

The struggle of Brazilians against Miguelism in Portugal (1828-1834): the case of the *black man*, Luciano Augusto

A luta de brasileiros contra o miguelismo em Portugal (1828-1834): o caso do homem preto Luciano Augusto¹

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RESUMO

O reinado de d. Miguel (1828-1834) colocou fim à primeira experiência liberal portuguesa e foi marcado por intensa repressão política aos seus opositores. Contra o rei absoluto formou-se uma verdadeira ‘internacional antimiguelista’, que incluía brasileiros de diferentes condições sociais: cirurgiões, estudantes, militares, trabalhadores domésticos. Tendo como fonte principal os processos políticos do reinado de d. Miguel, pretende-se com este artigo reconstituir alguns aspectos da resistência ao regime implantado pelo rei usurpador com base no estudo de caso do réu Luciano Augusto. Homem preto e criado de servir, Luciano foi acusado de constitucionalista e partidário de d. Pedro IV. Entre outros objetivos, busca-se esclarecer o trânsito de pessoas e de ideias no interior do que fora, talvez, a parcela mais importante do império português, permitindo até mesmo o estabelecimento de contrastes entre o contexto americano e o europeu.

Palavras-chave: Estado Nacional; miguelismo; liberalismo.

ABSTRACT

The reign of Dom Miguel (1828-1834) brought to an end the first Portuguese liberal experience, and was marked by the intense political repression of opponents. A ‘anti-Miguelist international’ was formed against the absolutist King, which included Brazilians from different walks of life, such as surgeons, students, military officers, and domestic workers. Drawing mainly on the political lawsuits from Dom Miguel’s reign, this article seeks to reconstitute some aspects of the resistance against the regime established by the usurping king, using the case study of the Luciano Augusto. A black man and house servant, Luciano was accused of being a Constitutionalist and supporter of Dom Pedro IV. Amongst other objectives, we also seek to clarify the flow of people and ideas within what had been, perhaps, the most important part of the Portuguese Empire, which would also allow us to establish contrasts between the American and European contexts.

Keywords: Nation States; Miguelism; Liberalism.

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The starting point for this article is that the ties between the history of Portugal and Brazil were far from loosened in the years which followed the political emancipation of the former Portuguese colony in the Americas. This observation is also valid for the short reign of d. Miguel (1828-1834).

The (*ancien*) regime installed by the *Miguelista* counter-revolution was characterized by the intense political repression of its opponents, even before the civil war which marked the last three years of his reign. The case study presented below is part of a wider research project which seeks to investigate the actions of Brazilians involved in politically based law cases involving those who fought against *Miguelismo* in Portugal.

In the set of almost 1500 cases covering all the years of d. Miguel's government, I found in Lisbon 11 involving Brazilians from different parts of the country: Pernambuco, Maranhão, Minas Gerais, Pará and Rio de Janeiro. With the exception of one of the soldiers, Jerônimo Pereira de Vasconcelos, who would be ennobled with the constitutional regime was restored, these were *common people*² who, in meetings in grocery shops, pharmacies, barbers, alleyways and side streets, gave out tirades against the usurper of the Throne, the younger brother of d. Pedro. Brazilians who sang songs in favor of the Constitution; who distributed and read pamphlets in public places; who with gestures and words showed themselves to be against the king. All constitutionalists, or accused of defending liberalism, therefore called *malhados*, a pejorative term attributed by the *Miguelistas* to the supporters of the restoration of the Constitutional Charter.

Among the students, pharmacists and soldiers who had come from Brazil, only one was declared to be black: Luciano Augusto. In this paper the fragments of his political actions, rebuilt on the basis of the records made by a Special Commission created by d. Miguel's regime to investigate political crimes.

SOCIAL HISTORY, RENEWED POLITICAL HISTORY, AND THE BIOGRAPHIC GENRE

At the end of the 1990s and the beginning of this millennium, Brazilian historiography was marked, amongst other aspects, by the renewal of political history. Of the new approaches, one of the most outstanding was the

discussion of the formation of the state and nation in Brazil. In this wider universe one theme which mobilized various scholars was the different political projects which disputed hegemony in the creation of the Brazilian state.

Within this renewal what stand out are interpretations of the structure of power and the drafting of laws; the creation of the legal apparatus, new forms of organizing the administrative machine. During this trajectory one aspect that is highlighted is the approximation between social history and renewed political history. Although this approximation has occurred in a wide variety of forms, it seems to me that one of the most successful has been that of studies concerned with biographies, whether individual or collective.

At first sight, the biographic genre suggests an old sort of way of writing political history, with its emphasis on characters who, distanced from a broader context, moved by particular and purely individual traits, flaunt the mark of heroism, so dear to a historiographic tradition that is now practically outdated. However, the attempt to face, or give a 'face,' to history, to emphasize the position of subjects involves, at least in the most successful cases, accepting the suggestion made by Jacques Le Goff, in his biography of St. Louis, that, more than any other object, a personality crystallizes around them, in a more polished manner, the context of their environment.³

Furthermore, this does not signify falling into that type of trap Bourdieu called the biographic 'illusion.'⁴ At least in relation to this paper, the mention of the construction of biographies, life stories, does not signify losing sight of the discontinuous, fragmentary character, almost inapprehensible from the 'life' of the character. The actual characteristics of the sources privileged here, the political law cases, which will be returned to below, despite containing information about birth, parents, and the place of birth of the subjects, only permit that they can be situated in a more precise moment of their lives, in a determined possible dimension of the various fields in which they acted. In the case in question, the moment is when they found themselves swept up in the nets of power accused of crimes against the government and the person of His Majesty.

Another important point is that the establishment of individual trajectories has stopped being circumscribed only to individuals who have achieved a wider projection – another signal of renewal – to embrace more obscure individuals, those who we have chosen to refer to as *common people*.⁵ In this way

there has been a multiplication of studies which offer, through a central personality, the plots of that individual's time and the transit between the micro space and the macro-social.

The lack of documentary records, a recurrent argument to flee from the challenge of trying to elucidate aspects of the history of life of certain individuals inscribed in the threshold of anonymity and of presence in 'non-formal' public spaces, have been overcome by crosschecking information, much of which is imprecise and fragmentary. One proposed alternative, also dependent on the availability of records, is that of collective biographies. The *prosopography* method has been shown to be an important instrument capable of promoting, amongst many other options, an approximation between political history and social history.

Various efforts have been made in this sense. Among other works, we can cite the studies which deal with the question of social stratification and political mobilizations in the Province of Minas Gerais, between 1831 and 1835.⁶ One of the principal aims of this production was to recreate the solidarities and the dissent observed among the freed slaves and the mixed population in the province in the set of political mobilizations in Minas Gerais, in the initial years of the Regencies, in the context of the formation of the Brazilian state.

One finding which in essence imposed itself was that many of these groups organized themselves around 'restoring' leaders.

These leaders were highlighted, for example, in the popular mobilizations which occurred in 1831 in Santa Rita do Turvo, Termo de Mariana, in the Comarca of Ouro Preto, with a profound ethnic content. Later the same leaders were involved in the *Revolta do Ano da Fumaça* (Revolt of the Year of Smoke) in 1833, when seditious persons took power in Vila Rica.

What most calls attention was the ability of these groups with conservative features to attract the mobilization of popular sectors, slaves, Indians, *forros* (freed slaves), mulattos and *mestiços* (mixed race) to their slogans. Something which, it should be emphasized, was not specific to the province of Minas. Not that the supporters of liberalism were totally averse to this type of mobilization, but their adherence to the liberal political pact perhaps made them rely on a form of political action that was more within the political order.

These approaches show that the different political options of groups in conflict in the province between 1831 and 1834 did not solely correspond to personal ties, constructed in a more or less random manner, which could be shown, for example, in the establishment of a socio-economic profile of those who appeared in the documentation as directly participating in the conflicts. This would indicate the dimensions of slaveholding, the nature of the occupation of slaves, the principal activities carried out on the properties of those being researched and determined political, social, and economic ties established by those involved in the movements

In the specific case of the Comarca of Ouro Preto, one of the most important leaders was Captain-General Manoel José Esteves Lima. A councilor in Mariana on a number of occasions, a tithe collector, and a sugarcane engineer, his most significant activity was administrator of forced labor by indigenous people and recruits on the roads of the Antigo Sertão do Rio da Casca, in order to connect Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. With this individual the conviction of the importance of biographical studies or life trajectories is reinforced, alongside the intention to try to unveil the reasons why popular groups in that specific context aligned themselves with groups who advocated conservative projects.

In the intense political game played out in the province of Minas in the regency years, the invective published in the liberal newspaper *O Universal* on 6 April 1831 stated that Manoel Esteves was a “Greater enemy to liberty than even the satellites of d. Miguel.” Mentions of the rule of d. Miguel in *O Universal*, however, are not frequent, with articles such as the one in issue no. 311, 10 July 1829 being rare, in which the reign of terror imposed by d. Miguel was condemned. This still causes wonder, and not just because of the commitment of the periodical to the group of moderate liberals. The newspaper was edited by Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos, who had experienced the drama of the *Miguelista* political persecutions in the figure of his oldest brother, Jerônimo Pereira de Vasconcelos. Colonel of the 16th Infantry, Jerônimo Pereira de Vasconcelos was arrested in Lisbon accused of having been since Coimbra one of the leaders of the anti-*Miguelista* revolt in Porto in 1828. Despite this, as far as can be confirmed, the association between Esteves Lima and the supporters of d. Miguel was only a rhetorical resource used by the

newspaper. There are no indications of any connections between the Captain-General and the ultra-royalist Portuguese.

These findings called my attention to the feasibility of carrying out a comparative study of social formations in which the mobilization of the *setores ínfimos* (the common people) for the support of restoration projects appears to have been something important, which led me to research d. Miguel and the forces which supported him, not just during this reign, but also in the moment of his political appearance in 1823. An option reinforced by the finding that these mobilizations were part of the disputes between the different political projects present in the formation of the modern state in Portugal.

Research in Portuguese libraries and archives had the effect of reinforcing my disposition to seek to establish relations between the two contexts, even after the political independence of Brazil. Certain questions stood out which, while not new, were little explored in the historiography, especially the Brazilian. One was about the meanings which could be attributed, in terms of the permanence of the idea of the Luso-Brazilian Empire, to the adoption and implementation of the Brazilian Constitution in Portugal between 1826 and 1828.⁷ Principally for the ultra-royalists, supporters of the future king d. Miguel, the adoption of the 1824 Brazilian Constitution signified an unconceivable inversion of relations between Portugal and Brazil and moved the theme of the political emancipation of Brazil to the former metropole. In other words, by granting the Constitution to the kingdom, d. Pedro I, the emperor of Brazil, had provided the pamphleteering and violent counter-revolutionary Portuguese press with 'nationalist' arguments which exaggerated the possible imbalance of forces, necessarily unfavorable to the Portuguese nation, which would put at risk its 'independence' regarding the young Brazilian nation.

The list of themes which approximate the histories of Brazil and Portugal in the specific context of the reign of d. Miguel, therefore, is not negligible, as can be seen from the example cited. Furthermore, others can be mentioned: the action of exiled anti-*Miguelistas* who formed an important base of support for the Emperor Pedro I in Brazil;⁸ the different reactions of the various Brazilian groups to the absolutist turn, represented by d. Miguel's ascension to the throne in Portugal;⁹ the understanding of the contradictions between the complex process which led to the political abdication of the first emperor, the

‘Seventh of April,’ under the accusation of being an absolutist, and the role he would represent in the restoration of constitutional monarchy in Portugal.

One theme, however, which I did not cogitate addressing, because to it was to an extent opposed to my starting point – popular sectors mobilized in support of restoration projects –, was that of Brazilians who, on Lusitanian soil opposed, or were accused of this by the regime of d. Miguel, as is the case of the individual in question, Luciano Augusto. Nor did I suspect that I would deal with this theme using the methods of the recreation of biographies and life histories.

SOME BRIEF CONSIDERATIONS ON SOURCES

The sources used here are the law cases related to political prosecutions during the reign of d. Miguel, held in the *Fundo dos feitos findos* in the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* (ANTT). On 15 August 1828 d. Miguel’s regime created in the *Casa de Suplicação* a “Commission to judge all the crimes committed against the Royal Person of the King... against the Security of the State.” This commission consisted of a judge rapporteur and nine assistant judges.

1402 cases were opened in Lisbon, the majority involving more than one person, which makes it difficult to establish the exact number of opponents of the regime taken to court in the capital. Of these more than one hundred cases involve foreigners, of whom at least 11 were from Brazil. An ‘anti-*Miguelista* international’ can be noted, as in the following case:

Joaquim José de Seixas ... born in Maranhão ... Antonio Garcia, mason, born in Madrid, Francisco Manuel Mimoso, trader, born in Cuba, Manuel Roberto César, lieutenant-adjutant of the Overseas Cavalry, born in Maranhão ... all accused in virtue of having mutinied in the Court Prison, where they were under arrest for political reasons, on 22 May 1829, giving seditious cheers and insulting the absolutist regime and the guard who came to put an end of the disturbances. (ANTT, Maço 77, n.2b, 1829)

Along with Antônio Garcia, from Madrid, there were accused from various parts of Spain – Cadiz, Safra, Galicia, Malaga, Santander and Catalonia. Others, like the Cuban Francisco Manuel Mimoso, had come from Spanish America, such as “D. Filipe Árias, Lieutenant of the *Caçadores* (Riflemen),

born in Spanish America, son of d. Mariano Arias and d. Josefa Gevantes” (ANTT, Maço 77, n.3, 1833).

In the case of the Brazilians, one of the richest cases due to the profusion of attached documents– printed material, personal letters sent to relatives in Brazil, the transcription of the verses of Tomás Antônio Gonzaga – is perhaps that of the student from Para, Casimiro José Rodrigues, son of Caetano Jerônimo Rodrigues and Mariana da Purificação, arrested when he spent a time in Tomar, which he alleged was for medical reasons.¹⁰ Table 1 lists the Brazilians I found in the documentation researched.

Table 1 – Brazilians involved in Political Legal Cases during the Reign of d. Miguel

Name	Place of Birth	Position
Casimiro José Rodrigues	Pará	Student
Francisco Manoel Soares Brandão	Rio de Janeiro	Cadet
José Faustino Gomes	Pernambuco	Surgeon
Jerónimo Pereira de Vasconcelos	Minas Gerais	Army Coronel
Manuel Bernardes Velho da Veiga	Rio de Janeiro	Academic
Joaquim José de Seixas	Maranhão	Lieutenant of a Regiment of Infantry
Lourenço Gomes da Silva Álvares	Pernambuco	Official
Marcelino José dos Santos Homem	Pernambuco	Bookkeeper of the Restoration Company
Luciano Augusto	Maranhão	Servant
João Cândido	Bahia	Clerk in the Estanco Company
Manuel Roberto César	Maranhão	Lieutenant-Adjutant of the Overseas Cavalry

Sources: *Cadernetas* containing the list of Political Law Cases from the Reign of D. Miguel, ANTT; LIMA, Jorge Hugo Pires de. *Processos Políticos do Reinado de D. Miguel*. Sumários. Coimbra: Ed. Coimbra, 1967.

Rare are the cases in which men of color appear. The presence of one João Francisco Rebolo, Clerk of Orphans, son of Antonio Marques Rebolo, from Serpa, “arrested because he was accused of being involved in the popular mutinies which had taken place in the same town at the time of the revolutionary events of Algarve and Porto” (ANTT, Maço 57, n.2) is misleading, if the expectation is to find some reference of ethnic content. In the document, as well as the complete absence of any allusion to being black or mixed, Antonio is described as blond with blue eyes.

In turn, the records that appear in the summary of the arrest of Maria Joaquina are unequivocal, as she was found with black named Filipa Maria when they “were coming from the [royalist] rebels.” Unequivocal about Filipa’s color, but mistaken about her political affiliation – if this existed –, since they had been in contact with the “royalist rebels” (ANTT, Maço 75 b, n.5).

For all these reasons, the existence of a case in which one of the defendants is the black man Luciano Augusto deserves special attention. Even more so when we discover that Luciano was from Maranhão.¹¹ However, before entering into this question, it is worth looking at some aspects, especially social, about the *Miguelista* counter-revolution. After all, and drawing once again on Le Goff, “The individual does not exist except in a network of social networks and this diversity allows him develop his own game. Knowledge of society is necessary to see that in it an individual personality is created and lives.”¹²

THE CONTEXT OF *MIGUELISMO*

“Exterminating angel of the constitutional faction.” This was how José Sebastião de Saldanha Oliveira Daun, a supporter of d. Miguel, referred to the *infante* in his work *Diorama de Portugal nos 33 meses constitucionais ou Golpe de Vista sobre a Revolução de 1820, a Constituição de 1822, a Restauração de 1823 e Acontecimentos Posteriores até ao fim de Outubro do Mesmo Anno*, published in Lisbon by the Royal Press in 1823. That year d. Miguel made his appearance on the political stage by heading a coup which brought an end to the first Portuguese liberal experience and became known as Vila-Francada.¹³ After 1826, according to Maria Alexandre Lousada, “*Miguelismo* was used to designate the supporters of the legitimacy of d. Miguel in relation to d. Pedro, after the death of d. João VI.”¹⁴

In general terms the victory and consequent return to power of the *legitimistas* – as the supporters of d. Miguel were known – signified the victory of sectors of the high nobility, the *fidalgua* (gentry) and the high ranking clergy, provisionally defeated by the success of the revolution of Porto in 1820. The entire apparatus of the *Ancien Regime* was used to restore absolutism in Portugal, notably the convocation of the three estates of the Kingdom in the form established by the Cortes of Lamego in 1143, in a process which reveals how torturous were the paths for the construction of modern nations. *Miguelismo* thus represented: “The valorization of tradition as a political norm, the transformation of the past in a paradigm, and the defense of the alliance between the Church and the Crown ... rejecting the social alterations and, in particular, revolutionary declarations of equality and liberty and the actual principle of revolution” (Lousada, 1987, p.1, 8).

An important characteristic of the political regime of the Portuguese counter-revolution was its intense mobilizing nature. Even using the discourse of the “extermination of liberalism, liberals and the restoration of the ‘ancient privileges’, uses and customs”, summed up in the motto “God, King, and Patria,” the support of the poorer sectors was uncontested. Amongst other reasons, this was because in the initial decades of the nineteenth century in Portugal, the identification of the *revolution* with France, and with the evils resulting from the war against the French invader, was almost immediate.

The capillarity of the counter-revolution in Portugal, or the Portuguese-style counter-revolution, was thereby assured by the support of many popular (or less privileged) sectors for d. Miguel. The mobilization of subordinated groups goes back to the time of the French invasions and intensified during the absolutist revolts which occurred in Portugal between 1823 and 1827.

For many scholars the reign of d. Miguel was a time of terror. To have an idea of this, it is calculated that in a population of three million, around 13,000 were imprisoned, (resulting in Lisbon alone of around 1400 prosecutions).

Who were these groups, called here ‘popular sectors?’ Studies, such as that of Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro,¹⁵ have shown that they were composed of what were called in the nineteenth century the *negligible classes*, consisting of unmarried men, brigands, youths, *erradios* (vagrants) – which corresponds to the polemical category of *vadios*, used in studies of Portuguese America and Imperial Brazil.

In turn, the social foundation of support for liberalism included the groups most enrooted in local societies, such as peasants with their stable relationship with family and property. This was the case of the city of Porto and also, though to a lesser extent, Coimbra, where the opposition to d. Miguel found popular support, especially among small landholders, local leaders, and members of the militias.

Even though the constitutionalist discourse, later reinforced by a historiography seen as liberal in Portugal, has helped to define these profiles, clearly unfavorable to the base of *legitimist* support, the above mentioned study of Nuno Monteiro makes an important point: the liberal poor were different from the *Miguelista* poor.

The ultra-royalists were considered during the decade the only political current to systematically adopt violent forms of mobilization and who legitimated attacks on authorities and private properties. They counted on the large-scale connivance of traditional intermediaries, of the relations between local communities and the society in which they were involved. They systematically invoked the traditional symbols of the legitimate order... They advocated attacking the constitutionalists, most of whom lived in small urban centers in the provinces and who presented themselves as 'rich people' and the most honored.¹⁶

For example, in 1828 in Porto these poor, and not just them, took up arms to resist the acclamation of d. Miguel.¹⁷ In the city of Lisbon men and women of the same social condition also resisted, but not with arms, the reestablishment of an absolutist regime represented by d. Miguel. However, it was not always easy to establish the social environment with which these persons were connected, or for their greater or lesser social integration. In the case of Luciano Augusto, the environment in which he acted was that of servants, of poor men, constitutionalists and liberals, but also of those active, and not so active, defenders of d. Miguel. Some called themselves this perhaps only to save their own skin. What is particular to him, though, is the fact that he was a black man.

LUCIANO AUGUSTO, A *BLACK MAN* AND A *MALHADO*

A preliminary observation is necessary. Due to the nature of the source we have,¹⁸ great care has to be taken not to confuse the frustration of an act

against the regime with successful repression. In other words, we must not lose sight of the fact that the document we have only allows us to know a little more about the basis on which the accusation was made and the defense of Luciano Augusto, suggesting clues for his political activity.

We possess few personal details about the defendant. We only know that he was born in Maranhão in 1805, and that he was the son of Simeão and Delfina, whose surnames their son did not know, if they even had them. In relation to his appearance, he was described as having a regular stature and a round face, and that on the day of his imprisonment he was wearing a waistcoat and blue trousers. Luciano was kept in chains in Limoeiro prison, something to which none of the other accused in the documentation researched until now were subjected.

In the actions of the judge in charge of the case there is a disappointing – for the historian obviously – neglect of Luciano’s prior life: how had he come from Brazil to Portugal? At what age did he reach Lisbon? Was he a freedman (*forro*)? If he had left Brazil as a slave, perhaps accompanying his owners, had he benefitted from Portuguese legislation which stipulated that any slave entering the country would be freed? There is no information about this. Is the fact that Luciano Augusto was a cook, a trade “not rarely destined for male slaves in Brazilian cities,”¹⁹ sufficient to state that he was an African, whether slave or freedman? I do not believe so. It can also be supposed that he had arrived in Lisbon on board a ship whose crew he was a member of. After all, it was common for slaves, freemen, Africans, or free Creoles, to crew vessels on overseas voyages, even on slave ships.²⁰ However, a statement attributed to Luciano, that he did not know how to read prevented him from ‘going into the world,’ as cited below, making this supposition improbable. Nevertheless, the lack of information has some surprises, especially because there is not a single time that his name is mentioned in the source, without it being followed by the expression ‘black man.’

If he had another occupation in Lisbon other than servant, we cannot know. The fact is that there are records of him having served five different masters, and that in the seven or eight months before his arrest, he was like a ‘daily servant,’ working simultaneously in different houses for three employers, all of whom were related.

At No. 3 Travessa de São Mamede, in what is now Amoreiras, in the Freguesia of Santa Isabel, he worked for José Frederico Pereira Marecos, who had a degree in law from the University of Coimbra, was 30 years of age and single, and from Santarém. At the age of 21, in the year of the Vila-Francada, José Frederico published in the press of that University a 110 page long book of poems dedicated to his mother. In June 1823, after the coup of d. Miguel, according to one of his biographers the author himself collected the examples of these book, as his odes and sonnets transpired liberal ideas and feelings. He worked as a journalist after 1827 in *Gazeta de Lisboa*, an activity he had restarted in 1834. Marecos was the first professor to assume the chair of literature and rhetoric in the Real Colégio Militar da Luz, an institution whose students included Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen.²¹ He was also a lawyer of the *Casa de Suplicação* (the Portuguese Supreme Court). He was tall, dark, and had brown eyes and hair.

José Frederico Marecos and Luciano Augusto were arrested together at the end of 1831, accused of conspiring against the absolutist government of d. Miguel I. José Frederico's brother, Firmo Augusto Pereira Marecos, an employee of the Torre do Tombo, and future administrator of the National Press, had better luck than Luciano and José Frederico, managing to flee on the eve of being arrested.

The statements of the witnesses provided elements that lead us to suppose that the affinity of ideas was what brought master and servant together, much more than providing domestic services. At least it was this point which the judicial authorities insisted on asking numerous times about the motives which had led Luciano Augusto to work in the house of José Frederico.

The situation seemed even more complicated when the defendants admitted that Luciano had not been paid any wage or money during the seven or eight months he had worked for Marecos. Anticipating something from the statements of the witnesses, Luciano's experience from a few years previously of embarking suspects of subversion on packet ships may have been of importance in Luciano's establishing relations with Marecos, increasing the suspicion of the authorities:

[Luciano] said that he had had no better home in which he had previously served than in Alto do Salitre of a person with the nickname of Ruffo, and there had passed through that house many of the constitutionalists for the Packet, and

that he had helped this and had received some bargains, and that he acknowledged that he clings to the constitutional system (*sic*) and said no more...

Returning to José Frederico, what accusations could be made against him? What were his political positions? I will only look at those that can be learned from his political prosecution. While this procedure has the disadvantage, as has been exhaustively point out here, of being based on a source of a repressive apparatus, it avoids being informed about his political views based on his actions after the episodes looked at here. Explaining better, Marecos would build his public life after 1834 on an incessant defense of liberalism and constitutionalism in Portugal. Thus, the liberal desires identified in his verses, of which he was aware in his destruction of the copies of his first book, did not fade as he reached a mature age. Finally, the reconstitution will only be done with the purpose of seeking to clarify aspects of the universe in which Luciano Augusto was immersed.

The principal accusations were made by his fellow teachers in Colégio Militar. The majority stated that Marecos was a constitutionalist, a mason, and a 'very good friend of liberty.' José Frederico denied all this and insisted that his dismissal was because the discipline he taught – literature – was

of little advantage and of considerable expense... that for a long time it was argued that it be suppressed, so he attributed his dismissal to the economic measure of the government in this respect, and that in no way could political motives be attributed to this since he had held the same position for three years during the current government without deserving even the smallest warning from the authorities there.

In the testimony his interest in international politics is clear, with there being many mentions of France, and above all the situation in Poland. This is worth noting because it was an issue which Marecos did not deny having discussed with various interlocutors and for this reason he did not fail to comment when asked about it by the police authorities:

Asked if he had remembered saying about Warsaw that the Poles would win because they were fighting for their liberty, answered that while he remembered having talked with some people about Warsaw but he had never could have said this because he had never been persuaded that two million inhabitants could

triumph in a war against a potency which had more than 52 million inhabitants, but even if he had said it could never have been a criminal act since it is certain that Poland had already been independent and had only been subject to Russia after the Congress of Vienna.²²

The economic situation of José Frederico Marecos, of which Luciano Augusto was perfectly aware, appeared to have been unsustainable after he lost his position of professor on suspicion of spreading liberal and constitutionalist ideas.

Various witnesses repeated that they had supposedly heard from Marecos' servants that political affinities could translate into economic support, tightening the networks among the anti-*Miguelista* activists:

that his masters believed that when Senhor Dom Miguel reigned there was no other medicine other than to flee to outside the Kingdom, that his master brought foodstuff bought on credit and the one who gave them credit was a suspect who had a grocery shop in front of Ribeira Nova and beside an oratory of Santo Antônio who also has a chocolate shop on Cais do Sodré who will liquidate the account by the end of July, and he will owe two hundred thousand réis, which will have to be paid once D. Pedro arrives here.

As these were simple people, during the case something that did not go unnoticed among some of the witnesses was the possibility that Luciano was only reproducing the words he had heard in his master's house. However, the reading of the statements of two of the witnesses listed in the case show that it was not Marecos who spoke 'through the mouth of Luciano.' One of them, Pascoal Gonçalves, stated that Luciano spoke for himself and for others: "everything he stated he heard in the shop of his Master, Manoel Martins, whose expressions sometimes spoke for himself and other times as if he had heard his masters and that he had nothing else to declare."

The statement of the fellow servant, José Duarte, who had worked with the defendant around three years before in the house of Estevão Pinto de Morais Sarmiento, that he had heard him say he was a constitutionalist and that King d. Miguel was nothing other than a usurper, seemed sufficient to end any doubts about the genuine convictions of Luciano. As it is one of the most complete, José Duarte's statement deserves to be cited almost in its entirety:

And asked... he said he knew Luciano Augusto, a black man, who had been the cook of his master in the years of 30 and 31, and for this reason he had some conversations with him about political matters, hearing him state several times that he was a constitutionalist and that the Government of Senhor D. Miguel was worthless, and that Senhor D. Pedro was the true one.

Luciano Augusto was convinced of the victory of d. Pedro IV and boasted about this without taking any great precautions, because he supposed being a foreigner gave him immunity: “and that he, senhor d. Pedro, would come to Portugal and that everyone who have to obey him like they obeyed the Holy Father, and it being said to him several times that they should not speak in that way, he answered that he could say what he wanted because he was a foreigner.”

Also the witness heard him say, the ‘citizen of the world’ that he was, “that if he knew how to read he would go around the world, adding that he was constitutional because he was a good man, and that the hunchbacks were a gang of rogues and thieves.”

Luciano, according to the testimony, did not flee from the war of symbols which particularly marked the reign of d. Miguel, certainly because it involved a mobilizing regime. He was so much in this way “that he had a new blue jacket to wear when senhor d. Pedro arrived.” However, it could still have been coincidence that he was arrested wearing a blue jacket and trousers, as has been mention. It could have been that red, the color of the hunchbacks, did not suit him.

The battle extended to flags. Various witnesses stated that Luciano, on different occasions, had said that foreign ships which had come in support of the Portuguese constitutionalists had flown the flag of d. Pedro above that of d. Miguel:

That the King of the French had offered the daughter of Senhor Dom Pedro a Guard of Honor and that four hundred cavalry would come to be sent to the rebels, also saying that a new squadron was already in Coimbra, that it had left small, but had increased as it had been taken by the rebels and that it would enter here under two flags, in other words, with the Portuguese below and that of Senhor Dom Pedro on top.

As well as being aware of the colors which separated the antagonistic political groups, and according to José de Siqueira, another servant of Estevão Pinto de Moraes Sarmento, Luciano “had the habit of singing the constitutional anthem, so that he often witnessed and reprehended this, while he answered that he could do what he wanted because he was a foreigner.”

The anthem in question was written for d. Pedro I, in honor of the Constitutional Charter he granted Portugal in 1826, with the following verse as the chorus:

Viva, viva, viva the King
Viva the Holy Religion
Viva valiant Lusos
The happy Constitution
*The happy Constitution*²³

The *Intendente* of police who made the accusation against Luciano had no doubt about the political positions of the so-called servant: “I deem that I must tell Your Honor that the Black in question is a *Malhado* according to what I am informed.” Also convinced that the defendant was a *malhado* was the master shoemaker, Manoel Martins.

The use of the term *malhado*, one further battle waged in the field of symbols, had its origin in the accident which d. Miguel suffered in his journey from Queluz to Caxias in November 1828. At that time the coachman driving him lost control of the team of *malhado* (piebald) horses and the coach, threatening the physical integrity of the king. After this the expressions was spread by the counter-revolutionaries, as the nickname of the *cartistas*.

The liberals counterattacked baptizing the royalists as *bestas* (beasts) and *burros* (mules), epithets which also made an allusion to an episode experienced by d. Miguel. It appears that upon his arrival at Palácio da Ajuda as King of Portugal, some of the most exalted royalists from the poorer classes took the place of the horses which pulled the royal coach and entered triumphant in the gardens of the palace. Leaving it clear that the name applied to their adversaries, the *corcundas* (hunchbacks) gave the name *Besta Esfolada* (flayed beast) to one of their most important newspaper, edited by José Agostinho de Macedo.²⁴ The motto of the periodical, extremely violent in all of its attacks, was the persecution of liberals or *Cartistas*, identifying them

with the Devil (the Beast or *Besta*). The following excerpt, published in no. 1, 7 July 1828, entitled *O Cão Malhadiço*, seems illustrative: “And Porto, seventeen times it has mutinied, revolted and the more it is *malhado*, it has never been reformed: and until now this hound has never been taken, even when beaten, it bites again.”²⁵

Returning to Luciano Augusto, his defense was in the hands of José Maria da Costa Silveira da Mota, nominated by the courts for this purpose. Educated in Coimbra, Silveira da Mota, then aged 29, would, decades later – or more precisely in 1857 – be responsible for the creation of the *Anais da Associação dos Advogados de Lisboa*, an entity established in 1838.

His arguments follow in general terms those which were used in other prosecutions researched in relation to the reign of d. Miguel I, both of Portuguese and Brazilians. His strategy consisted of discrediting the witnesses, accusing them of acting out of vengeance, since they had no esteem for the accused, since they were his notorious enemies. He also emphasized their low social condition, echoing structuring categories of the *Ancien Regime*, with its naturalization of social inequalities.

It was the defendant who suffered the strongest disqualifications, for being a black man, which meant he was not apt for taking part in the disputes which had literally mobilized Portugal since 1828 at least:

When even a very clear reason does not show the miserable origin of this false accusation, and false statements, it is enough to observe who are the people amongst whom it is said these denunciations unworthy of the slightest attention are said to have occurred and been spoken. A cobbler, one of his officers, and a woman in her house heard, discussed and judged the political opinions of a miserable black, who knows nothing. If it is a principal of eternal truth that... actions are in direct reason to the intention and degrees of those who practice them, what weight can rationally be given to the outbursts of a black, the last ring in the chain of rational beings, the ultimate degeneration of the human species? Just this consideration in the eyes of so conspicuous and compassionate Judges deserves a pious contempt.

Principally because Luciano Augusto was not a captive, the lawyer's words pointed to the *racialization* of the question of color in Portugal, differently from what had been observed by various authors about Brazilian imperial state, especially during the formation of the Brazilian national state. At

that time the elites were able to dispense with the discourse of race in order to equate the reality that in Brazil there were, according to Cipriano Barata, “white European Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese, mulattos, creoles from the country, from Costa da Mina (the Gulf of Guinea), Angola, *cabras*, *caboclos* or Indians from the country ... mixed-bloods, blacks, and creoles from Costa da Mina, Angola, etc.”.²⁶

In the judgment issued on 31 March 1833, José Frederico Pereira Mareco was released due to lack of evidence. Luciano Augusto was not tried because liberal troops entered Lisbon on 24 June 1833.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Five years after the 1828 Revolt of Porto, put down by the troops of d. Miguel, the *bacharel* Pedro da Fonseca Serrão Veloso offered d. Pedro IV a publication containing various lists with names of people who were persecuted after the victory of the royalists.²⁷ His declared objective was to prove that the movement against the usurping government was not limited to the actions of the army, but counted on the participation of wide-ranging social sectors.

Among the trades and professions declared there were many stallholders, barbers, pharmacists, tailors and manual workers. Of the five women listed, only one Margarida Joana Rebelo, had a declared occupation: “lives from making laces.”²⁸ Among the Brazilians mentioned, we know only the occupation of the consul Antônio da Silva Caldeira. The number of Brazilians listed, however, is underestimated. For example, the document does not contain the name of Jerônimo Pereira de Vasconcelos, imprisoned in Lisbon for involvement in the revolution, as mentioned above. Also present are farmers, musicians, and, of course, servants. In the set of documents researched the servants are recruited principally from foreigners, many coming from Galícia.

What it is important to emphasize is the willingness of Serrão Veloso to highlight the popular basis of the opposition to *Miguelism* and as a result in favor of constitutionalism. Most probably in order to provide a counterweight to something that was evident to the contemporaries of the events: the enormous social and popular support for *Miguelism*.

This theme, as has been outlined here, challenges current writers, from whom the list made by the *bacharel* is priceless. Although the revolutionaries

of Porto were defeated, the opposition to d. Miguel, despite being subject to fierce persecution, remained firm throughout the country. While in exile and later in Terceira, the official resistance to the regime was forged under the leadership of d. Pedro, poor people, tradesmen, and women, many of whom were foreigners and some Brazilian waged a daily unceasing fight against the usurper. Among these the example of Luciano Augusto is perhaps the most emblematic.

It is not the case of ignoring that the number of Brazilians, 11, who are directly implicated in the political persecutions is reduced. Principally taking into account that the number of those persecuted by the regime, who appear in the documentation, is more than 1500, just in Lisbon. However, looked at together, their trajectories can clarify the transit of people and ideas within what had perhaps been the most important part of the Portuguese empire, even allowing the establishments of contrasts between the American and European contexts.

An example of what is being advocated is the possibility that in the Brazilian context of the 1830s, words supposedly uttered by Luciano Augusto, like that d. Pedro IV was to be trusted in like the ‘Holy Father,’ summarized absolutism, the restoration.²⁹ In fact the contrast can be well symbolized by the fact that while in Brazil the supporters of d. Pedro, renown enemies of liberty, were called *restauradores* (supporters of the restoration), in Portugal the term designated the supporters of the constitutional cause. Finally, it should be emphasized that the work will only be completed when future research reveal the history of Brazilians who fought in the opposing camp, taking into account the extensive popular support for *Miguelismo*.

NOTES

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² In his study of Modern Europe, Peter Burke uses the category *common people* to designate the “set of the non-elite, including women, children, shepherds, sailors, beggars and other social groups.” BURKE, P. *Cultura popular na Idade Moderna: 1500-1800*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009. p.11. In this paper, concerned with the scenario of the crisis

of the *Ancien Regime* society, it was decided to use the designation *common people* because it allows a group of subordinate sectors to be identified who share similar characteristics without, however, denying them a certain heterogeneity. For the definition of the expression *common people* in the context of the nineteenth century, and more specifically in Imperial Brazil, see JESUS, Ronaldo Pereira de. *Visões da Monarquia: escravos, operários e abolicionismo na Corte*. Belo Horizonte: Argymentvm; Fapemig, 2009. p.26.

³ LE GOFF, Jacques. *São Luís*. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2010. p.21.

⁴ BOURDIEU, Pierre. A ilusão biográfica. In: AMADO, Janaína; FERREIRA, Marieta de Moraes (Org.). *Usos e abusos da História Oral*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. FGV, 1998.

⁵ Representatives of this production, although not related to political history are, in my opinion: REIS, João J.; GOMES, Flávio dos S.; CARVALHO, Marcus J. M. de. *O Alufá Rufino: tráfico, escravidão e liberdade no Atlântico negro (c.1822-1853)*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010; REIS, João J. *Domingos Sodré: um sacerdote africano. Escravidão, liberdade e candomblé na Bahia do século XIX*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008; SOARES, Mariza de Carvalho. A 'nação' que se tem e a 'terra' de onde se vem: categorias de inserção social de africanos no Império português, século XVIII. *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, Rio de Janeiro, v.2, p.303-330, 2004. *Iniciativas como o projeto The Biographies: The Atlantic Slaves Data Network (ASDN)*, criado por Hawthorne e por Gwendolyn Hall, da Michigan State University, confirmam essa tendência.

⁶ ANDRADE, Francisco Eduardo. Poder local e herança colonial em Mariana: faces da Revolta do "Ano da Fumaça" (1833). In: *Termo de Mariana: História e documentação*. Mariana: Ed. Ufop, 1998. p.127-135; ANDRADE, Marcos Ferreira de. *Elites regionais e a formação do Estado imperial brasileiro: Minas Gerais – Campanha da Princesa (1799-1850)*. Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 2008; GONÇALVES, Andréa Lisly. *Estratificação social e mobilizações políticas no processo de formação do Estado Nacional brasileiro: Minas Gerais, 1831-1835*. São Paulo: Hucitec; Minas Gerais: Fapemig, 2008; GONÇALVES, Andréa Lisly; MEYER, Marileide L. Cassoli. Nas fimbrias da liberdade: agregados, índios, africanos livres e forros na província de Minas Gerais, século XIX. *Varia História*, Belo Horizonte, v.27, n.46, p.645-663, jul.-dez. 2011.

⁷ "D. João VI died on 10 March 1826, without having had any meeting of the traditional *cortes* of the kingdom. His firstborn son, D. Pedro, despite having declared the succession of Brazil and having made himself Emperor of the new state, succeeded him to the throne, giving the regency to his sister D. Isabel Maria (27 Apr. 1826). Two days later D. Pedro granted a Constitution to Portugal (29 Apr. 1826), nominating 30 peers to the respective Chamber (upper chamber) and ordering the election of deputies to the Chamber of Deputies (lower chamber). Trying to achieve a compromise with the legitimist party led by his brother D. Miguel, he abdicated the throne of Portugal in favor of his daughter D. Maria da Glória, contracting her marriage with D. Miguel, under the condition of swearing an oath to the Charter, which was done in Vienna (4 Oct. 1826). HESPANHA, António Manuel. *Guiando a mão invisível: direitos, Estado e lei no liberalismo monárquico português*. Coimbra: Almedina, 2004. p.154. In relation to the same theme, see *Considerações*

sobre a constituição da Monarquia Portuguesa. For the reforms which were to be carried out under the Constitution of 29 April 1826. Lisboa: Tip. de Sotero Antônio Borges, 1851, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. *Exame da Constituição de D. Pedro e dos direitos de D. Miguel dedicado aos fiéis portugueses*. Trad. do Francês por J. P. C. B. F. Lisboa, na Imprensa Régia, 1829, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.

⁸ The documentation about the question is relatively vast. I highlight here, due to the originality of the source, a diary written by an exiled anti-Miguelista in Brazil, the future first Marquês de Sá Bandeira, the *Diário de Bernardo de Sá Nogueira de Figueiredo sobre o 'Estado do Brasil'* (*Diary of Bernardo de Sá Nogueira de Figueiredo about the State of Brazil*). It contains a sketch of Pernambuco Port, drawn by the author of the diary, and a list of the names of the soldiers who distinguished themselves in the 1828 campaign defending the rights of D. Pedro. PT AHM/DIV/3/18/11/17/03, Arquivo Militar de Portugal.

⁹ At this point the periodical press played a leading role. The censorship established under the rule of d. Miguel restricted a large part of non-royalist manifestations. Despite the regressive nature of the phenomenon of *Miguelismo*, its supporters made the press one of the principal trenches in the fight against the constitutionalists. The list is long and I do not intend to exhaust it here: *A Besta esfolada* (1828-1829), *O Cacete* (1831), *Defesa de Portugal* (1831-1833), *O Mastigoforo* (1824-1829). In exile many of the opponents of d. Miguel were concerned with the publication of newspapers. A situation reproduced by royalists after the defeat of d. Miguel, when his supporters, exile, began to publish newspapers, such as *Trombeta Lusitana*, *do Contrabandista* e do *A península*, all published in London.

¹⁰ A criminal case taken against Casimiro José Rodrigues, student, son of Caetano Jerônimo Rodrigues and Mariana da Purificação; and António José de Miranda, businessman, son of Vicente Antonio de Miranda and Florípes Joaquina de Oliveira, both from Pará; and who, despite being foreigners, immersed themselves in partisan party fights, sending the correspondence when the messenger was arrested near Tomar, having been found with altered passports, and also carrying papers full of insults and correspondence between the two, in which was found their hostile sentiment to the government of D. Miguel. In the judgment of 19 February 1831 they were condemned to leave the Kingdom immediately, and were placed under arrest on the vessel chosen to for this purpose. ANTT, Maço 13, n.6.

¹¹ Case against Dr. José Frederico Pereira Marecos, lawyer of the *Casa de Suplicação* and a former teacher in Colégio da Luz, native of Santarém, son of José Tiago Pereira Marecos and D. Ana Genoveva Marecos, and his servant Luciano Augusto, native of Maranhão, son of Simeão and Delfina who were denounced by Manuel Martins, a shoemaker, who accused them, along with the brother of the former, Firmo Pereira Marecos, employed in *Torre do Tombo*, of having spoken ill of D. Miguel and his government in his house on Travessa de S Mamede, no. 3, 3º, and of having made statements which demonstrated their love for the cause of D. Pedro. ANTT, Maço 57, n.5.

¹² LE GOFF, Jacques. *São Luis*. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2010. p.26. For the relationship between biography and history see, as well as the work of Bordieu cited above, see: DOSSE, François. *O desafio biográfico: escrever uma vida*. São Paulo: Edusp, 2009; CERTEAU, Michel

de. *A escrita da História*. Rio de Janeiro: Forense, 1982; GOMES, Ângela de Castro; SCHMIDT, Benito Bisso (Org.). *Memórias e narrativas (auto)biográficas*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. FGV; Porto Alegre: Ed. UFRGS, 2009. This list, obviously, does not intend to be exhaustive.

¹³ “Even though, as it is traditionally presented, Vila-Francada is in its origin a counter-revolutionary military action led by D. Miguel, it was an ambiguous coup which two *coup d'états* overlapped (one by D. Miguel and the other by D. João VI) and it ended up being transformed into a coalition of moderate liberals and supporters of the traditional monarchy.” LOUSADA, Maria Alexandre; FERREIRA, Maria de Fátima Sá e Melo. *D. Miguel*. Lisboa: Círculo do Livro; Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa, 2009. p.50. For some authors, the attitude of the king was one of compromise. The nomination of d. Miguel as commander of the army in Vila Franca, an explicit act of support by d. João for the counterrevolutionary movement headed by his younger son was compensated by the royal dispensation to grant a new constitution to the country. PEDREIRA, Jorge; COSTA, Fernando Dore. *D. João VI*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores; Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa, 2006. p.18. In both interpretations, however, there prevails the idea that the attitude of d. João VI was ‘hesitant’.

¹⁴ When not otherwise specified, the information about *Miguelismo* is based on LOUSADA, Maria Alexandre. *O miguelismo (1828-1834)*. O discurso político e o apoio da Nobreza titulada. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras, 1987. p.1, mimeo.; e LOUSADA; FERREIRA, 2009.

¹⁵ MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo. Societa rural i actituds polítiques a Portugal (1820-34). In: FRADERA, Josep Maria; MILLAN, Jesús; GARRABOU, Ramon (Ed.). *Carlisme i moviments absolutistes*. Capellades: Eumo Editorial, 1990.

¹⁶ MONTEIRO, 1990. p.147.

¹⁷ *Memórias históricas, políticas e filosóficas da Revolução do Porto, em maio de 1828, dos emigrados portugueses pela Espanha, Inglaterra, França e Bélgica*. Obra póstuma de Joaquim José da Silva Maia. Rio de Janeiro: Tipografia de Laemmert, 1841.

¹⁸ ANTT, Maço 57, n.5. Except when otherwise mentioned, all the information was taken from this document. The page numbering is not sequential, which explains the decision not to cite them in the reproduction of the excerpts.

¹⁹ REIS, João J.; GOMES, Flávio dos S.; CARVALHO, Marcus J. M. de. *O Alufá Rufino: tráfico, escravidão e liberdade no Atlântico negro (c.1822-1853)*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010. p.30. “In Rio de Janeiro almost all the enslaved men announced in newspapers as domestics in the middle of the nineteenth century were cooks” (ibid.).

²⁰ The subject has most recently been dealt with by: RODRIGUES, Jaime. *De costa a costa: escravos, marinheiros e intermediários do tráfico negreiro de Angola ao Rio de Janeiro (1780-1860)*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005.

²¹ OLIVEIRA, Laura N. de. *As Regras de Composição Retórica na Obra de Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen*. Doctoral Dissertation – Fale/UFMG. Belo Horizonte, 2007.

²² Very probably what left the *Miguelista* police authorities nervous were the facts related to the November Uprising or the Cadet Uprising (1830-1831), as the armed revolt which

erupted in Warsaw against Russian dominion of Poland became known. In relation to this, see: DAVIES, Norman. *God's Playground: a History of Poland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. cap. 13.

²³ *Patria, King, People/ Love your Religion/ Observe and always keep / the Divine Constitution/ Chorus/ Oh with such a relief/ In common agitation/ Gives vigor to the souls of all/ the Divine Constitution/ Chorus / Blissful we will be / In perfect Union/ Taking all into account/ the Divine Constitution/ Chorus / The truth shall not be obfuscated / The King shall not be fooled, no/ We the Portuguese Proclaim/ the Divine Constitution/ Chorus*. This was the National Anthem of Portugal from May 1834 until the proclamation of the Republic in October 1910.

²⁴ In relation to the actions of the ecclesiastic, self-publicist and servile supporter of d. Miguel, José Agostinho de Macedo, see: ANDRADE, Maria Ivone de O. *José Agostinho de Macedo: um iluminista paradoxal*. Lisboa: Colibri, 2001. v.1; and from the same author, *A contra-revolução em português*: José Agostinho de Macedo. Lisboa: Colibri, 2004. v.2.

²⁵ MACEDO, José A. de. *A Besta Esfolada*. Lisboa, na Tipografia de Bulhões, s.d. p.7. Biblioteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. Disponível em: http://purl.pt/14339/1/365667_1828-07-07/365667_1828-07-07_item2/365667_1828-07-07_PDF/365667_1828-07-07_PDF_24-C-R0150/365667_1828-07-07_0000_capa-15_t24-C-R0150.pdf; Accessed on 30 Dec. 2011.

²⁶ *Diários das Cortes Gerais e extraordinárias da Nação Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1821-1823, tomo 7, sessão de 13 ago. 1822, p.138-139. In relation to the question of the 'absence of race' or the inclusive character of the definition of citizenship in nineteenth century Brazil, see: MARQUESE, Rafael de Bivar; BERBEL, Márcia Regina. A ausência da raça: escravidão, cidadania e ideologia pró-escravista nas Cortes de Lisboa e na Assembleia Constituinte do Rio de Janeiro (1821-1824). In: CHAVES, Cláudia; SILVEIRA, Marco Antônio (Org.). *Território, conflito e identidade*. Belo Horizonte: Argvmentvm; Brasília: Capes, 2007. p.63-87.

²⁷ *Coleção de listas que contém os nomes das pessoas que ficaram pronunciadas e sumários a que mandou proceder o Governo Usurpador depois da heroica contra-revolução que arreben-tou na mui nobre cidade do Porto em 16 de maio de 1828, nas quais se faz menção do destino que a Alçada, criada pelo mesmo governo para as julgar, deu a cada uma delas*. Porto, Tipografia de Viúva Álvares Ribeiro & Filho, 1833.

²⁸ In the Houaiss dictionary *atacador* means *cadarço* – the most common usage – or cylinders of metal used for loading the fuses of bombs or signal rockets. The two meanings are also used in the *Caldas Aulete Dictionary*: “*atacador*: cord with eyelets for threading, to tighten or tie shoes, a waistcoat or other piece of clothing” and “instrument for ramming the load of powder within a cartridge or firearm; socket...”. It is most probable that Margarida Rebelo worked with the manufacturing of shoelaces.

²⁹ I owe this astute observation to Francisco Eduardo Andrade.

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