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THE  
TRUE INTERESTS  
OF THE  
EUROPEAN POWERS  
AND  
THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL,  
IN  
REFERENCE TO THE EXISTING AFFAIRS  
OF  
PORTUGAL.

—  
*BY A FRIEND OF TRUTH & PEACE.*  
—

“According to the new system upon which Europe is now settled, our duties, under our foreign relations, consist in little more than in a faithful observance of the spirit of the treaties upon which this system is grounded. The leading principle and object of these treaties, and of the condition which they constitute, are, the maintenance of the general peace of Europe by the personal amity of the Sovereigns, and by a system of mediation which should, on the one side, recognize the perfect independence of the several States in their own internal concerns; and upon the other, should hold forth their common interest, and therein their common obligation, to consult the general policy of Europe, in all questions affecting the safety of the whole.”—*State of the Nation*, 1822.

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THE

TRUE INTERESTS,

&c. &c.

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**M**UCH has been said and written on the Rights of Dom Miguel to the Crown of Portugal, as well as on those of Dom Pedro, and latterly a new question was started on the claims of Donna Maria, his daughter ; but little has hitherto been agitated on the real interests of Europe in general, and of the Emperor Dom Pedro, in particular, as immediately connected with the affairs of that unhappy and distracted kingdom. An impartial and dispassionate inquiry into those interests which bind one nation to another, and serve as a guidance to the political and commercial relations of the great European Commonwealth, of which Portugal forms a part, will therefore constitute

the principal object of the following pages, in the pursuit of which it shall be the writer's studious care, not to advance an assertion that is not founded on facts, already known, or such as can easily be verified.

As regards the legitimate rights of Dom Miguel to the throne of his ancestors, they have been so fully and so incontestibly proved in various writings, founded on authentic records and already in the hands of the public, as well as by the simultaneous labours of some of the best Journals established in the various capitals of Europe, that it will suffice to mention rapidly the most essential of the grounds on which so many concurrent conclusions have been drawn, in order that they may serve as a kind of introduction to the important considerations which it is the writer's intention to present on other subjects.

Dom Miguel entered on his rights to the Crown of Portugal, by virtue of the fundamental laws of that ancient Monarchy, as soon as Dom Pedro, taking possession of the sovereignty of Brazil, constituted the various component provinces into an independent Empire, entirely distinct and separate from Portugal; all which the new sovereign achieved by force of arms, and afterwards solemnized and completed by a formal Treaty with his Father, concluded

under the mediation and through the direct intervention of Great Britain. By an act of this kind, Dom Pedro necessarily lost and forfeited all his right and title to the Crown of Portugal, as well by virtue of the fundamental laws of that realm, as in accordance with the enactments of the Brazilian Constitution, which he had bound himself by oath to observe.

He lost and forfeited his said right and title, pursuant to the fundamental laws of Portugal, because the primordial Statutes of Lamego, constantly observed from the period of their first enactment till the reign of Queen Mary I., and her son, King John VI. declared them to be in full force by an *Alvará*, or Royal Letters Patent, dated the 4th of June, 1824, exclude from the throne every foreign Prince, whether he became so by birth, or option, and who should at the same time be unable to reside within the kingdom. These same Statutes had been previously confirmed by solemn acts of the Cortes of Lisbon, in 1641, as well as by Royal Letters Patent of the 12th September, 1642, in which the special enactments of the said Cortes are inserted, together with the king's approbation and sanction—documents which of themselves proclaim and establish the sovereign rights of the august House of Braganza, as well as the order of succession to the Crown of Portugal.

Dom Pedro lost and forfeited his said right and title to the Crown of Portugal, conformably to the fundamental laws of the Brazilian Empire, because the Charter, Title ii, Article 4, enacts as follows, "Are Brazilian Citizens, all persons born in Portugal and the dominions thereof, who, residing in Brazil at the period when the Independence was proclaimed in the provinces in which they had their abode, expressly adhered to the said Independence, or tacitly by the continuation of their residence. (*São Cidadãos Brasileiros : Todos os nascidos em Portugal e suas possessões, que sendo já residentes no Brazil na epocha em que se proclamou a independencia nas Provincias onde habitavão, adherirão a esta expressa, ou tacitamente pela continuação da sua residencia.*) According to Article 7 of the same Charter, "that person loses his rights of a Brazilian Citizen who may naturalize himself in a foreign country." (*Perde os direitos de Cidadão Brasileiro, o que se naturalizar em paiz estrangeiro.*) By Article 19, it is therein further established, "that no foreigner shall be allowed to succeed to the Crown of the Empire of Brazil." (*Nenhum Estrangeiro poderá succeder na Coroa do Imperio do Brazil.*)

It is, therefore, self-evident that, from the moment Dom Pedro accepted and bound himself by oath to observe, and cause to be observed and maintained in.

their full force and vigour, the preceding three Articles of the National Charter, he essentially became a Brazilian, and consequently a foreign sovereign in reference to Portugal, and, as such, was disabled from succeeding to the Crown of that realm, and disqualified from therein exercising any act of authority whatsoever. It ought further to be borne in mind, that Dom Pedro had previously and repeatedly declared and protested, in various public acts, known to all Europe, that he was a Brazilian—that he would continue to be such, and that he wished nothing of Portugal.

It must be further observed that the Sovereign of the New World, as a kind of finish to those extraordinary and contradictory acts which have marked his conduct in Portuguese affairs, in the 77th Article of that very Charter which he sought to impose upon Portugal, himself ordains “that the King shall not be allowed to go out of the Kingdom of Portugal, without the consent of the General Cortes, and if he does, it shall be understood that he has abdicated the Crown.” (*O Rei não poderá sahir do Reino de Portugal, sem o consentimento das Cortes Geraes; e si o fizer; se entenderá que abdicou a Coroa.*)

This Article of the unwelcome Charter, alone, suffi-

ciently confirms the justice of those laws and principles by which Dom Pedro was excluded from the Crown of Portugal, in strict accordance with the fundamental Statutes of the Monarchy. This very same Article, so much at variance with those several rights which Dom Pedro sought to assert on his own behalf, moreover shews the incoherent and inconsistent character of the Charter which he himself enacted to govern Portugal and secure the crown to his own issue, which may be taken as a pretty evident proof that this strange production was manufactured at Lisbon, by the cabal which at the time existed there against Dom Miguel, although possibly it received some crude additions in the course of the transition through which it passed at Rio de Janeiro.

Notwithstanding the quality of foreigner and the impossibility of his residing in Portugal, were, in themselves, sufficient reasons to exclude Dom Pedro from the Crown of that realm, it is besides ordained by the Letters Patent of John IV., dated Sept. 9, 1642, that no King of Portugal shall be proclaimed "until he has taken the usual oath to maintain the privileges, liberties, enfranchisements and customs of the Three Estates of the Realm, which the Kings, his predecessors, had granted and sworn to observe," &c. It being evident that Dom Pedro, owing to the physical

and moral impossibility above-mentioned, was unable to subscribe to an oath of this kind, it conclusively follows, that all the acts of sovereignty which he has sought to exercise, in reference to Portugal, are illegal, and consequently null and void by law; as was subsequently acknowledged by the Three Estates, assembled in Cortes, the only legitimate authority that has the right of deciding, and always has decided, from the very commencement of the monarchy, all controversial points relating to the succession.

It would be in vain to argue that in the last Cortes, assembled at Lisbon, some members of the Nobility, who had left the kingdom, were not present. The cause of their absence was well known to the assembled representatives of the nation. The consequences which followed, have nevertheless distinctly proved that the assembly, then convened and held, expressed the wishes of the great majority of the nation; a fact which will appear infinitely more conclusive, when it is considered that the three branches of the Estates, met in those very same Cortes, and as it were, exercising no other than a moral strength, tranquilly, deliberately and systematically proceeded on with their labours, in the capital of the kingdom, until they raised to the throne the lawful heir and legitimate successor, Dom Miguel, the First, at the same time

that there was at Oporto and other places, a rebellion, headed by 5000 troops, and supported by the whole of that faction which had early declared itself to be the decided enemy of the young sovereign, which faction disappeared, as smoke before the wind, as soon as his legitimacy was proclaimed by competent judges.

As regards the pretended rights of the Princess Donna Maria da Gloria, it is really laughable to hear it argued, that a father can transmit rights to his daughter which he himself never possessed, and abdicate in her favor a throne that belongs to another, and from the enjoyment of which she is herself equally excluded, as being a naturalized Brazilian, and consequently a foreigner, by virtue of those same enactments of the Brazilian Charter, of which mention has already been made. The whole of the monstrous illegalities, in reference to the pretended rights of Dom Pedro and his daughter, above alleged, were besides committed without even once consulting the Three Estates of the Realm, the only true organ of the nation! If, therefore, those sovereigns who have ever boasted of being the defenders of Legitimacy and the strict observers of the fundamental laws of their own realms, were now to sanction doctrines and transactions of so illegal and revolting a character, that real legitimacy which has ever been a safeguard



to the peace of Europe, would in a short time disappear from the oldest and firmest thrones, on which it has been long triumphantly seated.

Another argument which the enemies of Dom Miguel allege in favor of the rights of Princess Maria da Gloria, is, that being born in one of the dominions of Portugal, during the lifetime of the late King, John VI., and consequently previous to the Treaty of Independence and Separation, she is essentially a Portuguese subject, and thus acquires eventual rights to the Crown of Portugal. This, however, is no other than a sophism, since she lost and forfeited her previous rights by becoming a Brazilian, conformably to the Authorities above quoted, and forming part of the very Constitution which the father accepted on his own behalf and that of his children, and by oath engaged to observe. She is herself heiress expectant of the Crown of Brazil, and that circumstance alone would disable her from ascending the throne of Portugal in her own right.

But, says the faction, as well as those whom it has been able to delude for the moment, King John VI.th's last decree, dated March 6, 1826, declares Dom Pedro to be the Successor to the Crown. In the first place, the assertion is not correct. The king

does indeed say, in that decree, that the measures therein ordained were to serve as a rule, "until the legitimate heir to the Crown should issue his own orders in that respect;" but, he does not add who that heir was, nor does he specify whether Dom Pedro, or Dom Miguel, was the man. It cannot, for a moment, be supposed, that an omission of so important a nature arose out of any thing like forgetfulness, when it is considered that Dom Miguel's enemies at that time surrounded the pillow of the dying monarch; that it was they who drew up the decree in question, and consequently that it could not have been through any thing like an oversight that Dom Pedro's name was on this occasion omitted, the most anxious object of their wishes being to exclude his competitor, by every solemn act that could be made binding on the people.

Judging, however, from passing events, it is more than probable that this very omission, so remarkable in its nature and so important in its consequences, in the last legacy which the expiring monarch was about to bequeath to his people, for whose happiness and welfare he had always felt the deepest interest, arose out of some previous combination—some deliberate design. Possibly they apprehended that the king would not sign the decree, if he heard Dom Pedro's

name inserted in it, as they were well aware how much the father was indisposed against his son, on account of the 2nd Article of the Treaty for the separation of Brazil, worded in such a manner that the king retained the barren title of Emperor of Brazil, not by right, as he contended he ought, but through the special favour of his own son, Dom Pedro. This supposition is the more warranted, as it is well known that H. M. the Emperor of Austria, had for some time employed his good offices with King John VI., in order to bring about a reconciliation with Dom Miguel; that the latter Prince had addressed several letters to his father on this subject, to which the king had latterly promised to reply; but the members and partisans of the cabal, who at the time had the ear of the monarch, found means to prevent him from carrying his paternal wishes into effect, until the grief, excited in his breast by the 2nd Article of the Treaty above-mentioned, determined him to recal Dom Miguel; and even this resolution it was no longer in his power to perform, being soon afterwards suddenly seized with that fatal malady which, in a few days, brought him to the brink of eternity. On this unhappy event, the reader is left to form his own judgment; nevertheless, a well-attested fact which occurred on this occasion, must not be forgotten. The king, seeing that his last moments were at hand, called the

queen, his spouse, near his person, in order that a reconciliation might take place between them. The queen was about to quit her palace of Queluz, to comply with her husband's last request, when she received a counter-order not to attend the king. All these circumstances clearly shew that the acts which appeared in the king's name, during his short illness, were no other than the work of those persons, belonging to the cabal, who at the time happened to be in attendance on the weak and unhappy monarch.

One of them was the very decree above alluded to, the original of which is not to be found, the Chamber of Peers having solicited, in the most urgent manner that it should be exhibited to them. The Council of State besides were not present to witness the act and attest the affixing of the king's sign manual, according to the custom observed in documents of such high importance. It is, therefore, evident, that the decree in question wears a character which almost warrants the conclusion that, if in reality it exists, it was subreptitiously obtained ; in which case, it could not be held binding and valid. Supposing, however, that this said decree possessed all the requisite formalities, and of them it is certainly entirely divested, it would not on this account be the less illegal, for two very substantial reasons ; 1st, Be-

cause it is at variance with the sovereign's own previous *Alvará* of the 4th June, 1824, which declared the fundamental laws of the realm to be in force, as the only ones suited to the existing emergency, and by these laws Dom Miguel's rights are clearly defined and triumphantly established. It would not be difficult to decide which of the two instruments is most strongly marked with the character of legitimacy and validity—whether the *Alvará*, clothed with all the formalities requisite to convert it into an authentic and legal act, emanating from the sovereign power, and signed whilst the king was yet in the enjoyment of perfect health; or a decree, got up amidst doubt and darkness, and to which it is said that the sign manual was affixed amidst the agonies of death, being thus wholly divested of those formalities indispensably necessary to render it valid and binding on the nation?—a decree, in short, of which no one can now be found who ever saw the original, and if it ever existed, no traces are any longer left. Secondly, the king could not, of himself and without the concurrence of the Three Estates of the Realm, alter the fundamental laws which established the order of succession to the Crown. All these united considerations render it evident that, even if appealed to, such a decree, as the one above described, can serve no other purpose than to exhibit the defects of Dom Pedro's claims, in a still stronger point of view.

- Another accusation preferred by the party, united in their close design against Dom Miguel, is, that, as they allege, having voluntarily taken the oath to Dom Pedro's Constitution, he subsequently perjured himself by overturning it. I agree with the generally received doctrines on the subject of perjury, taken abstractedly and applying them to the violation of a proper and legal oath; but they are utterly false, when alleged in reference to the oath taken to Dom Pedro's Charter. Dom Miguel, performing the duties of Lord High Constable of the Kingdom, at the coronation of his father, John VI., took the oath prescribed, acknowledging him as king, according to the fundamental laws of the Portuguese Monarchy, which, in the same solemn act, he himself swore to observe—laws by virtue of which, as previously noticed, all the sovereigns of Portugal are bound, before they are proclaimed, to make oath to “maintain and keep all the privileges, enfranchisements, grants and customs which the kings, their predecessors, had bestowed upon their subjects,” and in presence of the Three Estates of the Realm, had, themselves, made oath, to keep and observe.

After taking the oath above-mentioned, Dom Miguel was compelled to subscribe to another, at Rio de Janeiro, binding himself to observe the Bases of

the Constitution which the demagogues of 1820 were about to draw up in Portugal; when again, on his arrival at Lisbon, another oath was administered to him, by which he pledged obedience to that same Constitution, by that time completed and enacted. After this diversity of oaths, it was, that he was called upon to adhere to Dom Pedro's Charter, and the corresponding oath thereto was first administered to him at Vienna, and afterwards on his arrival at Lisbon. Amidst such a labyrinth of oaths and attestations, required of him for purposes contradictory in themselves, it may be proper to inquire which among them is the one invested with the character, necessary to render it proper and consistent, and consequently legal and binding.

The requisites constituting this essential character, are, 1st, that the oath should be spontaneous, unattended with restraint, or any danger of ill consequences to the party refusing to take it; 2ndly, that it should be legal, and in no wise at variance with the fundamental laws of the monarchy; and, thirdly, that the object therein embraced should be conformable to the wishes of the great majority of the nation, and not opposed to the primordial compact entered into on the part of the people with the sovereign authority. No one of these requisites—no one of

these distinguishing traits, do we find in any of the several oaths above enumerated, except the one taken by Dom Miguel at the coronation of his father; an oath prescribed by duty, as a son and subject; an oath intended to secure the royal inheritance; an oath conformable to the most ancient and venerable customs of the kingdom, and consequently so much the more spontaneous and legal, as it served as a shield to his own eventual rights to the crown.

No one of these three distinguishing characters is to be met with in the two oaths which Dom Miguel was compelled to take to the acts of the revolutionary Cortes of 1820. They were not spontaneous; for if at the time the Infante had refused to subscribe to them, he would have been exposed to the same fate and persecutions as befel his own mother, the Queen; the Patriarch; the Bishop of Villa Viçosa, &c. Those same oaths were not legal, because they tended to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm, and they were besides contrary to the wishes of the great majority of the nation, as may be readily imagined from the ease with which the intrusive Cortes were caused to disappear, as it were in a moment, and the joy and eclat with which the king was subsequently re-established in his legitimate rights.



Neither does the oath taken to Dom Pedro's Charter possess any one of the three qualities above pointed out. It was not spontaneous, because Dom Miguel was well aware that those very enemies who had persuaded the king, his father, to remove him from Portugal, incessantly laboured to promote his total ruin, by every means in their power, and more especially to strip him of his eventual rights to the Crown. I do not think I am mistaken, when I advance that the Vienna Cabinet received, through various channels, information of the base manœuvres and wicked designs of the faction, opposed to Dom Miguel. The Prince himself was not ignorant that whilst the intrigue, played off in the attempt to establish the Charter of Dom Pedro, as well as the decree of the latter, announcing his abdication, imposed on him the double restraint of taking the oath thereto, and of agreeing to a compulsory and tardy marriage, besides exposing the nation to a long minority, accompanied by a protracted incertitude with regard to the succession to the throne; he was not ignorant, I repeat, that all these plots and manœuvres of the restless faction had for their object to deprive him of his eventual rights, and even of his liberty, since they had gone so far as to labour to deprive him of the paternal protection of H. M. the Emperor of Austria, by endeavouring to have him

conveyed over to Rio de Janeiro, for which purpose they caused the man of war, *Joaõ Sexto*, to be sent to Brest for his reception. Amidst so many awful and conflicting circumstances, and the Infante being besides well aware that he would not be allowed to return to Lisbon, as the nation wished, no other alternative was left than to take the oath, as a means of regaining his personal freedom, and breaking the toils and trammels by which he was encompassed. But, can a compulsory act, of this kind, be construed into a spontaneous effusion of his own breast?

The oath thus taken to Dom Pedro's Charter, besides not being spontaneous, was in itself actually illegal; in the first place, because it was opposed to those very same fundamental laws of the monarchy which Dom Miguel himself had sworn to observe; and in the second, because the Charter had been imposed upon the nation by a sovereign who had voluntarily thrown off his first allegiance, and rendered himself a foreigner by an optional act of his own, and especially by the oath which he took to the Brazilian Constitution, a circumstance sufficient of itself to transform him into a foreigner, and from that moment disabled him, pursuant to the fundamental laws of the Portuguese Monarchy, from ever ascending the throne, being thereby precluded from exercising any act of

sovereignty in the kingdom which he had thus surrendered up, and where they continued to hold sway, until he had taken the oath prescribed to uphold and maintain those very same fundamental laws which, by his Charter, he actually sought to overturn.

That a sovereign should bestow on a nation a Constitutional Charter to which, without committing a flagrant act of perjury, he could not himself take an oath of adhesion, thus despotically exercising the most monstrous of all powers, and without consulting any one single authority instituted in the country where it was to govern and be obeyed, is doubtless an unheard-of absurdity in the eccentric history of modern constitutions! and yet it is attempted to perform and sanction all these irregularities in the name of Legitimacy!

The preceding exposition distinctly shews that, out of the several oaths which Dom Miguel was called upon to take, the first is the only one that wears the character of legality and validity—the others being both compulsory and contrary to law. They were, in fact, invalidated by the provisions of the first. This scandalous multiplicity of oaths; so contradictory in themselves, may be considered as a necessary consequence of revolutionary movements. The Emperor

Dom Pedro himself was also compelled to subscribe to different oaths. He first took the oath of homage and allegiance, pledging to observe and keep the fundamental laws of Portugal, at the coronation of his father, King John VI. Afterwards, he made oath to the Bases of the Constitution which the revolutionary Cortes of Portugal were to frame; and subsequently he took oaths to two different Constitutions intended for the empire of Brazil. Many of those very same enemies of Dom Miguel, who have made their favorite organ in London cry out so lustily on the subject of the perjury which they allege the Prince committed by violating the oath he took at Vienna, and which they endeavour to designate as a spontaneous one, have themselves equally subscribed to the same diversity of oaths, including that of homage administered to them at the coronation of King John VI., coupled with the one to observe the fundamental laws of Portugal. It is, in fact, by an oath of this very kind, which their ancestors took, that they retain as an inheritance, in their own families, the titles, privileges, orders of distinction and other grants, now actually enjoyed by themselves. Nevertheless, they have not been over nice in perjuring themselves, when they violated this primordial and legitimate oath, invariably kept and observed from the very commencement of the monarchy, by subsequently subscribing to

others, contradictory in themselves and opposed to the spirit of the primitive institutions, which were always the nation's boast.

I ought here to declare, that in what I have said, relating to the oath taken by the Infante, when in Austria, I do not pretend to cast the slightest imputation on the cabinet of Vienna, who doubtless acted with good faith in all these transactions; imagining, in concert with the other Powers, that it was expedient for the tranquillity of Portugal and the rest of Europe, that Dom Pedro's Charter should be consolidated and take root, as it was at the time very generally believed that it had been voluntarily accepted and the oath willingly taken to it by the whole nation. How much the Austrian government is opposed to Constitutions, of a modern stamp, is no secret; nor would it be difficult to imagine with what reluctance it consented to the administering of such an oath, as the one in question, in the capital of the Austrian empire. Unfortunately, the several cabinets of Europe were deceived by false reports on the state of Portugal. The faction, inimical to Dom Miguel, having great influence over the cabinet of Lisbon, as well as in the management of affairs out of the kingdom, and, in addition to this, some of the members of the cabal having easy access to several of the *corps diploma-*

*tique*, at the time resident in Lisbon, the allied Sovereigns received, through different channels, incorrect reports on the wishes and feelings of the Portuguese nation, in general, with regard to Dom Pedro's Charter.

Nevertheless, they could not be ignorant that the great majority of the Portuguese entertained a mortal hatred against every Constitution that was not the primordial one of the monarchy, invariably kept and observed, from time immemorial, by all the Sovereigns of Portugal, and which the nation was now determined to re-establish. They were, however, perhaps unaware that if Dom Pedro's Charter did not disappear sooner, it was owing to the absence of Dom Miguel, whom the real friends of their country looked up to, as their only welcome leader and legitimate Sovereign. So imperfectly were they acquainted with the real state of public feeling in Portugal, that possibly they were ignorant that if the arrival of the British troops at Lisbon had been delayed a few days longer, Dom Miguel would have been proclaimed king, notwithstanding his absence.

Dom Miguel, with any thing like a shadow of justice, cannot be accused of having had any premeditated intention to do what circumstances afterwards

compelled him to perform, on his arrival at Lisbon. No proofs in support of any such allegation against him, could possibly be produced. In like manner as the cabinets of the Allied Sovereigns were themselves deceived, he also was ignorant of the real state of parties in Portugal. It was only on his arrival at Lisbon, that he became acquainted with the extent of the royalist, or really national party, which loudly demanded that the fundamental laws of the monarchy should be put in force, in order to vindicate their Prince's rights to the throne, which rights those very same laws triumphantly established and proclaimed.

On the other hand, the liberal party, who became the inveterate enemies of Dom Miguel ever since the affair of Villafranca, when he drew out the troops and put down the first Constitution which they had exultingly framed, without even spilling a drop of blood, had in their favor a great number of the officers of the army, as the two war ministers in power during the dominion of Dom Pedro's Charter, (and subsequently both of them happened to be among the heroes of the Belfast Steamer) had taken good care to remove numbers of military officers whom they apprehended were not of their party, in order to replace them with others, on whose devotion they could rely.

In the mean while, addresses were unceasingly presented to the Infante from the various municipalities of the kingdom ; from the tribunals, and subsequently from each of the Three Estates of the Realm, separately, demanding the re-establishment of the legitimate and national institutions, as well as of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, continually observed until the death of the late King John VI. Under such pressing and imposing circumstances, what alternative had the Prince left? It was necessary to place his reliance on either one, or the other party. To throw himself into the arms of his inveterate enemies, merely to overcome the party which invoked the nation's rights and those of the lawful Prince then among them, would have been to commit the most criminal of all suicides, and light up in the country a civil war, of the bitterest kind. No choice, in fact, remained. The Infante was compelled to side with the party, representing the voice of the nation, and anxious to restore its old and proudest institutions. Nevertheless, he hesitated entering on the exercise of his acknowledged rights, as was seen in the various movements of the people wearied with delays, who in numerous parts of the kingdom, assembled and proclaimed him their absolute monarch, thus confining himself to what the kings, his predecessors, had done on similar occasions and in difficult cases re-



lating to the succession, being determined to leave the decision of the important question at issue to the Three Estates of the Realm, which for that purpose he ordered to be forthwith convened.

The results which followed the decision of the Three Estates, fully proved that the award was conformable to the wishes of the great majority of the nation. The faction, opposed to Dom Miguel, had displayed the whole of its strength and means in the organization of the military insurrection at Oporto, which frittered away, as soon as the decision of the national representatives was made known. This memorable event also shews how much the European cabinets had been deluded in the opinions which they had formed on the real state of Portugal, through the insidious suggestions of the faction and its agents, when they persuaded the Infante, previous to his embarking for Lisbon, to accede to and subscribe the protocols, drawn up at Vienna and London, under the supposition that it was in the Prince's power to execute the provisions which they contained. Subsequent events however proved, that he was no longer able to comply with the conditions required of him, or guide circumstances which were soon placed far beyond his control.

Hence, is it, that the High and Allied Powers, with that characteristic good faith which has always distinguished them, cannot now fail to confess that, from the period when the Treaty of Peace and Separation was concluded with Brazil, they were themselves fully convinced that the Emperor, Dom Pedro, had no longer any valid right or title to inherit the Crown of Portugal, and much less to abolish the fundamental laws of the kingdom and appoint a sovereign of his own choice, by seeking to transmit to that said sovereign rights which he himself had lost and forfeited, as soon as the Treaty was carried into full effect,—a Treaty which did not contain a single word respecting those rights which he afterwards attempted to assert.

In that memorable document, the total Separation and absolute Independence of the two States are definitively stipulated, which consequently implies the total Separation and absolute Independence of the two new Portuguese and Brazilian Dynasties, belonging to the House of Braganza; otherwise, the Separation and Independence of Portugal would only have been illusory, and that kingdom would, for a long time, have been left in the most precarious situation; continually exposed to those intrigues and misfor-

tunes which always accompany minorities and temporary Regencies, as well as those changes which occur on the accession of sovereigns, born and educated out of the kingdom. It is therefore placed beyond all doubt that, when the Treaty of Separation was formally ratified and exchanged, the two branches of the Braganza Family remained entirely separate and distinct,—this is the natural and reasonable spirit and letter of the Treaty. Any other meaning it may now be wished to give to it, would be no other than downright chicanery, to which the British Government is not in the habit of lending its mediation and support; nor is the Portuguese nation disposed to submit to any such humiliation.

It is also evident, that it was the total and absolute Separation of the two States and Families which Prince Metternich had in view, when, in his dispatch, in answer to one which the cabinet of Lisbon had addressed to him; soliciting the mediation of Austria for the conclusion of a peace between King John VI. and his son, he says thus; “*D’après toutes les notions que nous avons reçues de Rio Janeiro, il ne nous paraît pas douteux que les hommes les plus influans de ce pays—que la majorité préponderante de ses habitans, ne s’opposeraient pas à un pacte fédéral entre les deux royaumes. D’es lors, il serait facile d’établir, par une*

*loi de famille, l'héredité des deux couronnes dans deux branches de la maison régnante, et la succession réciproque au cas que l'une, ou l'autre, viendrait à s'éteindre."*

It is therefore clearly seen that when the Treaty of Separation was concluded, the head of the reigning House in Portugal, or, with more propriety, it ought to be said, in the United Kingdom, was King John VI. and that the two other branches of his Family, according to the laws and usages of Portugal, could be no other than Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel. It is also further established, that the project of the Vienna cabinet allowed only the reciprocal succession of the two branches, in case one, or the other, happened to become extinct; from which it conclusively follows, that the pretended rights of the Princess Donna Maria da Gloria were entirely excluded from the operation of the arrangement, at the time contemplated.

Another proof that the cabinets of the Allied Sovereigns were fully persuaded that the separation and independence of the two States, so formally stipulated in the Treaty aforesaid, were intended to be absolute and complete, may be found in the reiterated remonstrances which some of the Allies unceasingly

addressed to Dom Pedro, from the moment his Charter and decree of abdication made their appearance, urging him to render his said abdication complete and irrevocable ; and this proof is corroborated still more by the advice given to the Lisbon Government, and also to Dom Miguel himself, at the time of his departure for Portugal, not to execute several of those subreptitious decrees, which the cabal had dexterously wrested from the credulity and good faith of the Emperor.

The European cabinets were moreover well aware that if Dom Pedro continued to issue decrees for Portugal, the Treaty of Separation and Independence would not only be illusory, but also prejudicial to that kingdom, as, from the rank of mother-country, it would descend and become the colony of Brazil. Such a transition as this, could not fail to open the door to a number of disorders and troubles, which might by various means eventually endanger the tranquillity of Europe, which the Allied Sovereigns were so anxious to preserve. The remonstrances of the cabinets above alluded to, were confined to an urgent solicitation that the abdication should be complete, because, having acknowledged the Treaty of Separation, concluded under the mediation of England, they were precluded from the possibility of allowing the stipu-

lations, intended to secure the Independence of Portugal, to be in any way eluded. If the Allied Powers made no remarks on the legality of Dom Pedro's abdication, it was only on account of the scrupulous nicety with which they followed that incontestible principle of justice which they had always professed, of leaving to each independent nation the right of regulating its own internal and family concerns, according to its own laws and the general interest of the country.

There is still one more objection to overcome, on which the faction has laid great stress, and on it strenuously endeavoured to ground its own intrigues and pretensions. This is, that the European Powers having acknowledged the rights of Dom Pedro and his daughter, the Princess Donna Maria, can never acknowledge those of Dom Miguel, as the legitimate Sovereign of Portugal.

At the very first glance, the absurdity of this objection is perceived, as, in order to pronounce it just, it must previously be admitted that the Allied Powers could be wanting to that very same principle of justice above-mentioned, of not prejudging controversial questions of a family nature and relating to the succession of the throne, in any foreign country

whatsoever, since questions of this kind were to be exclusively judged by competent authorities, and according to the fundamental laws of the country in which they might arise. Besides, to stop at such an objection as this, would be to admit the principle that when a faction, by force, or intrigue, obtains possession of the government of a country, in the name of a false legitimacy, and the several Powers deem it expedient to continue their diplomatic relations with the intrusive authority, they are afterwards obliged to sustain it, and not acknowledge the legitimate government which, in the mean while, has lawfully gained the ascendancy, overturned the faction opposed to it, and triumphantly regained its rights. It would be an unheard-of absurdity—a gross and palpable act of inconsistency, to admit of such a principle, so derogatory to the dictates of justice, and, at the same time, so subversive of the stability of governments.

It is therefore false that the Allied Powers have acknowledged Dom Pedro's rights and those of his daughter to the throne of Portugal. They did no more than continue their diplomatic relations with the government *de facto*, which they believed had been named by King John VI., previous to his demise. They simply acknowledged the local govern-

ment which ensued, without caring whether the acts, emanating therefrom, were passed and promulgated in the name of Dom Pedro, or the Princess Regent. If that same local government had refused to carry Dom Pedro's Charter and Decree of Abdication into execution, on account of their being contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the Allied Sovereigns would not, for that reason, have suspended their diplomatic relations with the existing government. They soon, however, manifested their opposition to Dom Pedro's illegal pretensions, inspired by the cabal, of continuing to issue decrees, intended to operate in Portugal, the total Independence and Separation of which country had been solemnly established and formally acknowledged by those very same Powers, from the moment that the ratification of the Treaty for the separation of the two sovereignties was duly exchanged.

It must here be further remarked, that if the Allied Sovereigns, from the period the Treaty was ratified, considered the right which Dom Pedro sought to arrogate to himself, of issuing decrees for Portugal, as being illegal and inadmissible, would it not be a gross and palpable contradiction to attribute to him the faculty of abolishing the fundamental laws of the kingdom and conferring new ones upon it? The



Allied Powers, on this subject, have done no more than to allow the local government to do what it pleased in the administration of the realm, that being a matter which exclusively concerned the existing authorities.

In order to exercise acts, so despotic as those, of at once abolishing the fundamental laws of the realm, without ever consulting the Three Estates, Dom Pedro had no other title, vested in himself, than the invisible and missing decree of the 6th of March, 1826; a title, as previously shewn, marked with the strongest possible signs of illegality and consequent nullity. These are incontestible truths, and it is now well ascertained that the Allied Sovereigns are, by this time, fully sensible of their force. They acknowledged the illegal acts of Dom Pedro, because the government *de facto*, established at Lisbon, caused them to be executed, although in a manner contrary to law, and in direct contravention of the most venerable institutions of the country. Conformably to the same principle and with infinitely stronger reasons, those same Powers ought now, in common justice, to acknowledge what a legitimate government has done, by means entirely legal and consistent.

It may still be added that it was not the Regency

of Portugal, established by the invisible and lost decree which, it is said, the king signed with the hand of death upon him ; it was not, I again assert, this Regency, or the members of which it was composed, who unanimously caused Dom Pedro's Charter and decree of abdication to be carried into execution. Three of the members of that Regency withdrew from the government, as soon as those same instruments were presented there, and this act of justice and patriotism brought upon one of them the most virulent persecutions to which it was in the power of the faction to resort. As regards the other members of the Regency, it is well ascertained that they opposed the Charter being carried into execution, without the previous convocation of the Three Estates of the Realm, even although it were done conformably to the provisions of Dom Pedro's Charter itself, as to them alone belonged the decision whether, or not, it ought to be accepted and put in force.

It was not the government, named by the late king, who then decided this momentous question. On the contrary, it was a *Camarilla*, or secret club, forming part of the faction, opposed to Dom Miguel, which unfortunately had the ear of the Princess Regent and guided her actions, that then lighted up the flame of discord in the country. The correctness of

this assertion is sufficiently well proved by the letter which General Saldanha, at that time governor of Oporto, and afterwards one of the heroes of the Belfast Steamer, addressed to the Princess Regent, whose answer, together with the General's letter, was at the time laid before the public. This assertion is further strengthened by the insolent letter which Dr. Abrantes subsequently published in London, in three languages, addressed to Sir William A'Court, in which he reveals the secret and boasts of having been the framer of that miserable proclamation, intended to exclude Dom Miguel from his rights to the Regency, which, if, in other respects, it was proposed that the Charter should be valid and binding, were distinctly awarded to him by the 91st Article.

It was, therefore, this Doctor and his fellow labourers of the *Camarilla* who advised the measure which led to the dissolution of the Regency, appointed by the late king, and who insidiously caused the oath to be taken to Dom Pedro's Charter, without the previous meeting of the Three Estates, as thereby actually ordained. Wishing to prove that all these disastrous measures were the work of the revolutionary cabal, ever since the affair of Villafranca, united in their secret design against Dom Miguel, it would be

impossible to mark the acts of a more distinguished member of that same disorganizing club, than Dr. Abrantes, as he has conspicuously figured in all the unfortunate crises through which his unhappy country has of late passed. Compelled to quit Portugal, as a partisan of the French, at the period of their invasion—a distinguished member of the revolutionary clubs, during the political movements of 1820—first physician, and in attendance on King John VI., during his short and fatal illness—member of the Chamber of Deputies, under the Constitution of Dom Pedro—president of the *Camarilla* and the avowed inditer of the proclamation that was to strip Dom Miguel of his rights to the Regency, and afterwards select emissary to Rio de Janeiro, in order to defeat the negotiations of the Court of Vienna, entrusted to Baron Neuman, as well as to start the intrigue of appointing Dom Miguel his brother's Lieutenant and Representative, in case the Austrian cabinet persisted in no longer retaining the Prince at Vienna, after he had attained his twenty-fifth year, he was deeply engaged in all the passing plots of the day. Finally, this restless *intrigant*, on his return to Europe, had himself named, by Dom Pedro, Counsellor of State and Secretary of the cabinet; but, all these exorbitant favours were, in their turn, defeated on his arrival at Lisbon,

and he was driven from the country in a more honourable manner than he deserved.

Besides the incontestible facts, established in the present exposition, and which clearly exhibit the detestable intrigues of the faction, opposed to Dom Miguel, the High and Allied Powers have seen, with evident displeasure, the new manœuvres and revolting stratagems which the conspirators have had the rashness to carry on, in order to induce the several cabinets of Europe to declare against Dom Miguel, ever since the commencement of the military revolution at Oporto, clearly the work of the same party; until at length they committed the crime of preventing the Princess of Gran Pará from continuing her voyage to the Austrian dominions, where she was anxiously expected by her august grandfather, conformably to the arrangements previously made with the emperor Dom Pedro.

It is, therefore, time for the European Powers at once to cause all these intrigues to disappear, and also to see that the revolutionary faction which has for so many years been the bane of Portugal, should no longer be left in a situation to carry on its usual plots and schemes. As matters now stand, this can only be done by acknowledging the legitimate and

avowed rights of King Miguel, the First, to the throne of his ancestors. The justice, good sense and dignity of the High and Allied Powers, to whom Europe is so much indebted for the present state of tranquillity enjoyed, and who were for some time deluded, through the intrigues of a cabal, intent only on disorders and disorganization, imperiously demand that this should be done without loss of time. The real interests of the several States of Europe; those of Portugal—of Brazil—of the Emperor, Dom Pedro, as well as of the Princess, his daughter, loudly call upon the guardians of the public peace to put an end to the anarchy and confusion to which Portugal has long been a prey. The Portuguese have a right to expect repose at their hands. An elucidation of these several interests, and the grounds on which the above assertion is made, will form the leading topic of the remaining pages of the present essay.

The interests of Portugal urgently demand that Dom Miguel's rights to the throne, constitutionally declared legitimate by the national organ of the Three Estates of the Realm, should be at once acknowledged by the several Powers of Europe, as any delay that may now occur will only encourage the revolutionary faction, masked under the name of Dom Pedro and Donna Maria da Gloria's partisans,

to continue forming fresh plots and schemes, which, however reluctantly, the government will at length be compelled to punish, in an exemplary manner. That severity which must soon become the order of the day, cannot fail to be followed by the ruin of many families, which would to keep the country in a continual state of alarm and inquietude. This delay besides prevents the king from exercising towards his enemies those acts of clemency and good-will, which his own breast and the advice of his Council might dictate to him, as being compatible with justice and the safety of the State.

Unjustly, have Dom Miguel's enemies endeavoured to lay acts of cruelty and injustice to his charge, on account of the arrests and confiscations which have taken place, since his accession to the throne ; yet, if only properly examined and sifted, it will be found that nothing has been done that was not distinctly ordained by the laws. No person was thrown into prison—no property confiscated, till after the military insurrection at Oporto, and then the usual formalities, prescribed by the laws, were resorted to. The occurrences complained of, were not individual acts of his own ; but the result of the deliberations of those who were entrusted with the administration of public justice. When the kingdom was plunged into anarchy,

from one extremity to the other, the government, for its own security, as well as to maintain public order and tranquillity, was compelled to take such measures as prudence dictated, and particularly to place suspected persons under the *surveillance* of the police, some of whom thought proper to leave the country, without the king's permission and unprovided with passports, in direct contravention of the existing laws. The government, consequently, did no more than carry those same laws into execution, by awarding penalties, commensurate to the offences committed, for that purpose resorting to such judicial process as the national code itself ordained. The expedition of the Belfast Steamer, and other enterprises of a similar kind, since attempted, have distinctly shewn that the local authorities were not mistaken in their suspicions of the views and plans of the fugitives. The penalty of death, however, has been inflicted on no one, since the accession of Dom Miguel to the throne, except on the abandoned Students of the University of Coimbra, who way-laid and in cold blood assassinated their own professors, at a time when they were coming with a deputation to the king. And in what civilized country under the sun, would not the rigour of the law have equally fallen on reprobates of a similar stamp? From this sample we may judge of what kind of beings the confederated league, op-



posed to Dom Miguel, is composed, and then conclude what horrors might be expected to ensue, if, unfortunately, a reaction were to take place in favor of men, so completely lost to every feeling of reason and equity.

The interests of the European Powers imperiously demand that the government of Portugal should become consolidated and take root, in order that tranquillity may be restored. If the anarchy and confusion, prevailing in Portugal, were hereafter to give rise to any thing like a democratic movement, the crest-fallen brethren and friends of the daring conspirators, scattered about in Spain, France and Italy, would then not fail to raise their heads, and possibly they might create incalculable disorders throughout Europe.

It is also the interest of the High and Allied Powers to be faithful to the principles which they loudly and emphatically proclaimed, at the Congress, held at Troppau, Laybach, and Verona. Pursuant to a vital principle of the English Constitution, confirmed by Lord Castlereagh's Circular of the 19th of January, 1821, the British government acknowledged the right of a nation, legally represented, and acting according to the fundamental laws by which States are go-

verned, to decide on all controversial matters, relating to the succession of the crown. How then can the British Government refuse to acknowledge Dom Miguel's authority as legitimate, and as such, constitutionally declared, without contravening those very principles which it has so often proclaimed and invariably observed? How can the Continental Powers, who have formally declared that they would wage an open war against every revolution that might raise its head, with a view to cast down the monarchical principle, or endanger the cause of legitimacy, established according to the fundamental laws of States—how can they, I again ask, without falling into a deplorable contradiction, allow the revolutionary faction of 1820, joined by a handful of more modern dupes, and all of them the sworn enemies of Dom Miguel—some, through personal motives; others, led away by a strange infatuation; and some again actuated by false calculations of their own interests—to continue to agitate Portugal and the contiguous countries, by unceasing disorders and intrigues, which not only prevent the consolidation of the Portuguese throne, but also threaten the peace and tranquillity of other realms?

It is, however, proper, in this place, to make mention of another sophism, and most assuredly a miser-

able one it is, with which the restless and aspiring cabal has endeavoured to delude the Continental Powers, in order to induce them to declare against Dom Miguel. If the Allied Sovereigns, say they, now acknowledge this Prince as King, they would sanction the principle of the sovereignty of the people, to which they have hitherto appeared so much opposed, since it was the people who proclaimed him as their sovereign. The weakness—nay, the falsity of this argument is discovered on the very slightest reflection. It was not the people, but the fundamental laws of the Portuguese Monarchy, invariably kept and observed till the reign of King John VI., who himself confirmed them, which constitutionally called Dom Miguel to the throne. The Three Estates are no other than public guardians, watching over the execution of the laws; or, in other words, the council of the nation, whom the sovereign authority is bound to consult on all controversial matters relating to the succession to the crown, as well as on other great State questions. The sovereignty of the king, in the legitimate Constitution of Portugal, is one, indivisible, and absolute. It is not parcelled out into pieces—it is not a hydra, with a hundred heads—it is not a moveable mass of individuals, at the same time sovereigns and subjects, like Dom Pedro's Charter, as well as the others of modern manufacture. And who

better than this national council could solve the difficulties and doubts which might at any time arise, relating to the succession? Who has a greater right to do it? It seems impossible for any Sovereign, or State, to allow any other doctrine to be established as a precedent among them. It is not, therefore, the sovereignty of the people, in reference to the acts of the Three Estates of Portugal, which the Allied Powers have to fear; but rather the new principle, so subversive of the stability of all governments, that every sovereign has a right, whenever he pleases, despotically to change the fundamental laws of a State, at the head of which he may be placed, and substitute, in their stead, others of his own making. This principle is rendered still more monstrous and revolting, when it is considered that it was a foreigner who took upon himself changes of so extraordinary a kind.

The commercial interests of the several Powers, in the habit of trading with Portugal, as well as those of the latter kingdom, must besides suffer materially, as long as the government of Dom Miguel is not consolidated by the acknowledgment of his rights to the throne, on which he is lawfully seated. The interests of the Allied Powers also require that the consolidation of Dom Miguel's throne should be com-

plete and permanent, which cannot be done without securing, as early as possible, succession to that Prince, as the Three Estates very justly reminded him. Should Dom Miguel, through any unforeseen event, die without issue, the country would be torn to pieces by a fresh influx of parties and pretenders, and rent asunder by all kinds of disorders, when the High and Allied Powers would find themselves wearied with new intrigues and embarrassed with fresh difficulties, not only on the score of the revolutionary faction, which would then again seek to raise its head, but, because other pretenders would not be wanting in the Braganza Family, who have as much, if not more right, to the Portuguese throne than the Princess Donna Maria da Gloria.

The interests of this very same Princess are besides completely at variance with her pretended rights. This distinctly shews that the faction, in inventing these alleged rights, had no other object in view than to strip Dom Miguel of those which he possessed, without caring the least about Dom Pedro's real interests, or those of his family. If the subject is only deliberately considered, it will be found that these pretended rights offer no real advantage to the Princess herself, particularly under existing circumstances. After the Resolutions of the Three Estates

of the Realm, and the acclamations of the nation have excluded these supposed rights and confirmed those of Dom Miguel; after the said Three Estates have represented to the King that it was urgently necessary to provide for the succession to the Crown, without delay, as otherwise the consolidation of the throne and the tranquillity of the kingdom could never be completely realized—the King, I have no hesitation to declare, has neither the right, or the power, to contravene the general will of the nation, thus solemnly expressed through its legitimate organ.

Under such circumstances, the rights of another cannot, therefore, now be imposed on the nation, unless by violence and the force of arms. Supposing, however, for a moment, that so glaring an act of injustice were committed—what would be the result? A civil war, evidently the principal object which the High and Allied Powers seek to avoid,—a national struggle, which usually turns to the disadvantage of the aggressors. But, even if the contrary were to happen, in what an unfortunate and precarious situation would not the Princess be still placed! She would have to behold a number of ruined families—continual reactions in the country—the reiterated attempts of pretenders to the throne, from without—plots, of all kinds, set on foot by the revolutionary

party, under the hope of gaining the ascendancy—such would be the prospects which, in that case, the Princess would have before her, during the awful period of a short and calamitous reign.

And is a crown, so precarious and perilous, worth so many sacrifices which the Princess would have to make, in order to attain it? Without taking into consideration the difficulties and anxiety she would have to undergo, in insisting on her pretensions, she would lose her eventual rights to the Brazilian throne, in case of her brother's decease, rights infinitely more clear and available than those which she is alleged to possess to the throne of Portugal, more particularly under existing circumstances. The empire of Brazil, in order to become consolidated, requires that the Imperial family should be propagated as early as possible, by the several members contracting alliances with the most powerful reigning families of Europe. It would therefore be more conducive to the interests of the interesting young Princess, now among us, as well as to the Emperor, her father, and also to the rising empire of Brazil, that she should be placed under the paternal care of her august grandfather, the emperor of Austria, as was originally intended, in order to give a finish to her

education, and fit her to fill that high station in life, to which she is called.

The emperor Francis is that powerful and benevolent monarch who can most advantageously regulate the future destinies of his august granddaughter. Austria and the other Allied Powers, acting in concert with her, have an immediate interest in the monarchical principle being consolidated in Brazil, this being the most secure means of re-establishing order and tranquillity in the extensive continent of America, the changes and transitions of which interesting portion of the globe, can never be viewed as matters of indifference to Europe. The Allied Powers can never forget that the revolution of France closely followed the footsteps of that of the United States.

The interests of the Emperor, Dom Pedro, also require that the sovereignty of his Empire should become consolidated, more particularly as he is situated with regard to his surrounding neighbours. An empire, the provinces of which are divided by intervening deserts, and encompassed by republics, unceasingly agitated by revolutionary intrigues and civil wars,—continually kept in awe by a republican party, incessantly at work within the empire itself,



and besides weighed down by a considerable public debt, aggravated by an adverse and ruinous exchange, of which he is compelled to avail himself in order to keep up his foreign engagements; a limited, ineffective and heterogeneous population, scattered over an immense surface of hostile country—an empire, so situated, I have no hesitation to declare, would verge to its total ruin, if it were to undertake a war against Portugal, or indeed against any other country, in which the population did not feel an immediate interest. From these essential considerations, it therefore follows, that the interests of Brazil, and consequently of the Emperor, Dom Pedro, are identified with those of his daughter, and to them may be applied the whole of the conclusions which I have drawn regarding the position of that august Princess.

From all the premises herein established, it is clearly seen that the High and Allied Powers could not do better, in the present situation of Portuguese affairs, than to impress on the mind of the Brazilian Emperor the dangerous consequences of those delusions and irregularities, by means of which the cabal, opposed to Dom Miguel and confederated with certain Brazilian agents, have dared to abuse their good faith and impose on their upright intentions.

The changes which have taken place in Portugal, since the arrival of Dom Miguel, are also matters to treat of by means of friendly negotiations between the latter and the Emperor, his brother, as well as with the European Powers; but, in the interval, it must not be forgotten that Brazilian agents have had the rashness to raise themselves up into umpires, on this arduous occasion, and even to arrogate to themselves the supremacy of the European Powers, by commencing a war in this quarter of the globe,—a calamity which the guardians of the peace and tranquillity of Europe have such an immediate interest, and by duty are called upon, to avoid. They were even foolish enough to pretend to fit out, in England, an armament against Portugal, as if the British government could ever consent to such an infraction of its own laws, or such a public violation of the respect due to other independent nations. Hurried away by their own inconsiderate and rash policy, they huddled together, in a paltry steam vessel, the heads of several respectable families, whom they thereby totally ruined, as well as other individuals, holding rank in society, who had the weakness to accede to their insidious suggestions, and who by this means have equally brought destruction on themselves.

In order to crown this series of iniquities, or rather

with a view to perpetuate them, these doughty agents of the Brazilian Monarch, expended the sums of money which the Legislature at Rio de Janeiro had voted for the payment of the dividends due on the Portuguese loan ; a debt which the Emperor, Dom Pedro, bound himself to pay by virtue of a solemn Treaty, concluded under the mediation of Great Britain—a Brazilian debt, in short, so much the more sacred and obligatory, as it was contracted for value received, in the acknowledgment of the independence of the new empire, and certain items of property hitherto held in the private right of the late King, John VI. The payment of two dividends is nevertheless still due, and this amount the Brazilian agents have refused to make good, to the detriment of the public credit of their own country. And, can it, for a moment, be supposed that all this has been done by orders of the Emperor ? This, it is, that a just sovereign ought to examine, and in case of rashness, or criminality, as a third party are the immediate sufferers, he ought equally to resent and punish acts performed without his authority.

There is, consequently, every reason to expect that the High and Allied Powers will duly inform the Emperor, Dom Pedro, of the irregularity of the proceedings of his said agents, and frankly express their

opinion on the enormous offence committed, by changing the young Princess's destination, and instead of allowing her to proceed on to Vienna, will testify their indignation at her being brought, in a kind of forced pilgrimage, to London, in order that, in the hands of the faction, she might become an innocent instrument in the promotion of fresh intrigues. The Allied Powers ought to point out to the distant sovereign that his infant empire, surrounded as it is by dangers, can never support itself and become consolidated, unless by European alliances, from which Brazil has nothing to fear, as the sovereigns of the Old World have an immediate interest in the consolidation of the monarchical principle in that portion of the New one, which the head of the Braganza Family has raised into a separate and independent empire. It is for this same reason that the Brazilian Emperor ought rather to confide in the counsels of the European Sovereigns, his Allies, than trust to the advice of a band of *intrigans*, who unfortunately have already deceived him, by abusing his candour and good faith. It is therefore time for the Allied Powers to remind him that, having agreed among themselves to become the guardians of the peace and tranquillity of Europe, which cannot be maintained without the acknowledgment of Dom Miguel's rights, after the same has been done by the nation, lawfully represented, they are

disposed to do an act of justice which, conformably to the professions ushered by themselves to the world, they can no longer withhold, and that His Imperial Majesty himself could not do better than to join them for a purpose, so just and salutary.

The Portuguese people have a paramount right to demand of the Allied Powers, who sit as umpires on the affairs of the great Commonwealth of the European nations, a guarantee for their independence and tranquillity, at present identified with the acknowledgment of the rights of Miguel the First, as King of Portugal. Portugal once rendered the most signal services to Europe, by aiding to secure that tranquillity and independence on which the new system, intended for the preservation of both, now materially rests. Without the aid of Anglo-Lusitanian army, which so much distinguished itself in the long line of operations, from Lisbon to Thoulouse, under the command of the greatest Captain of the age, Europe would possibly be still groaning under the iron yoke which for so many years weighed heavily upon her. England can never forget that, during the long and arduous struggle which she had to maintain against a powerful enemy, Portugal was the only portion of the continent on which her armies had always a firm footing, and the theatre where she was enabled to obtain an

uninterrupted series of victories, by which means she finally conquered peace, and, in concert with her allies, established it on the best and most secure basis. England never can be unmindful that if all these benefits were then achieved, mainly through the gallantry of British troops, their Portuguese brethren in arms had a proportionate share in the laurels gained.

The demands of the Portuguese are besides just. They are in strict accordance with the fundamental laws of their own country; conformable to the true interests of the European Powers, and even consistent with those of the Emperor, Dom Pedro, and his daughter, as has already been clearly pointed out. This sovereign who, although seated in another hemisphere, can never consider himself estranged to Europe, has too much penetration and good sense, and is actuated by too strong a love of justice, by this time not to know that his Constitutional Charter and Decree of conditional abdication have been no other than a brand of discord and revolution, which he unguardedly cast on the unhappy and afflicted land that gave him birth, no doubt misled by the perfidious suggestions of his brother's enemies.

The Emperor of Brazil cannot be ignorant that the

European Sovereigns have agreed among themselves to do every thing in their power to maintain the peace and tranquillity of this portion of the globe ; that they have declared military insurrections, whatever may be the end to which they are directed, as the most unlawful and dangerous of all revolutions. He also knows, full well, that civil wars are the greatest scourges of States. This he learnt from his own experience, when recently his own troops, the refuse of Germany and Ireland, whom the Brazilian agents recruited in Europe, thus foolishly dissipating the resources of Brazil, rebelled against him at Rio de Janeiro, and placed him under the necessity of soliciting the assistance of the foreign naval forces, stationed in the port. With these examples and this experience before him, it is not therefore possible that a monarch, gifted with so much rectitude and penetration, as is the Emperor Dom Pedro, can fail to make his agents accountable for the various crimes which they have committed—crimes which necessarily must disturb the tranquillity of Europe, and affect that good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between the Allied Powers and the Sovereign of Brazil, of which he himself knows the importance, much better than the agents who represent him on this side of the Atlantic.

Dom Pedro moreover must be well aware, that the republican party in Europe is still very strong, although for the present spiritless and crest-fallen, waiting for a favourable opportunity to raise its head, in moments of terror and alarm, and that if it should ever again acquire an ascendancy, the rising empire of Brazil may possibly be frittered to pieces, and the sovereign himself then have to endure the painful displeasure of seeing some of those very persons who have encouraged and lighted up civil wars and military insurrections in the Old World, become active members of National Assemblies at Bahia, Pernambuco, Pará, and other parts of the New one.

The writer will close the present effort, by pointing out another sophism with which the cabal has endeavoured to delude the European Powers, as well as the Emperor, Dom Pedro. The latter, say the agitators, is so much displeased with the advice given to him by the cabinets of Austria and Great Britain, to send the Princess of Gran Pará to Vienna and appoint his brother, Dom Miguel, to the Regency of Portugal, that he can no longer trust them. To reply to so fallacious an argument, as this, is matter of no great difficulty, if the results of the Emperor's compliance, or non-compliance, with the requisitions of



Allies, are only duly examined. The consequence of his refusal necessarily must have been that Dom Miguel, having attained his twenty-fifth year, and H. M. the Emperor of Austria being no longer able to retain him under his tutelage, as justice required, and as he himself had already declared to the other Powers, his Allies, as well as to Dom Pedro himself, would have quitted Vienna and arrived at Lisbon, although it had been in the private character of a Prince, to take possession of his own property, where, beyond the smallest doubt, he would have been proclaimed King, in the same manner as he subsequently was; whilst, at the same time, the Allied Powers, not being over satisfied with Dom Pedro's refusal, and it being besides their duty and the general interest of Europe to maintain peace and tranquillity, the new sovereign would have been earlier acknowledged than at present can be done, owing to the circumstance of Dom Pedro having acceded to the wishes of the Allied cabinets, which, in some measure, bound them more closely to his interests; or, at least, induced them, to pause, as soon as they saw the new difficulties with which this complicated affair was encompassed.

It therefore follows, that Dom Pedro's refusal

could only have been disadvantageous to himself, (as well as to his daughter.) What detriment, in fact, has he experienced by acceding to the wishes of his best Allies? As far as regards the occurrences in Portugal, it has been already shewn that Dom Miguel would have been proclaimed King, as soon as he personally appeared there, either in the character of Infante, Regent, or as the Lieutenant and Representative of his brother; the nation, completely wearied out with temporary governments, being fully determined to do it.

As far as regards the Princess of Gran Pará, most assuredly it is not in Portugal, or in Brazil, that she could be more happy, or finish her education better, than she might have done at Vienna; where, under the paternal care of so virtuous and powerful a monarch as her own grandfather, the Emperor of Austria, the most fervent wishes of her parents and friends might have been accomplished. There, and there only is it, that this interesting young Princess could have secured to herself a happier—a more brilliant, lot, than if she were to reside in either Portugal, or Brazil.

It is, therefore evident that the Princess's sojourn-

ment at Vienna, in whatever sense it may be viewed, presents no other than real advantages to the Emperor, Dom Pedro, to his daughter, and to the empire of Brazil. The only disadvantage of her visit to Europe, at present experienced, is the work of the cabal, which changed her original destination and brought her to England, as a kind of experiment, thus placing her in a painful situation in the eyes of the Allied Cabinets, who most assuredly cannot be taken by surprise; nor are they accustomed to deviate from the line of policy on which they had agreed. This unwarrantable change of destination, followed by the unlooked-for visit of the Princess to England, cannot fail to be viewed as a rash and absurd measure, and one that must, ere long, defeat the intrigues of the faction, by inducing the High and Allied Powers to decide the question of Portugal themselves, in such manner as may be most expedient to the tranquillity of that kingdom, the true interests of the several States of Europe, as well as the preservation of the general peace.

Let the Emperor Dom Pedro only listen to the wise counsels of the High and Allied Powers, who have done so much for the public welfare; let him treat with contempt the efforts of an insidious and

aspiring faction, and he will soon extricate himself from the embarrassments into which he has been thrown by its intrigues. Thus will he consolidate his own power; befriend the land of his ancestors, and rear up an illustrious progeny with honour and eclat to himself.

FINIS.

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