protect him from the enthusiastic crowd, but D. Pedro did not allow it. The magazine *La Mode* (Jul/Sep 1831, 5th edition, pp. 113-114) reported in a tone of criticism that D. Pedro had been detained by the onlookers with whom the “great monarch had spent more than twenty minutes in a very familiar conversation.” Some asked his age, others how D. Maria was behaving. Yet another asked about his plans concerning the conquest of Portugal. Someone asked if Brazil was hotter than the Royal Palace, and another wanted to know if he had brought lots of money. To all

this, D. Pedro answered in the most satisfactory manner (*la plus satisfaisante*). Contrary to the republican, almost democratic spirit adopted in the early years of the July Monarchy, *La Mode* made fun of the attempts by the Orléans, the new royal family, to make themselves popular by adopting egalitarian attitudes in their relations with the masses.

An interesting scene described in the magazine is a good example of the new royalty's efforts. According to *La Mode* (Jul/Sep 1831, 5th edition, pp. 113-114), after the ceremony on July 27 in the Pantheon, King Louis Philippe was seen on Rue de Vaugirard accepting a cup of coconut water from a commoner wearing a shirt (*un homme du peuple en chemise*), which the king drank with relish. The king's son, the Duke of Orléans, went even further (*il y a mis moins de recherché*), taking the bottle and drinking directly from it. According to the magazine, this scene even shocked D. Pedro, despite his title of populist ex-sovereign (*malgré son titre d'ex-souverain populaire*). Of course, it is impossible today to ascertain if this indeed occurred, if it played out as reported, or if it is a mere invention of *La Mode*, which was always willing to ridicule the branch of the royal family that had ascended to the throne with the overthrow of Charles X.

In the most reserved areas of the Court, according to Denyse Dalbian, D. Pedro's informality also left aristocrats meeting him for the first time rather disconcerted. D. Pedro arrived in Paris on July 26 and made an appearance as the guest of honor at a dinner hosted by the French king in the Palais Royal. To those who saw him at his debut, he appeared frankly uncomfortable even though the king and queen treated him with utmost cordiality. He was especially shy with the ladies, but when introduced to the Marquis of Lafayette, he displayed childlike enthusiasm, calling him a "hero of both worlds." One witness claims his lips gushed words of reverence, praise, and homage and that he expressed his sentiments to Lafayette with "an air of familiarity, as if they had known each other for a long time" (DALBIAN, p. 164).

To the majority of travelers who had seen him in Rio de Janeiro, D. Pedro's excessive informality when addressing everyone, from the nobleman to the commoner, caused surprise. Cochrane, who accompanied him on an inspection of the ships of the Brazilian fleet in 1823, recounts that, when the emperor disembarked, commoners "of all ages and colors" crowded

around him to kiss his hand. D. Pedro extended his hand paternalistically to each one, in “the best of moods and very affably, not becoming in the least perturbed even with familiarities never before used by king or emperor.” (COCHRANE, 2003, p. 42). Reverend Walsh often observed the emperor as he left the Chapel of Glory, where he would go every Saturday at 9:00 in the morning to pray. He would leave the church and mingle among the people who jested and laughed, not showing “the least repulsion for the profanus vulgus, indeed wishing to fraternize with them.” When D. Pedro was approached by a commoner, “he engaged in familiar conversation.” Once, the reverend recounts:

...a droll forward fellow, of the lower ranks, told him some story with the ease and familiarity he would to a common acquaintance, at which the emperor laughed heartily, and every one about him joined, as if they were not in the smallest degree restrained by his presence. (WALSH, 1830, p.451)

Familiarity is a form of social attitude in which, at the first meeting between two strangers, the stages corresponding to the traditional rites of approximation characteristic of educated Westerners are not followed. As an example, the French only address one another in the second person singular (*tu*) after asking permission to do so. Prior to this, educated persons who have just met will always use the second person plural (*vous*). To immediately assume a familiar form of address with someone who has just been introduced is to attempt to overcome any possible resistance by the other. Familiarity establishes comfortable proximity, a sense of equality. When the interlocutor is someone who occupies a hierarchically superior position in society, the person addressed with familiarity relaxes and feels well received. It is interesting to note how D. Pedro’s familiar attitudes with subjects and people close to him never undermined his authority. Even his closest friends, the ones he showered with the greatest demonstration of affection, such as Chalaça and Antonio Telles, never ceased to call him “my master.” As soon as Antonio Telles saw him in Cherbourg, he knelt at his feet and the emperor raised him up and embraced him.

Despite D. Pedro’s stating that his objective was to live in Europe as a regular person, he happened to be the father of a dethroned queen who never faltered in his attempts to put her back on the throne. And this was the great mission he was to pursue in Paris, making use of quite

modern political resources. After ten years of rule in Rio de Janeiro, being rather well versed in the French language and knowing, through experience, the importance of press and propaganda in political activity, the former emperor ultimately used all of these resources in his successful campaign. One of these resources was Luso-Brazilian cordiality,¹⁰ that familiarity that he established with every person at first contact and that allowed him to communicate directly and immediately with others, further facilitating his obtaining support.

Mitigated exoticism

In recounting the impression caused by D. Pedro's presence alongside Louis Philippe in the parade on July 27, the humoristic newspaper Figaro, in its July 30th edition, described him as "a king from the silver river (de la rivière d'argent), a nearly mythological king, both because he comes from a distant kingdom and because of his black, mulatto, and tanned subjects; nearly a King Balthazar." The image of the mythological prince would be portrayed a little more than a month later upon D. Pedro's return to Paris. He settled with his family in the castle of Meudon in late August 1831 and caused quite a sensation the first time he was seen in the audience at the Opéra. Figaro, Journal des Débats, La Mode, and other publications reported the news as a grand event. D. Pedro's success also owed itself to the fact that his first appearance at the Opéra coincided with that of another personality from an exotic country: Hussein, the Dey of Algiers, Regent of Algeria, who had lost his position after his country had been invaded by France.¹¹ Once again, the Figaro (August 21, 1831), in an article entitled "Dom Pedro and Hussein-Dey at the Opéra" paints the unprecedented scene in the most vivid colors:

Night before last, the Opéra was a live performance of "*One Thousand and One Nights*", if "*One Thousand and One Nights*" has anything that could compare to this soirée... the natural and the impossible, the small and the grand, the melancholy and the joyous, the jester and the king, the history book and the novel, Africa and America, brought closer once again, a boxes seats apart: waving to each other, complementing each other.

The inevitable comparison of the Emperor of Brazil with the Dey of Algiers was often

repeated in the daily French press. After his fall in 1830, the dey sought refuge in the land of his victors and was welcomed in France from 1830 to 1831, later settling in Italy. In the spirit of conciliation that would ultimately mark the foreign policy pursued by France under Louis Philippe, the dey was treated as a guest of the government.¹² Received by the highest authorities, frequenting the most elegant of venues, the dey would become the object of utmost curiosity in the context of orientalism that so stimulated the European imagination.¹³ His public appearances were always reported with emphasis on his physical appearance, his clothes and accessories, and those of his companions. Small, fat, and with a grey beard, the newspapers reported that he ate (*il machônne*) incessantly, had a prurient look in his eyes, rubbed his feet in public, and donned golden clothes made of fabric that would be the envy of the most elegant of women, voluminous pants (*il nage dans ses pantaloons*), and soft, smooth slippers.

The demands that the dey placed on the dinner offered in his homage by the president of the council, Casimir Périer, were the topic of most newspapers. An August 29, 1831 write-up in *La Quotidienne* (issue number 241), the most emblematic publication of the legitimist press, reproduced information published earlier in the rival *Le Temps* (*qui paraît avoir des intelligences jusque dans les cuisines de M. Casimir Périer*). According to the article, reproduced in a number of newspapers, the dey's cook had been sent on the afternoon of the same day of the dinner to prepare his lord's meal. This consisted of two chickens plunged live into boiling water, cooked, and later served accompanied by rice, exclusively to the dey. He arrived at the dinner in the company of a servant, and he was dressed in oriental regalia, bore a fancy dagger at his waist, and covered his eyes with green-tinted glasses, ignoring Casimir Périer's bountiful and sophisticated table and eating only what his cook had prepared him.

Il en a fait ensuite une espèce de pilon, mêlé de quelques grains de riz, et voilà tout le dîner du magnifique Hussein-Dey, Emir aimé du Prophète favori d'Allah, et (jadis) Altissime Souverain Premier Esclave de sa Hautesse le Padichah, Père des Croyans, das les deux Mauritanies Césarienne et Tingitane. (*La Mode*, Jul/Sep 1831, pp. 233-234)

The same magazine, *La Mode*, later compared the situation to the one involving D. Maria, the young queen of Portugal. The magazine recounts that, in a visit to the Marquis de Lafayette,

the same situation that occurred at the dinner offered by Casimir Périer to the dey was repeated at a meal for D. Maria. The article was bitingly critical of the exaggeratedly showy clothes that D. Pedro had ordered so as to present his daughter in grand style to the French liberals in a meeting organized by Lafayette. D. Maria's excess weight was the subject of commentaries, with the irony of the magazine taking it a step further, and attributing the fact that D. Pedro had entrusted a black man from his court to prepare the meal to his wish that "sa fille ne se relâchât en rien de son régime habituel."

Ce repas brésilien consistait dans un potage impromptu qu'on avait fait avec une branche de thym et une poignée de poivre; ensuite des écorces de melon frites à l'huile, et finalement deux citrons brouillis avec du piment. On en a conclu que le régime habituel des infantes du Brésil n'était pas moins surprenant que leur costume de cérémonie. (La Mode, Oct/Dec 1831, p. 20)

The dey and D. Pedro shared press space throughout the second half of 1831. However, while the later was also the subject of articles on politics in the more serious newspapers concerning dealings with Portugal, news about the dey was always a mockery of his oddities. A ruler whose deposition represented the end of his career, the dey was merely an object of curiosity for the press and the Parisians, and even his attempts to adjust to local customs were ridiculed. When he adopted the use of a business card, the newspapers presented it thus: "Le dey se plie tout-à-fait à nos usages. Il a, par exemple, adopté les cartes de visites, et les siennes portent: M. Hussein, ex-dey d'Alger".

Apparently, the true press attack which the Dey of Algiers suffered was in the *Revue de Paris*, the only publication that sought him out for an interview. In a long article, where it stated that its intent was truly journalistic in nature, that is to say, its intent was to listen to the person who was the object of such interest and criticism on the part of the press, the details of the dey's private affairs, as well as those of his assistants, were described. One of the questions the reporter asked the dey was if he had felt uncomfortable with the excessive interest shown by those in the opera audience, requesting that he speak about the coincidence of D. Pedro's presence there.

Il me répondit que non, et qu'il lui avait paru très-naturel. "Les Français sont curieux! Ajouta-t-il. – Oui, ils aiment à voir, à comparer, à

apprendre. Un costume étranger, des habitudes nouvelles nous frappent par leurs différences avec les nôtres.” *Je dois avouer que le jour où vous vous trouviez à l’Opéra, en même temps que don Pédro et l’impératrice du Brésil, votre costume ne fut peut-être pas la seule chose qu’on aimait à remarquer en vous. – “Je comprend très bien ce qu’on cherchait à voir dans la personne de don Pédro et dans la mienne. C’est tout simple. Le hasard de la rencontre dut paraître singulier.*

Indeed, as shown in the material cited here, the press’ interest in the unprecedented event had to do with the casual circumstances of a chance meeting of two foreign, deposed sovereigns coming from continents viewed as barbarous. But right there, contrary to what the Figaro suggests, is where the differences lay between D. Pedro’s perfectly Western character and the orientalism exuded by every aspect of the dey’s image. After his arrival in Europe, D. Pedro, always attentive to his appearance, quickly ascertained the addresses of where the most elegant citizens dressed and groomed, and he always appeared in public completely in step with Parisian standards of elegance (DALBIAN, p. 194).

An entire hemisphere, an ocean between two acts, twenty five million Turkish and American inhabitants represented by an old man who rubbed his feet and by a young man in a white waistcoat and black cravat, accompanied by a beautiful empress reading the playbill. (Figaro, August 28, 1831)

On September 4, 1831, an apocryphal letter attributed to the dey was published in the Figaro under the title “Quelques détails sur Hussein-Pacha – La Muette.” In it, the dey addresses the Parisians, complaining about their crazy insistence in placing all foreigners, who arrive in the city and who “do not use the same clothes” as the Westerners, on the same level as “a king of the Iroquois sent off to who knows what Gascony fair.” He further states that even D. Pedro, despite his use of a tailcoat and being the brother of D. Miguel, “whom you detest,” would have been given the same consideration that Parisians give to an Italian trapeze artist or an Indian sword swallower had he not, luckily, married the beautiful and charming daughter of Eugène Beauharnais.¹⁴

Throughout the second half of 1831, while the French liberal press accentuated the

barbarous, wild, and odd character of the dey, it portrayed D. Pedro as an excellent musician (Figaro, August 28, 1831), a prince who was also a poet (Le Constitutionnel, September 8, 1831), and a father with bourgeois habits who took his family on outings in the city parks, went to the theater, and attended sessions of Parliament. Thus, his presence in the French Court soon seemed natural, and he became well-known and esteemed despite the efforts of the conservative press, sympathetic to D. Miguel, to diminish his appeal.

D. Pedro's exoticism was a product of the circumstances that had led the Portuguese royal family to live in Brazil. The dey's exoticism was inherent to his origin, to the history and culture of his people. The swarthy color of the dey's skin was a testament to his ethnic origin, unlike the skin of D. Pedro, which was tanned from living under the tropical sun. Unlike the dey, D. Pedro was not mistaken for the people over whom he reigned. If his aspect off the throne and in everyday public situations seemed banal to journalists (Figaro, August 28, 1831), the same could be said of the so many other European princes at that time who wandered about Paris on account of revolutions. The fact was that D. Pedro was a European, a member of one of the oldest dynasties in Europe and, on account of his style and his political choices, he acted in perfect harmony with the spirit of the July Monarchy.

One example of the different treatment afforded the dey and D. Pedro was visible at the theater presentations. The ex-ruler of Algeria was the theme of a comedy presented at the Théâtre du Gymnase. The play was merely an adaptation of *Le Pacha de Surêne*, but, to attract a public, it took advantage of widespread interest in the exotic character then living in Paris. The vaudeville of Etienne et Nanteuil debuted in the Théâtre du Gymnase in late September with "Le Dey d'Alger à Paris". In the same humoristic tone of nearly all its articles at that time, the Figaro had this to say about the show (October 1, 1831):

Pauvre Hussein ! quelle destinée que la tienne ! simple soldat de la milice turque, puis officier, puis dey, puis bourgeois de Paris avec un million de revenu. Pauvre Hussein ! Tour-à-tour sujet de la Sublime-Porte, maître absolu d'une régence, et habitué de l'Opéra, il ne te manquait plus que de donner ton nom à nos pièces de théâtres.

Two months later, *Le Luthier de libonne* by Scribber and Bayard debuted in the same theater.

This play's target was not D. Pedro, but rather his brother D. Miguel. *La Mode* said that, at the show, "le roi de Portugal est travesti de la manière la plus dégoûtante et la plus infame" and suggested that perhaps the theater owners were courting D. Pedro to obtain his sponsorship. Despite not directly referring to D. Miguel, then viewed poorly by the French liberals, the actor who played the play's villain, Bouffé, was physically similar to D. Pedro's brother. The provocation also did not go unnoticed by the *Figaro*, which published an article on the theater pages saying that the Théâtre du Gymnase had declared war on D. Miguel.

Le Gymnase vient de déclarer la guerre à don Miguel. La pièce du "*Luthier de Lisbonne*" peut servir d'avant-garde à l'expédition de don Pedro.... *Le petit tyran du Portugal, n'avait pas encore été mis à la scène.* Cette burlesque caricature du despotisme méritait d'y être traduite. Tous les vertiges qui passent dans le cerveau de ce monomane couronné devaient fournir des situations à la fois dramatique et singulières. Joignez à cela la bonne fortune de rencontrer, pour remplir un pareil personnage, un acteur comme Bouffé, dont le talent offre autant d'originalité et de variété, que Miguel peut en mettre dans ses capricieuses et stupides cruautés. Physique, jeu de physionomie, tout dans Bouffé a contribué à rendre l'illusion complète, et à rappeler aux Parisiens l'aimable prince qu'ils ont pu voir, ainsi que nous, il y a quelques années, spécialement au Cirque-Olympique. (*Figaro*, December 8, 1831, n. 341)

D. Miguel had fallen into disgrace in Parisian public opinion on account of the events that had culminated in Admiral Roussin's fleet taking the port of Lisbon.¹⁵ Information regarding the violence of the regime were reported by exiles and disseminated by the liberal press, which had become ever more integrated throughout Europe. Some of the situations described in detail in the newspapers like the public beating of H. Bonhomme – a Frenchman who had been accused of profaning Catholic churches in Portugal – in the streets of Lisbon and the shooting of an entire battalion of soldiers who had mutinied against the king, in addition to the degrading conditions in which prisoners were kept, ensured for D. Miguel the same epithets that the legitimists had bestowed upon Napoleon: the monster, Caligula, and Nero of Bemposta, to name but a few.

Meanwhile, in the months following his sensational appearance at the Opéra, D. Pedro became a well-known figure among Parisians. His constant presence alongside the king, who he

visited nearly every day, was headline news in the newspapers that wrote about the sovereign's day-to-day life. He was seen everywhere, strolling with his family in the Tuilleries, in theaters, attending sessions of Parliament, balls, etc. In time, only the legitimist *La Mode* would continue to associate him with Brazil and the unfashionable images of savagery in an attempt to discredit and diminish him in the eyes of Europeans. The exoticism would cease to be an important element of his character, making the way for another quality to be associated with his debut in Europe: his liberalism. His skillful handling of this political school of thought, once again popular, stood in stark contrast to D. Miguel's absolutism. In this sense, the article published in the *Figaro* that criticizes the attempts by conservative newspapers to attach the mark of Cain to D. Pedro shows how the image that D. Pedro had acquired in Paris stood in perfect harmony with the spirit of the July Monarchy.¹⁶

Cain et Abel.

Un journal légitimiste dit: "Don Pedro arme contre le Brésil. Cain, que vas-tu faire de ton frère?"

Don Pedro est Cain, Miguel est Abel.

Cain est un scélérat et un monstre, grand amateur et compositeur de musique, imposant à ses sujets, lorsqu'il avait des sujets, ses cantates et ses marches militaires.

Abel au contraire, offre en holocauste au Seigneur ce qu'il a de plus précieux (Bible). Comme Jacob, il a immolé en sacrifice son père, sa mère et les premiers de son peuple.

Cain, réprouvé par Dieu, a quitté son empire et a résigné à couronner son fils, monarque au maillot, autocrate de cinq ans.

Abel, comprenant que le bonheur de ses sujets dépend de sa domination, que la prospérité du Portugal est attachée à son règne, force ses sujets à être heureux malgré eux, et fait pendre et fusiller les mécontents pour leur conserver un bon roi, comme Ugolin qui mangea ses enfants pour leur conserver un père; il les condamne au bonheur par arrêt, à la félicité par ordonnance.

Caïn, chassé par son peuple, a eu l'infamie de s'en aller, et de venir audacieusement suivre le Roi des Français dans ses voyages et aux revues de la garde nationale, avec le sang-froid du criminel endurci.

Abel fait exécuter ses sujets en masse pour faire régner la tranquillité et l'ordre dans ses états. Il efface de la terre les impies, les athées, les déistes, les républicains, et ceux qui, par une cause quelconque, l'ont induit en péché en le poussant à la colère ou au blasphème.

Caïn ne tuera pas Abel, car ses vaisseaux sont arrêtés, et l'argent est rare par les temps qui court.

Si Caïn tombe entre les mains d'Abel, Abel le tuera ; car Abel ne respecte rien. Et d'ailleurs les moines gras de Lisbonne sont pour lui. (Figaro, November 12, 1831, n. 315)

Conclusion

Octavio Tarquínio said that D. Pedro had told one of his friends that he was going to Europe to become famous. From his earlier experience and since the campaign for Independence, in terms of both the Brazilian and foreign press, there was no doubt that his sojourn abroad was crucial in his achieving his objectives. Indeed, his strategy ultimately was to garner European sympathy and use it as indispensable support for the cause of D. Maria. Therefore, D. Pedro sought sponsorship by availing himself of the French press and other publications, of relations with the royal family and the Bonaparte family, and of his ease of communication and propensity for familiarity, both essential elements of his personal style. His familiar lifestyle was also in perfect harmony with that of the French royal family. It was a lifestyle that fit perfectly with the bourgeois spirit that predominated society at a time in which the family had assumed a more central role.

A series of favorable circumstances ultimately crossed D. Pedro's path, the main one being the upheaval in world politics following the July Revolution in France in 1830. The fall of Charles X represented not only a blow to restorationists but also the beginning of the downfall of the project of 1815 for the entire continent. In 1831, Louis Philippe, the citizen king, endeavored to please the liberals, the most emblematic of whom was the Marquis de Lafayette, who would become a friend of D. Pedro. A new liberal wave took hold of Europe, and many insurrections took the French movement as their cue. Even England elected a liberal Parliament. France was also living a revival of Napoleonic sentiment. Thiers praised the French emperor, recalling how much he had contributed to the nation's aggrandizement. Among the masses, memories of the Bonapartists had become an item of intense debate (v. PINKNEY, p.), such that being married to the daughter of Eugène de Beauharnais, the son of Josephine whom Napoleon had adopted, was something that only enhanced the prestige of the former emperor in France.

D. Pedro's skillful handling of all these elements helped him win the war against his brother in Portugal. Leaving Paris to lead his expedition to restore his daughter's crown was a masterful blow. Confident in his appearance and his ability to convince and seduce, he strengthened familiar ties with the king, turning once formal relations into personal and intimate ones, and with the liberals, who saw him as a fundamental player to counter the absolutism that still reined in Portugal and Spain. The liberal press was his great ally, publishing favorable articles about him personally and about the cause for which he stood, widely publicizing the violent, repressive acts that his brother was pursuing in Portugal. Exoticism was yet another element in building up his public character. Legends surrounding Brazil's limitless gold and precious gem mines, news of the beauty of the land, and the pleasantness of its people all contributed to portraying D. Pedro in a very special light, setting him apart from the general portrayal of European royalty. Yet it was his ability to immediately talk with people, breaking established codes of communication, and adopting an attitude of familiarity with everyone – from the noblest to the most impoverished – that guaranteed his triumph in Paris.

Bibliographic References

- BARTELEMY, G. "Sur l'Orientalisme dans la littérature", available at: <http://dictionnairedesorientalistes.ehess.fr/document.php?id=34> Consulted on 12/19/2012
- BELLANGER, C.; GODECHOT, J.; GUIRAL, P.; TERROU, F. **Histoire General de La presse française, Tome II: de 1815 à 1871**. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969.
- CAMARGO, K. A. F. "Uma leitura do Brasil: Fernand Denis", available at: http://scholar.google.com.br/scholar?q=%22ferdinand+denis%22++camargo&btnG=&hl=pt-BR&as_sdt=0. Consulted on 12/19/2012
- CHURCH, C. H. **Europe in 1830**. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983.
- COCHRANE, J.D. **Narrativa dos serviços no libertar-se o Brasil da dominação portuguesa**. Brasília: Senado Federal, 2003.
- DALBIAN, D. **Dom Pedro – Empereur Du Brésil Roi de Portugal, 1798-1834**. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1959.

DA MATTA, R. **Carnavais malandros e heróis: por uma sociologia do dilema brasileiro**. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1979.

DÉMIER, F. **La France de La Restauration (1814-1830)**. Paris: Gallimard, 2012.

KALIFA, D.; RÉGNIER, P.; THÉRENTY, M.E.; VAILLANT, A. **La civilization Du Journal: histoire culturelle et littéraire de La presse française au XIXe siècle**, Paris: Nouveau Monde, 2011.

LEDRÉ, C. **La presse a l'assaut de La Monarchie (1815-1848)**, Paris, Armand Colin, 1960.

MARGADANT, J. B. Les représentations de La reine Marie-Amélie dans une monarchie 'bourgeoise'. **Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle**, no. 36, 2008/1, pp 93-117.

MOLLIER, J.Y., REID, M. et YON, J. C (org). **Repenser la Restauration**. Paris : Nouveau Monde Editions, 2005.

PINKNEY, D. H. **The French Revolution of 1830**. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972.

SOUSA, O. T. **A vida de D. Pedro I**. Tomo III. Col. História dos Fundadores do Império, vol. IV. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1972.

VIGIER, P. **La Monarchie de Juillet**. Col. Que sais-je? 4th Ed. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1972.

_____. **Paris Pendent la Monarchie de Juillet (1830-1848)**. Paris : Diffusion Hachette, 1991.

WALSH, R. **Noticias do Brasil**, 2 vol., trans. Regina Regis Junqueira, Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1985.

Footnotes

¹ For a history of the French press, see BELLANGER et al, 1969; LEDRÉ, 1960; KALIFA et al, 2011.

² For a general view of the European political context, see CHURCH, 1983. For the Revolution of 1830 in France, see PINKNEY, 1972; VIGIER, 1972 and 1991; MOLLIER et al, 2005 and DÉMIER, 2012.

³ According to Camargo, *Revue des Deux Mondes* was founded in 1829 but only garnered success in 1830, when, in order to attract new readers, it merged with *Journal des voyages*. (CAMARGO)

⁴ *Gazette littéraire*, revue française et étrangère de la littérature, des sciences, des beaux-arts, etc. was founded on December 1, 1829 and lasted until August 1831. It was published every Thursday, and its first editors were Paulin and Gauja. As recorded in a notice published in issue number 41, Gauja left the company, leaving publications in the care of Paulin. No further information exists concerning this magazine or its editors in the bibliography referenced.

⁵ Robert Walsh was chaplain of the English embassy during the final mission of Lord Strangford at the Court in Rio de Janeiro. He travelled into the interior of Brazil and left an important account of Brazilian customs. (v. WALSH, 1985)

⁶ In the François Miterrand National Library, I found a publication dated from 1831 entitled “News of Dom Pedro I, Constitutional Emperor of Brazil” with the byline “M. G... attorney” and published by Imprimerie Le Normant Fils, Rue de Seine, no. 8. I do not know if this is the same as that mentioned by Octavio Tarquínio which would have been rewritten while still aboard by D. Pedro and Plasson and sent to Chalaça to be translated and printed as soon as possible since, as D. Pedro says in the letter accompanying the text, “it behooves me that Europe truly know what happened in Rio so that my honor saved there (public as it is) not suffer here on the chance the journalists paid by my infamous and traitor brother manage for a time to shroud my glory.” (SOUSA, p. 147).

⁷ *La Mode*, revue du monde élégant was a magazine containing color illustrations of male and female clothing, launched by Émile de Girardin in 1829 under the sponsorship of the Duchess of Berry (KALIFA, p. 218). After the Revolution of 1830, *La Mode* became one of the most active legitimist publications, including within its articles constant mundane critiques of Louis Philippe and his reign. Generally presented in a humoristic tone, these critiques in the articles and notes also took stabs at D. Pedro. In the material cited here, the magazine always included the moniker “constitutional emperor and perpetual defender of Brazil” following the name D. Pedro.

⁸ *Revue de Paris: journal critique politique et littéraire* was a bimonthly literary magazine published by Louis Verón in 1829, like his *Revue de Deux Mondes*. The article about Pedro I’s disembarkation in Cherbourg was published in 1831, #27, p. 183-186.

⁹ Pedro I’s prestigious welcome was recorded in the press with a note of perplexity. Describing the ceremony held in the Pantheon, *Journal de Débats* states, “Au centre de la coupole s’élevait l’estrade royale. On y avait préparé deux fauteuils et deux pliants. Beaucoup de personnes ignoraient à qui était destiné le second fauteuil. Bientôt on a su, par des personnes arrivant de la Bastille, que d. Pedro assistait aux cérémonies du jour à côté du Roi, et on a eu le mot de l’énigme.” In other words, Louis Philippe (or his ceremonial) considered that, among the guests, only D. Pedro held a status equivalent to his.

¹⁰ Establishment of the concept of “familiarity” such as presented above is a work in progress as part of the studies on D. Pedro that I have been pursuing. This is not to be necessarily confused with the idea of a “cordial man” such as presented by Sergio Buarque de Holanda in *Roots of Brazil* and regarding which there is vast literature. Familiarity, as I have described above, implies a break in the models of behavior established by the aristocratic society, such as those described by Tocqueville (with DA MATTA, 1979, p. 145). Just as with cordiality, familiarity is a cultural product of Iberian tradition brought by the Portuguese. Nevertheless, when adopted as a social attitude by a single personality, the ex-emperor of Brazil, it produces an effect similar to: “Do you know with whom you are speaking?” from Da Matta (idem, chap. IV). Ultimately, as he was indisputably the most important hierarchical figure in the street scenes described, D. Pedro I could afford to talk in a familiar style with people who had no doubt as to whom they were addressing. In the intimacy of Louis Philippe’s palace, D. Pedro’s initial shyness and subsequent awe at Lafayette, his spontaneous manifestations, were shocking because they did not fit that group’s codes of behavior.

¹¹ Dey was the title given to the head of the Regency of Algiers which at the time still belonged to Turkey. Algiers was divided into four parts, each governed by a bey who owed obedience to the dey. On July 5, 1830, Hussein Pachá, the Dey of Algeria, signed a treaty of submission to France after a series of episodes that had begun in 1827. Hussein Pacha was the last Dey of Algeria, seeking exile in France, where he lived until late 1831. The government of the July Revolution did not accept his request to set up residency in France and subsequently sought exile in Italy for three years. He died in Alexandria, Egypt in 1838 at the age of 63. For more on the invasion of Algeria, see PINKEY, pp. 14-15.

¹² Louis Philippes domestic and foreign policy was guided by the ideal of “juste milieu,” a principle that he established in a document send to the city of Gaillac in late January 1831 in which he stated that his reign would seek to follow a policy of a happy medium, “far from both the excesses of popular power and the abuses of royal power.” In terms of foreign policy, this attitude meant France’s seeking to maintain neutrality with respect to the domestic problems of its neighboring countries, to pursue cordial relations with world powers, and to strive for strict collaboration with England. The generous welcome of the dey and other deposed governors who sought refuge in

France would also be considered part of this spirit of goodwill and respect for adversaries. This policy was ironically summarized by *La Quotidienne* on August 28, 1831, when it stated: “nous étions cramponnés à notre système de paix à tout prix, et que nous n’avions rien à refuser à personne pour éviter la guerre et les démêlés.”

¹³ Parisians’ fascination with the figure of the Dey of Algiers reflected the wave of the orientalism that inspired painters, poets, and writers at the time. From Chateaubriand to Victor Hugo to Lamartine, orientalism was part of artists’ creative repertoire. In painting, Delacroix, Decamps, Vernet, among others also found inspiration in the Orient. Preferences for Asian fashion meant many contemporaries were portrayed in oriental dress. For more on orientalism, see the article by Guy Barthelemy as well as other references at: <http://dictionnairedesorientalistes.ehess.fr/document.php?id=34>

¹⁴ Dona Amélia de Leuchtenberg, the second empress of Brazil, was the daughter of Prince Eugène Beauharnais. This fact made her practically a granddaughter of Napoleon Bonaparte, yet another reason for D. Pedro’s prestige in Paris.

¹⁵ On July 8, 1831, Admiral Albin Roussin followed the orders of his government and forced entry up the Tejo, demanding that the government of D. Miguel remedy offenses against the French people. While there was resistance from the forts, on July 11, combat ceased, and the French were victorious. D. Miguel gave into the demands made, and he saw the war ships and commerce vessels in the port being seized by Roussin’s fleet as part of the payment for expenses incurred for the naval operation.

¹⁶ For more on the bourgeois lifestyle of Louis Philippe and his family, see Margadant, 2008.

Received in November, 2012.

Approved in December, 2012.