

The same Independence: the public performance of a unitarian partisan (Pernambuco, 1822–1823)

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Abstract

This article analyzes the public performance of the monk Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama in the periodic press between 1822 and 1823. The compositions of monk Miguel intended to construct the ideology that — since the unity of the Portuguese-Brazilian kingdom was broken — the sovereignty needed to pass to a new political unit, Brazil. Known in the Northern provinces as Rio de Janeiro's Project, this ideology was the basis of a conception of nation, foreseeing very reduced provincial powers if compared to the previous period — the legality of the “vintista” constitutionalism.

Keywords: unitarian state; press; independence.

A mesma independência: a atuação pública de um unitário pernambucano (1822–1823)

Resumo

Neste artigo, é analisada a atuação pública do Frei Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama na imprensa periódica entre 1822 e 1823. Os escritos jornalísticos de Frei Miguel procuraram construir o ideário de que, desfeita a unidade do Reino de Portugal e Brasil, a soberania passaria a uma nova unidade política, o Brasil. Conhecido nas províncias do norte como projeto do Rio de Janeiro, esse ideário lançou as bases de uma concepção de nação, prevendo poderes provinciais bastante reduzidos se comparados com o período anterior, o da vigência do constitucionalismo vintista.

Palavras-chave: estado unitário; imprensa; independência.

La misma independencia: la actuación pública de un unitario de Pernambuco (1822–1823)

Resumen

En este artículo se analiza la actuación pública del Fraile Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama en la prensa periódica entre 1822 y 1823. Los escritos periodísticos del Fraile Miguel intentaron crear las ideas de que, después de ser anulada la unidad del Reino de Portugal y Brasil, la soberanía pasaría a una nueva unidad política, Brasil. Conocidas en las provincias del norte como proyecto de Rio de Janeiro, esas ideas sentaron las bases para un concepto de nación, proporcionando poderes provinciales muy reducidos en comparación con el período anterior, de la validez del constitucionalismo de los años 20.

Palabras clave: estado unitario; prensa; independencia.

La même indépendance: l'activité politique d'un unitaire de Pernambuco (1822-1823)

Résumé

L'activité politique du frère Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama dans la presse quotidienne et périodique entre 1822 et 1823 a été analysée dans cette étude. Les travaux journalistiques de frère ont cherché à construire l'idée, car interrompue l'unité du royaume Portugal-Brésil, de la souveraineté comme une nouvelle unité politique: le Brésil. Connu comme le projet de l'état de Rio de Janeiro dans les provinces du nord, ce mode de penser a planté la graine du concept de nation, en prévoyant pouvoirs provinciaux assez limités par rapport à ceux de la période précédente, quand le constitutionnalisme était en vigueur.

Mots clés: état unitaire; presse; indépendance.

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In 2004, Evaldo Cabral de Mello published the work *The other Independence: the Pernambuco Federalism from 1817 to 1824*. For him,

The Pernambuco Federalism (as well as Father Feijó) intended that — would the unit of the Portuguese kingdom, Brazil and Algarves be dissolved — the sovereignty would turn to the provinces, where he resided in fact, which would be able to negotiate a constitutional pact, and, in case it was not of their interest, to use their right to constitute themselves separately, under the system which would suit them best¹

In this article, the public performance of the Benedictine monk Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama (1793–1852) in the periodic press, between 1822 and 1823 — whose maternal family (the Gamas) had an important role in the colonial administrative apparatus in the urban center of Recife —, is analyzed.² The core of the analysis envisaged here differs greatly from the proposition of Evaldo Cabral de Mello. The journalistic writings of Fray Miguel attempted to build the Idea that once dismembered the unity of the Portuguese kingdom and Brazil the sovereignty would become a new political unit, Brazil. Known in the Northern provinces as Rio de Janeiro's Project, the basis of the foundation of this nation was laid, which would provide greatly reduced provincial powers when compared to the previous period of vintista constitutionalism.

Thus, Evaldo Cabral de Mello analyzed “the other Independence” in Pernambuco, that is, the Project defeated military in 1824, which excelled by a Federalist national State. The following pages will, however, show “the same independence”, that is, the one that projected Brazil as an autonomous political unit with strong centers of both legislature and executive nature. Considering that those were times of political and institutional uncertainties, and that there were projects of divergent future, it is vital to analyze that which was conveyed in the upcoming Brazilian–Portuguese public space. This kind of analysis shows that the starting of the Rio de Janeiro's Project in Pernambuco was due not only to the imperial repression, but also by the decisive participation of the local population. In other words, the center of the Empire was not settled by itself alone. The center was built by important union of the parts.³

¹Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 14 and back cover.

²Biographies of Lopes Gama, in chronological order: Pedro Aufran da Mata e Albuquerque. “Biografia do falecido Cônego da Capela Imperial o Padre Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama”, *Diário de Pernambuco*, Recife, April 30th, 1853; “Uma lágrima sobre o túmulo do nosso amigo Reverendíssimo Padre Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama”, *O Liberal Pernambucano*, Recife, November 11th, 1852; Lino do Monte Carmelo Luna, *Memória Histórica e Biográfica do Clero Pernambucano*, Pernambuco, Typography by F.C. de Lemos e Silva, 1857, p. 100-102; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, *Dicionário biográfico de pernambucanos célebres*, Recife, Culture Foundation of the city of Recife, 1981, p. 727; Alfredo de Carvalho, “Frei Miguel do Sacramento Lopes Gama”, *In: Almanaque de Pernambuco para o ano de 1904*, Recife, Imprensa Industrial, 1904, p. VIII.

³Here we have the opposite vision from the one of Ilmar R. Mattos, “*Construtores e herdeiros. A trama dos interesses na construção da unidade política*”, *In: Almanack Braziliense*, vol. 1, São Paulo, Institute of Brazilian Studies of the University of São Paulo, May 2005. Mattos develops the idea of “inner expansion”, i.e., the consolidation of the empire with Rio de Janeiro as the Center must have a defined direction. In other words, for the author, the expansion was given from the center and irradiated to the provinces.

First, a brief historiographical review will be made, to show the novelty of the theme here emphasized. It will be possible to observe that verticalized studies that privilege the individuals who were not inserted in the revolutionary cycle of Pernambuco (1817 and 1824) are rather rare.

Later on, an analytical narrative of the major political events throughout the process of constitutionalization of the United Kingdom will be presented, focusing on the Pernambuco case. It will be demonstrated that during the term period of the *vintismo*, an unprecedented self-government experienced was established in Pernambuco. In this period, the province would emerge as a widely autonomous administrative unit.

Finally, an analysis of the public performance of Lopes Gama, the central figure of this article, will be made. That which the Benedictine monk took by sovereignty of the nation will be investigated. It will be demonstrated that his views on the matter sought to empty the province as a decisional unit, a criticism that had concrete political implications.

The process of independence in Pernambuco may be periodized, both roughly and schematically, as follows: board chaired by Gervásio Pires Ferreira (October 1820 to September 1822); board of the *matutos* (September 1822 to December 1823); board chaired by Manuel Carvalho Pais de Andrade (December 1823 to June 1824); and Confederation of Ecuator (July to September 1824).⁴ Besides this basic periodization, it is necessary to carefully analyze the province of Pernambuco in a broader context: Atlantic, Iberian, and Luso-Brazilian. As possible, attempt will be made to correlate all these dimensions.

The main source used in this analysis is the work *O Conciliador Nacional*, written by Lopes Gama between 1822 and 1823 and published in the villages of Recife and Olinda. It is noteworthy that the documentary series is not complete, such that, with a fragmented documentation, the analysis will be rather qualitative than quantitative.⁵

Brief historiographical considerations

It is natural that the historiography based on Rio de Janeiro, related to the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute (IHGB), did not look with good eyes the Revolution of 1817, the government of Gervásio, and the Confederation of Ecuator. Varnhagen accused both the *gervasista* board and the revolutionaries of 1824 of separatists and antinational. Later on, Pereira da Silva would make the same accusations.⁶ In 1884, Maximiliano Lopes Machado, prefacing the second edition

⁴Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 14 and back cover.

⁵We count with the numbers 1, 4, 5, 7 and 8 of 1822; 9, 10, 14, 18, 36 of 1823 (State Public Archives Jordão Emerenciano and National Library). Cf. Mariza Saenz Leme, *Dissidências regionais e articulações nacionais nos projetos de independência: o Conciliador Nacional em Pernambuco*, Proceedings of the XXIV National Symposium of History, São Leopoldo, Unisinos, 2007.

⁶Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *História Geral do Brasil: antes de sua separação e independência de Portugal*, Belo Horizonte, Edusp: Itatiaia, 1981 [1854-1857]; *Idem, História da independência do Brasil: até o reconhecimento pela antiga metrópole*, São Paulo, Melhoramentos, 1962 [1916 - posthumous]; João Manuel Pereira da Silva, *História da fundação do Império Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, Garnier, 1865.

of the work of Francisco Muniz Tavares,⁷ *História da revolução de Pernambuco em 1817*, attempted to show that the book by Tavares came to reveal the truth that had been distorted by Varnhagen and Pereira da Silva. The latter, according to Maximiliano, falsely accused the people from Pernambuco of being “ungrateful to the beneficent hand which outlawed the colonial regime and opened the doors of Brazil to all friendly nations”⁸ Setting aside the fact that the work of the former revolutionary of 1817, Muniz Tavares, is before the ones of Varnhagen and Pereira da Silva, it is interesting to note that, in the last quarter of the 19th century, the main concern of a historian from Pernambuco was to retell the history of Brazilian emancipation, in his view, seen exclusively from the point of view of Rio de Janeiro.

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It has been assured, however, that the work of Muniz Tavares has set on motion, in 1840, a historiographic segment that would have a long and fertile life throughout the 19th century, entering, still strong, in the 20th century. The History and Geography Archeological Institute of Pernambuco (IAHGP), founded in 1862, was the main site of production of this countermemory to national history conveyed by the IHGB. This historiographic bias, hereby called “regionalist”, has never questioned the monarchic institution or the Brazilian unit. In fact, not even the revolutionaries of 1824 themselves had intended to do so *a priori*. The north of this historiographic bias was to re-address value to the Pernambuco revolutionary cycle of 1817–1824, emphasizing the roles of the individuals who comprised the group that, as shall be seen, recent historiography has been calling “Federalist”⁹

This “regionalist” historiography, conceived in the 19th century, deeply influenced all the subsequent historical production, especially in relation to

⁷Father Francisco Muniz Tavares (1793-1876) took part in the revolution of 1817, being arrested later and sent to Bahia. Was an active congressman in both the Courts of Lisbon (1821-1822) and in the Brazilian Constituent Assembly (1823), not having joined the Confederation of Ecuador (1824). He was one of the founders of the Archeological Institute of History and Geography of Pernambuco (IAHGP) in 1862. Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, *Dicionário biográfico de pernambucanos célebres*, Recife, Culture Foundation of the city of Recife, 1981.

⁸Francisco Muniz Tavares, *História da revolução de Pernambuco em 1817*, Recife, Industrial Typography, 1884 [1840], p. VII-VIII.

⁹In chronological order: Joaquim Dias Martins, *Os mártires pernambucanos, vítimas da liberdade nas duas revoluções ensaiadas em 1710 e 1817*, Pernambuco, Lemos e Silva, 1853; Antônio Joaquim de Melo, *Obras políticas e literárias*, de Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, 1875 (here we used a reissue of these texts organized by Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2001); Antônio Joaquim de Melo, *Biografia de Gervásio Pires Ferreira*, Recife, Federal University of Pernambuco/ Editora Universitária, 1973 [1895]. The only major biography of Antônio Joaquim de Melo which focus on the character of the unitary Project is: *Obras religiosas e profanas do vigário Francisco Ferreira Barreto*, Recife, Typographia Mercantil, 1874. But, unlike the other biographies, this one emphasizes less the political aspects and more the literary aspects. This work is, therefore, closer to the approach that the same author did in a small collection of short biographies: *Biografia de alguns poetas, e homens ilustres da provincia de Pernambuco*, Recife, Typographia Universal, 1856.

the selection of the themes and periods to be emphasized. Thematically, this historiography emphasized the role of the “federalists”. The studies on the *gervasista* and *carvalhista* boards proliferated, and the government of the *matutos* relegated to the background scenario, as if its understanding was not as important to understand the formation of the Brazilian national State.

Ulysses de Carvalho Soares Brandão,¹⁰ winning a contest promoted by the IAHPG, published *A confederação do Equador (1824–1924)*. It was in celebration of the centenary of this revolution. It is interesting to note that he spent one-fourth of his book showing the remote antecedents that, somehow, influenced the revolutionaries of 1824, with special emphasis on the formation of the republican genius of Pernambuco, gestated since the expelling of the Dutch (1654). However, in order to approach the period relating to the board of the *matutos*, Brandão wrote one short chapter only.¹¹

Barbosa Lima Sobrinho¹² gave two lectures, which became *Pernambuco: da independência à Confederação do Equador*, 1979. Although the title indicates that the subject of the book begins with the Independence (1822), reaching the Confederation of Ecuador (1824), the author skips, indiscriminately, the period in which the board of the *matutos* (1823) ruled over. This fact might reflect the basic trend in “regionalist” historiography. This tendency relegates to the background scenario of the political action of the group that contemporary historians call “centralist” or “unitary”.¹³ In order to cite one last example of this “regionalist” historiography, two publications by Costa Porto are observed.¹⁴ The first one entitled *Os tempos de Gervásio Pires*, 1978, and the second *Pequena história da Confederação do Equador*, 1974. The absence of a book on the board of the *matutos* is not casual. Such a gap is observed due to a historiographical trend started in the 19th century, which influenced an entire generation of productions on the subject throughout the 20th century.¹⁵

The authors in the 1800s would contest the works of the founder of the Brazilian national history, notably Varnhagen and Pereira da Silva. Apparently, this contesting lasted long, since even in the already mentioned work by Evaldo Cabral de Mello, 2003, it seems to have been relevant. This author initiates his work by stating that

¹⁰Ulysses de Carvalho Soares Brandão (1869–1932), lawyer, historian, and politician, was also a member of the IAHPG.

¹¹Ulysses de Carvalho Soares Brandão, *A confederação do Equador (1824–1924)*, Recife, Pernambuco Government, 1924, p. 11–58; 145–153. Amaro Quintas also defended the thesis of a Republican essence in Pernambuco political culture since colonial times in *A Revolução de 1817*, Recife, José Olympio/Fundarpe, 1985 [1939].

¹²Alexandre José Barbosa Lima Sobrinho (1897–2000), lawyer, journalist, politician, and writer, he was a congressman for Pernambuco in several legislatures between 1935 and 1964, taking part in the Constituent Assembly of 1946. He was governor of Pernambuco between 1948 and 1951. He left an enormous bibliographic production, since he was a member of the *Academia Brasileira de Letras*, of the IHGB and correspondent associate of the IAHPG.

¹³Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, *Pernambuco: da Independência à Confederação do Equador*, Recife, Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife/Secretaria de Cultura/Turismo e Esportes/Fundação de Cultura Cidade do Recife, 1998 [1979].

¹⁴José Antônio da Costa Porto (1909–1984), lawyer by education, has a path similar to the one of Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, having held important political positions both in Pernambuco and in the federal government (he was, e.g., a constituent in 1946 and minister of agriculture between 1954 and 1955), leaving extensive bibliographic work. He was a member of the IAHPG.

¹⁵Still within the general lines of regionalist historiography, see the works: Gilberto Vilar de Carvalho, *A liderança do clero nas revoluções republicanas (1817–1824)*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 1979; Teobaldo Machado, *As insurreições liberais em Goiana, 1817–1824*, Recife, Governo do Estado de Pernambuco/Secretaria de Turismo, Cultura e Esportes/Fundarpe, 1990.

the foundation of the Brazilian Empire is yet a story told exclusively from Rio de Janeiro's point of view, at the time, by publicists who participated in the Independence political debate, and later by historians such as Varnhagen, Oliveira Lima, Tobias Monteiro or Otávio Tarquínio.

Even being a corresponding partner of the IAHGP, Evaldo Cabral de Mello cannot be considered a "regionalist" author. As was well noted by Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, Mello can connect to the "current historical methodology of erudition and of regionalist tradition".¹⁶ Stuart Schwartz, in turn, stresses that this Pernambuco diplomat forged his performance as a historian with the help of specialized professionals in Europe, absorbing what was more up to date in historical research methodology.¹⁷ Either way, some effects of the regionalist historiography, so entrenched in Pernambuco, are noticeable in the work of the Pernambuco historian/diplomat. Despite his focus being on the "federalist" group, Mello is the author of one of the best analyses and narratives on the board of the *matutos* and on the "unitary" group.

There will not be a general review regarding the academic historiography that addressed the Independence in Pernambuco. Some of their reflections are incorporated throughout this article. However, it is noteworthy that although having concerns very different from the "regionalist" historiography, the academy seems to have absorbed their thematic preferences. Apart from the article by Marcus J.M. de Carvalho¹⁸, there is no study that verticalizes the analysis on the "unitary" trend.¹⁹

The project hereby named "unitary" has been configured during the term of the board that substituted the *gervasista* one. The board of the *matutos* consisted, above all, of plantation masters of the Southern forest zone, as oppose to the exclusively Recife's *gervasista* board. Then, the nickname *matutos* was originated.²⁰ Let us work with an assumption that, despite being obvious, is crucial to be stressed. The "unitary" project did not exist as a letter of explicit intentions at the moment the *gervasista* board was overthrown. There was not a handbook that would regulate the aspirations of this policy trend. Their proposals were being formulated between 1822 and 1824. As was well observed by

¹⁶Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "Desagravo de Pernambuco e glória do Brasil: a obra de Evaldo Cabral de Mello", In: Lilia Moritz Schwartz (org.), *Leituras críticas sobre Evaldo Cabral de Mello*, Belo Horizonte, Editora da UFMG/Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2008, p. 39. The other authors who participated in this anthology that analyzes the vast work of Mello converge with the view Alencastro.

¹⁷Stuart Schwartz, "Sexteto pernambucano: Evaldo Cabral e a formação da consciência colonial e regional no Nordeste", In: Lilia Moritz Schwartz (org.), *op. cit.*

¹⁸Marcus J. M. de Carvalho, "Cavalcantis e Cavalgados: a formação das alianças políticas em Pernambuco, 1817-1824", *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 18, n. 36, São Paulo, 1998.

¹⁹The following studies focused their analysis on the political activity of individuals related to the "federalists": Marco Morel, Cipriano Barata na Sentinela da liberdade, Salvador, Academia de Letras da Bahia, 2001; Maria de Lourdes Viana Lyra, "Pátria do cidadão: a concepção de pátria/nação em Frei Caneca", *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 18, n. 36, São Paulo, 1998; Denis Bernardes, O patriotismo constitucional, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Recife, UFPE, 2006; Márcia Regina Berbel, "Pátria e patriotas em Pernambuco (1817-1822): nação, identidade e vocabulário político", In: István Jancsó (org.), *Brasil: formação do Estado e da nação*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Injuí, Unijuí, 2003.

²⁰"*Matuto*" (hillbilly) would be a pejorative term, which indicated that only city dwellers would have the ability to govern. Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 113-115.

Evaldo Cabral de Mello, “it will be during the government of the *matutos* that the sugar elite will set up in favor of the *fluminense* project”.²¹

Constitutionalization of the United Kingdom in Pernambuco: the autonomist experience (1821–1822)

After the constitutional revolution started in Porto in August 1820, which was gradually embraced in various parts of the Portuguese monarchy, autonomous forms of government were instituted in the ancient Brazilian captaincies. Inserted as a revolution in the Atlantic world, and more specifically in the Iberian world, this autonomous government was named “board”, being a formula first seen during the Napoleonic wars in Spain and in Spanish America. The Pernambuco revolutionaries of 1817 had already tasted, very briefly, a form of government very similar to the Spanish-American “boards”. Let us consider, at last, that the Constitution of Cádiz (1812) served as the model to the Brazilian-Portuguese *vinistas*, until March 1821.²²

In Pernambuco, as well as in other provinces, the installation of a self-government did not proceed peacefully. On May 6, 1821, the former revolutionaries of 1817 landed in Recife. These had been prisoners in Bahia since the joanina repression and were now granted amnesty by the Courts. Most of them, however, preferred to go straight to Goiana, a village located in the Northern forest zone, as Recife and Olinda were being well guarded by the captain of the province, Luís do Rego Barreto. This man, in fact, had been one of the leaders of the wanton established in 1817, that is, it was the reunion between the torturer and the tortured. Moreover, had the Constitution came into effect on April 21 in Rio de Janeiro, Rego Barreto had not yet done the same in Pernambuco. He took the oath only on July 11, in the middle of a turbulent process of elections for which congressmen would be sent to the Courts.²³

On July 21, a revolutionary of 1817 attempted unsuccessfully to murder Luís do Rego, drowning in the fugue. The tension between part of the local population and the authorities of the Old Regime was enormous, since they had their possessions stolen and had their families condemned to death or imprisonment in Bahia. On August 30, Luís do Rego Barreto formed a government board with him as its president. At the same time, however, there was another board being formed in Goiana, which considered the electoral procedure established by General Barreto to be illegal. The civil war was imminent, with both sides armed

²¹Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 113.

²²Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime português*, Porto, Edições Afrontamento, 1993; Márcia Regina Berbel, “A constituição espanhola no mundo luso-americano (1820–23)”, *Revista de Índias*, v. LXVIII, 2008. A reflection on the appropriation of political experiences *Rio da Prata* in Pernambuco at the time of Independence was made by Luís Geraldo Silva, “Pernambucanos, sois portugueses: natureza e modelos políticos das revoluções de 1817 e 1824”, *Almanack Braziliense*, n. 1, São Paulo, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da Universidade de São Paulo, May 2005.

²³Marcus J. M. de Carvalho, “Cavalcantis e Cavalgados: a formação das alianças políticas em Pernambuco, 1817-1824”, *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 18, n. 36, São Paulo, 1998, p. 3-4; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *op. cit.*, p. 65-69; Denis Bernardes, *O patriotismo constitucional*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Recife, UFPE, 2006, p. 355-399.

with brown and black troops. Olinda and Recife, the last strongholds of Luís do Rego Barreto, were surrounded by goianista troops. Both sides decided to communicate after the decree of September, issued by the Courts. This decree would establish the rules for the formations of the government boards and separate civil administration from the military administration, subordinating the latter to Lisbon. On October 5, 1821, the Beberibe convention established the armistice and the return of Rego Barreto to Portugal. On October 26, the first government board of Pernambuco was set, which would experience a new model of provincial self-government in the molds of modern constitutionalism. The president of the new board was Gervásio Pires Ferreira, a native merchant of rough manners and former revolutionary of 1817. Also as a part of the board there were the Father Laurentino Antônio Moreira (secretary); the three merchants and owners Bento José da Costa, Felipe Neri Ferreira e Joaquim José de Miranda; and the Lieutenant Colonel Antonio José Victoriano Borges da Fonseca and the Canon Manuel Ignacio de Carvalho. Those were men from the urban scenario, all based in Recife.²⁴

Only after the return of Luís do Rego Barreto to Portugal, there was the first explosion of the printed matter in Pernambuco. The Train Office, later called National Typography, being soon bought by private individuals and improved with materials brought from Portugal, it was the typography which was responsible for supporting the public debate. Lopes Gama would take part in this journalistic debate only from July 1822 on, publishing the first phase of *O Conciliador Nacional*.²⁵

Let us return, however, to discussing the government of Gervásio Pires Ferreira. Let us enumerate the main aspects of this interesting and unprecedented political laboratory. This board contested decisions from both the congress of Lisbon and the regency of D. Pedro, located in Rio de Janeiro. From Lisbon, it contested the subordination of the military administration the Courts intended to submit to the provinces, through congress that used to nominate the *Governador das Armas*. In fact, a similar dispute would be carried out in most provinces overseas. Gervásio's government expelled two Portuguese battalions from Pernambuco lands along with their respective commanders, both nominated by Lisbon. It is noteworthy that many decisions were taken after a deliberative meeting called Grand Council, which would become a recurring practice of the *gervasista* group in times of crisis. The Grand Council was attended by the members of the board, the *Governador*

²⁴Marcus J. M. de Carvalho, "Cavalcantis e Cavalgados: a formação das alianças políticas em Pernambuco, 1817-1824", *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 18, n. 36, São Paulo, 1998, p. 4-5; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 69-74; Denis Bernardes, *O patriotismo constitucional*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Recife, UFPE, 2006, p. 399-400; Antônio Joaquim de Mello, *Biografia de Gervásio Pires Ferreira*, Recife, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco/Editora Universitária, 1973 [1895], p. 28-42.

²⁵Alfredo de Carvalho, *Annaes da Imprensa Periódica Pernambucana de 1821 a 1908*, Recife, Typographia do Jornal do Recife, 1908, p. 36-37; 59-62; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Estabelecimento e desenvolvimento da imprensa em Pernambuco", *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano*, n. 39, Recife, Typographia de F. P. Boullitreau, 1891, p. 32-33; Flávio José Gomes Cabral, "Vozes públicas: as ruas e os embates políticos em Pernambuco na crise do Antigo Regime Português (1820-1821)", *Saeculum – Revista de História*, vol. 13, João Pessoa, 2005, p. 63-77.

das Armas, the heads of all military bodies and senior military officers or representatives of the troops, the magistrates, the presidents of civil offices, major traders and conspicuous citizens, along with delegates of the clergy and the vicars of three small churches of Recife. Although there are still classification ratings that indicate a corporate company with its three classic divisions — clergy, nobility and people —, this was not the essence of the Great Council. It was much more about ascertaining the will of the province on issues considered to be crucial, which may be considered as a typical trait of modern politics. At last, let us note that Gervásio Pires created battalions out of people from the countryside, notably black and brown people battalions.²⁶

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that the sugar elite will set up in favor of the
fluminense project”*

As for the decisions from Rio, the main questioning happened concerning the convening of the Prosecutors Council, as a result of a decree issued on February 16, 1822. Such advice was against the ideals of the vintista liberalism because the provincial representatives sent to Rio would form an advisory body rather than a representative one, besides the ministers having their position secured there. The ideological classification for the creation of this council was to strengthen the union between the provinces of the Brazilian kingdom, creating a Center around the Prince Regent in *fluminense* soil. The mistrust on the political practices of Rio — archaic political practices, despotic to the limits as was believed by some coevals — was constantly increasing. These people used to think that a bolder liberalism radiated from Lisbon.²⁷ Even the governing board of Minas Gerais contested the creation of the Council of Prosecutors. The difference is that the proximity of this province to the Court, the commercial and interest networks established between *mineiros* and *fluminenses*, and the physical presence of the Regent himself — alongside troops, by the way —, in his famous voyage to

²⁶Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, *Pernambuco: da Independência à Confederação do Equador*, Recife, Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife/Secretaria de Cultura, Turismo e Esportes/Fundação de Cultura Cidade do Recife, 1998 [1979], p. 33; Antonio Joaquim de Mello, *Biografia de Gervásio Pires Ferreira*, Recife, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco/Editora Universitária, 1973 [1895], p. 43-52; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 65-112; Denis Bernardes, *O patriotismo constitucional*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp, Recife, UFPE, 2006.

²⁷Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, *op. cit.* p. 39; Antonio Joaquim de Mello, *op. cit.* p. 65-77; Marcus J. M. Carvalho, “Cavalcantis e Cavalgados: a formação das alianças políticas em Pernambuco, 1817-1824”, *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 18, n. 36, São Paulo, 1998, p. 2; Denis Bernardes, *op. cit.*, p. 499-610; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *op. cit.* p. 83-84; *Segarrega*, n. 13, July 13th, 1822.

the mining region, facilitated the joining of Minas to the *pedrino* project.²⁸ In Pernambuco, this adhesion happened in a more conflicting way.

According to Marcus J.M. de Carvalho, “it does not matter if the head of the kingdom is in Rio or in Lisbon — or even in both places — for as long as the provincial autonomy, conquered through the Porto Revolution, was maintained”, when it comes to the “federalist” tendency enrooted in the Gervásio government.²⁹ Denis Bernardes, author of the most vertical study on the *gervasista* board, stated that the basis of his government program was to look “in the control Project of local budgets, in a new taxation policy, in the reorganization of all public partitions depending, also, on conducting public selections in order to fill out public positions, on the publication of budgets and expenditures, on the control of the armed forces, on the expansion of primary education and on the creation of an academy (University)”.³⁰ In short, both authors agree that an extensive provincial autonomy has been one of the cornerstones of the Gervásio government.

The Gervásio board was overthrown by repeated riots, all led by emissaries from Rio de Janeiro. The first of these emissaries, Antônio de Meneses Drumond, had arrived to Recife in February 1822. He was directly linked to the ministry headed by Bonifácio. Their mission was to promote the adhesion of the *gervasista* board to the Prince Regent, who, from the *dia do Fico* (I’ll stay Day), directly affronted the Courts.³¹ Luring local troops, Drumond, on June 1, 1822, attempted to make the provincial government recognize the “Prince Royal as regent and independent Executive Power [...] without restriction”. According to the minute in which the incident was recorded, the leaders of the protestors “were followed by some young men in tail coats, some military ones and by a lot of barefoot colored people”. Gervásio, after arriving late to the courtroom, protested, saying that “it was all a true riot and not a regular act of the people; that the congress consisted of very few individuals who could represent the people, even the ones from the Village, much less the ones from the Province”.³² At the end, Gervásio was forced to sign the request not to cause a commotion in military. The first self-government experience of Pernambuco had its days counted. Soon, there would be the end of this administrative experience, which Denis Bernardes defined as a mandate legitimated “by an electoral process institutionally defined

²⁸Cecília Helena Salles de Oliveira, *Astúcia liberal*, São Paulo, Universidade São Francisco, 1999, p. 61-106; Wlamir Silva, *Liberais e o povo: a construção da hegemonia liberal-moderna na Província de Minas Gerais (1830-1834)*, São Paulo, Hucitec, 2009, p. 73-103; Lara Lis Carvalho e Souza, *Pátria coroada: o Brasil como corpo político autônomo (1780-1830)*, São Paulo, Editora da Unesp, 1999, p. 237-256.

²⁹Marcus J. M. de Carvalho, “Cavalcantis e Cavalgados: a formação das alianças políticas em Pernambuco, 1817-1824”, *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 18, n. 36, São Paulo, 1998, p. 5.

³⁰Denis Bernardes, “Pernambuco e o Império: sem Constituição soberana não há união”, *In: István Jancsó (org.), Brasil: formação do Estado e da nação*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Injuí, Unijuí, 2003, p. 240.

³¹*Idem*, *O patriotismo constitucional*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Recife, UFPE, 2006, p. 613. Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 88-90.

³²*Apud* Antônio Joaquim de Mello, *Biografia de Gervásio Pires Ferreira*, Recife, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco/Editora Universitária, 1973 [1895], p. 78-86.

according to the political standards referenced to the constitutionalization of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve”.³³

Sovereignty of the nation according to Lopes Gama — the opposition to the federalist conception (July 1822)

Let us return to describing the epilogue of the *gervasista* board into power. The news that a Brazilian Constituent had been called arrived a little before July 5. Curiously though, the news did not come through official channels, but from the press instead through both whole journals and loose pages. Besides the newspapers, emissaries from Rio de Janeiro also arrived to spread the news and to co-opt the local population and the troops. It is necessary to mention an important character in our analysis: Bernardo José da Gama, Lopes Gama’s cousin, who would become, by imperial nomination made after the dissolution of the Constituent in 1823, the Viscount of Goiana. Since it is not possible, as for the beginning of the 1820s, to properly establish the dialogue between Fray Miguel and his brother, Caetano Maria Lopes Gama, the future Viscount of Maranguape, it is prudent to focus on his cousin, with whom the political articulation established in 1822 is undeniable.³⁴

Born in Pernambuco and graduated in Coimbra, Bernardo José da Gama had already held the position of judge, outside Maranhão (1808–1812), and of magistrate of Sabará, Minas Gerais (1815–1818). With the aggravation of being from Pernambuco, the joaninas’ authorities suspected he had connections to the revolutionaries of 1817 and had him deported to Lisbon. At the shores of the Tagus River, he was a magistrate of crime matters. With the revolution of 1820, he was finally free to return to his political activities.³⁵ In Rio, he allied to sectors of the Chamber of Rio de Janeiro, notably the Masonic group led by Gonçalves Ledo. Bernardo José da Gama was one of the people who signed the petition by a Brazilian Constituent.³⁶ Before the Masonic group of Gonçalves Ledo being repressed and expatriated by Bonifácio, on November 2, 1822, the future Viscount of Goiana had already asserted his political influence in Court, for he had been nominated president of the Court of Appeal of Pernambuco. It was a new institution created by the *bonifacista* ministry to affirm its policy of confrontation with the Courts on the matter of the existence of superior courts of law in Brazil. He arrived in Recife on July 2.

³³Denis Bernardes, *O patriotismo constitucional*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Recife, UFPE, 2006, p. 610.

³⁴In 1822, Caetano Maria Lopes Gama was in the province of Alagoas as ombudsman of the county of Penedo, having been elected president of the governing board of the same province. In 1823, still in Alagoas, he was elected constituent congressman. Having a very plausible articulation with the families in Pernambuco, the documentation consulted did not allow us to establish how this connection happened. Check out Sébastien Auguste Sisson, *Galeria dos Brasileiros Ilustres*, Rio de Janeiro, Litografia de Sébastien Auguste Sisson (editor), 1861; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, *Dicionário biográfico de pernambucanos célebres*, Recife, Fundação de Cultura da Cidade do Recife, 1981 [1882].

³⁵*Idem, Ibidem*, p. 212-222.

³⁶Renato Lopes Leite, *Republicanos e libertários*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2000, p. 97-159; Cecília Helena Salles de Oliveira, *A astúcia Liberal*, Bragança Paulista, EdUSF, p. 197-255.

The troops of Pernambuco, who were involved in the Revolution of 1817 and who had been deported to fight the Cisplatin War, were by his side. The mission of Bernardo José da Gama was to achieve the adherence of Pernambuco to the convocation of the Brazilian Constituent.³⁷

The individual trajectory of Bernardo José da Gama reflects the complexity of the period. Related to the *fluminense* Masonry led by Gonçalves Ledo, he survived the repression of Bonifácio because he was already in Pernambuco. Elected constituent congressman in 1823, he witnessed the exile of the powerful Andrada. After the dissolution of the Constituent, he was awarded the title of Viscount. It is necessary to keep in mind that projects would arrive to Rio de Janeiro from several fronts, and not from a single faction. Emissaries sent by Bonifácio would land there, as would emissaries sent by the chamber of Rio. Rival groups, therefore. The masons wanted the direct vote as a rule in the elections that would choose the new congressmen. The proposal by Bonifácio, which regulated the direct election, won by two degrees.³⁸

According to the minute in which the incident was recorded, the leaders of the protestors “were followed by some young men in tail coats, some military ones and by a lot of barefoot colored people”

Still about the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, it was felt that the proposal was not directed at the provincial government. It was about a call from the Chamber of Rio de Janeiro directed to the various municipalities and their chambers. This way, the chamber of Rio de Janeiro (the Court was not a monolithic political force at the time³⁹) would rule over the provincial government as the organ that would represent the will of the peoples, which greatly annoyed the members of the board of Gervásio, as is explicit in the minute of July 5. The members of the board complained that the convening of the Brazilian Constituent was a serious issue, since such call would draw away the power of attorney that the congressmen, in Lisbon, had as representatives of the nation. They believed that such a serious matter should be decided by the will of the people. “Nothing shall be

³⁷Denis Bernardes, *O patriotismo constitucional*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Recife, UFPE, 2006, p. 613-614; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 97-99.

³⁸The moment he arrived at Pernambuco, Bernardo José da Gama represented the ephemeral alliance between the chamber of Rio de Janeiro/masonry (group led by Ledo) with the bonifacista ministry. Renato Lopes Leite, *Republicanos e libertários*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2000, p. 97-159; Cecília Helena Salles de Oliveira, *A astúcia Liberal*, Bragança Paulista, EdUSF, p. 233-271. The most complete work on the participation of masonry in the Independence process is from Alexandre Mansur Barata, *Maçonaria, sociabilidade ilustrada & independência do Brasil, 1790-1822*, Juiz de Fora, Editora da UFJF; São Paulo, Annablume, 2006.

³⁹Reviewing the work of Cabral de Mello (*op. cit.*) Andréia Slemian makes the following criticism: “the Pernambuco historian tends to see Rio de Janeiro as a monolithic and homogeneous political force”, p. 129-132.

done without hearing all the peoples from the province”, claimed Joaquim José de Miranda, one of the members of the board, “after the compromised elected their parish of voters, so then together, in the Cathedral of Olinda, they express their will”.⁴⁰

Let us emphasize three central aspects of the minute of the works of the *gervasista* board from July 5. First, members of the government understood that the will of the people was embodied in the province and verified according to the electoral process. Second, the board tried to relegate the two important decisions — the election of prosecutors for the State Council and for congressmen for a Constituent — to an electoral college. At last, let us note that, in the opinion of the members of the board, to convene a legislature in Brazil was to put an end to the union of the United Kingdom. They used to think that two legislatures could not coexist in the same nation. The “federalists” from Pernambuco would then expose a unitary conception of the central legislature. The decentralization, through this approach, would reside in administrative rather than in legislative matters.⁴¹

In this turbulent context, Lopes Gama debuted his prolific career as a political journalist. The first copy of the newspaper *O Conciliador Nacional* came to light on July 4, 1822. Lopes Gama did not yet mention the convocation of the Constituent. Despite not mentioning the news coming from Rio de Janeiro, it is likely that Bernardo José da Gama had ordered Lopes Gama the starting of a journal so that, upon his visit, he would have a media vehicle to express his ideas. In this first issue of *O Conciliador*, a clear alignment of Lopes Gama to the ideas brought by his cousin was already visible. Three months later, he would already perfectly converge his ideas to the interests of this relative.⁴² Considering that this first issue of the journal was in fact a letter of intentions from the writer, let us rigorously analyze it.

The writer began his text with the classical idea of the coevals newspapers: that the duty of all good citizens is to drive the public opinion toward social happiness. Up next, he states that the Constitution is “founded on the natural laws, which may well be called political axioms”. The exposure of these aphorisms is justified “by not being, some, well understood by the vulgar”. At last the two axioms have been cited: (1) “*The sovereignty of the Nation lies essentially in the same Nation*”; and (2) “*Every citizen is free*” [italics by Lopes Gama]. The explanation goes on to say that remarks about the first concept — Sovereignty of the Nation — will be made in this initial edition. About the second idea — “every

⁴⁰Apud Antônio Joaquim de Mello, *Biografia de Gervásio Pires Ferreira*, Recife, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco/Editora Universitária, 1973 [1895], p. 108. The minute from July 5 is complete between the pages 106 and 111.

⁴¹*Idem, Ibidem*, p. 111.

⁴²It was concluded that the ideas of José Bernardo da Gama were highly convergent with the political campaign of *O Conciliador Nacional*, analyzing two leaflets of his own: *Recordações ao governo da província de Pernambuco, por um seu compatriota*, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1822; *Memória sobre as principais causas, por que deve o Brasil reassumir os seus direitos, e reunir as suas províncias*, Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Nacional, 1822.

citizen is free” — Lopes Gama must have had it written in the second issue, which did not withstand time.⁴³

What did the Benedictine monk understand by “Sovereignty of the Nation”? First of all, it is clear his concern about reversing the classical logic of the Old Regime, which postulated that the sovereignty resided in the Monarch. Since the newspaper intended to stir the direction of the public opinion and the “vulgar”, it was necessary to announce the advent of a new era in a quite clear and didactic way. “It is not the kings who make the Nations”, he writes, “but the consensus of the Nations which makes them kings [...] A Nation without a king may be very well ruled, but a king may not exist nor rule [sic] without a Nation”.

Friar Miguel continues his explanation, emphasizing two ideas: “1. That one cannot admit Sovereignty in one Province only, while connected, as a part of a Nation, and less in a city, village, &c”. He justifies this warning “because there are men who are persuaded on good faith, that the National Sovereignty exists, for example, in the Província da Beira: others, in the people of Lisbon, others in Pernambuco, and some finally up to the vil- lage of Itambé &c. &c”. This way, Lopes Gama gave a direct message to the rising Pernambuco federalism, which sought to affirm the broad provin- cial autonomy. In a time when the political areas were not well defined, he would abstract the province as a decision-making center of power. Lopes Gama makes this very explicit in his second caveat: “2. That after united all the Congressmen in the Court, only from the Congress should emanate the civil and criminal laws, the ways by which the Provinces shall be governed, the number, quality of the public employees etc.”⁴⁴

On July 6, the chamber of Olinda expressed its opinion on the matter. It did not know of the “need of convening a Representative and Legislative Assembly in Brazil for better dealing business and interests of Brazil”. But

Since this is a matter of the Province, then the Province is to decide; therefore, this Senate is of the opinion that your Excellences be deign to convene a Constituent General Assembly of this Province, consisting of all the Chambers of the Province itself, or by the Prosecutors of those who could not attend.⁴⁵

The vereadores from Olinda represented, therefore, the provincial autono- mism taken to its last consequences. They made up a sector of the *gervasismo* that conveyed extreme proposals. Perhaps this idea, mooted in the Chamber of Olinda, of convening a provincial Constituent led Evaldo Cabral de Mello to formulate his hypothesis that the federalism of Pernambuco posited that “once

⁴³O *Conciliador Nacional*, n. 1, July 4, 1822.

⁴⁴*Idem*, *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵*Apud* Antônio Joaquim de Mello, *Biografia de Gervásio Pires Ferreira*, Recife, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco/Editora Universitária, 1973 [1895], p. 112. See also Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 98.

undone the unity of the Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves, the sovereignty reverted to the provinces, where in fact it resided.”⁴⁶

In this way, the complexity of the political statements is clear. As observed before, the *gervasista* board questioned the Brazilian Constituent criticizing the idea of the concurrent legislatures within a same nation. The chamber of Olinda, in turn, defended a Constituent for Pernambuco, which would present the same contradiction already defined, but would favor the establishing of an autonomous provincial government. The policies proposed were the outcome of the circumstances. The solution for a provincial Constituent never would have been cogitated when the autonomist group had a good relation with the Courts of Lisbon. The *gervasistas* did not see Pernambuco being an administrative unity within the Portuguese nation as a problem, as long as they would profit from a large autonomy. The convening of a provincial Constituent was only conjectured when the relations of the board with the congress of Lisbon deteriorated. Besides refusing to receive the Portuguese troops, the *gervasista* board supported the *Fico* and questioned the idea of withdrawing the superior courts from Brazil, that is, they defied the Courts. According to Denis Bernardes, despite the various disagreements that took place, this board was institutionally supported in the Courts. Thus, by weakening their relationship, the board made way for the action of the emissaries from Rio.⁴⁷

Besides refusing to receive the Portuguese troops, the gervasista board supported the Fico and questioned the idea of withdrawing the superior courts from Brazil, that is, they defied the Courts

Evaldo Cabral de Mello defended that one of the axes of Pernambuco federalism was the understanding that, in the United Kingdom crisis, the sovereignty would start residing in the province (with, at most, a provincial Constituent). This notion, however, seems to have lost space to another one that was gradually being built: the sovereignty would reside in a new nation, Brazil, that would have a defined Center, Rio de Janeiro.

A riot, on August 3, 1822, turned out sealing the adhesion of Pernambuco to the Brazilian Constituent.⁴⁸ The *gervasista* boards was deposed on September 16, 1822, as a result of one more riot orchestrated with the help of the local elite by agents coming from Rio's Court. Lopes Gama was one of these agents who

⁴⁶Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 14 e contracapa.

⁴⁷Denis Bernardes, *O patriotismo constitucional*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp; Recife, UFPE, 2006, p. 612-613.

⁴⁸Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *op. cit.*, p. 102-103; Antônio Joaquim de Mello, *Biografia de Gervásio Pires Ferreira*, Recife, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco/Editora Universitária, 1973 [1895], p. 119-129.

helped, through the press, to disseminate the Project of a Brazilian Unit.⁴⁹ Unlike the *gervasista* board, strictly from Recife, the governing board that supported this Project, the board of the *matutos*, was, apart from Paula Gomes and José Mariano (secretary), composed of a large number of rural landowners: Manuel Inácio Bezerra de Melo, João Nepomuceno Carneiro da Cunha, and Francisco de Paula Gomes dos Santos (Northern forest zone); and the president Afonso de Albuquerque Maranhão, Francisco Pais Barreto, and Francisco de Paula Cavalcanti de Albuquerque (Southern forest zone).⁵⁰

Agony of the United Kingdom and formulation of Brazil as a nation — the vision of Lopes Gama (July 1822 to October 1823)

The title of the journal analyzed here is *O Conciliador Nacional*. There is no doubt that Lopes Gama intended to *a priori* reconcile the Portuguese Nation. First, it defended the nation by means of two united kingdoms, each with its own executive. Then, the union of these kingdoms would be established through two separate legislatures.⁵¹ In fact, during the second semester of 1822, the projects for this union were much more effective in the field of discursive practices than in the institutional field. As well noted by Antonio Carlos de Andrada in the Courts, on July 20, in a very realistic political tone, “the South of Brazil is almost unaware of the authority of the Congress; what for to legislate for a country that does not obey?”⁵² If the union between Rio and Lisbon seemed doomed to failure, the fate of the territories between Bahia and Pará, however, was still undefined. Pernambuco is located right in the middle of these two Portuguese bases in America. This way, it is noticeable that the United Kingdom was, institutionally speaking, a dying project. Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon no longer communicated. The uncertainty would be, therefore, in other American territories.

Although, institutionally, the United Kingdom no longer existed from the convening of the Brazilian Constituent, Lopes Gama preached the union of the great Portuguese family until December 1822. On July 4, he argued that the permanence of the Prince as the executive Power in Brazil was “the only way of having an always connected Great Brazilian–Portuguese Family.”⁵³ On September 4, he questioned: “Why is Portugal to lose their Brazil? Why is Brazil to lose his Portugal? Isn’t it possible to sustain the Great Family connection for the happiness of both worlds?” In the sequence, he would postulate: “among the peoples who want to be friends, morgados are not allowed. Let there be

⁴⁹Cf. *O Conciliador Nacional*, n. 4, September 4, 1822.

⁵⁰Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra Independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2004, p. 113.

⁵¹Lopes Gama made no reference to the idea of the three legislatures — a Brazilian, a Portuguese, and a general one —, as was formulated by Antônio Carlos de Andrada in the Courts. For the project of Antônio Carlos de Andrada in the Courts, cf. Márcia Regina Berbel, “A Constituição espanhola no mundo luso-americano (1820–23)”, *Revista de Índias*, v. LXVIII, 2008, p. 243.

⁵²*Apud* Márcia Regina Berbel, *A nação como artefato*, São Paulo, Hucitec/Fapesp, 1999, p. 184.

⁵³*O Conciliador Nacional*, n. 1, July 4, 1822.

union: we judge it of the most decisive advantage: but let there be mutual independence, equally”⁵⁴

Still on September 4, he would criticize the attitude of the Portuguese Courts, but claimed yet for “Union and National Integrity”. He hoped that the Congress would realize their mistakes. He dreamt of a European Portuguese uttering a conciliatory speech, as follows: “Your ships and ours, decorated with the same flag, cover the seas. [...] Let there be in Brazil an Executive Power, and that this is [...] the Serene Prince Royal: let here be a Legislative Assembly, and that this, according to ours, shall work on the means of four mutual independence and of our perpetual Union”. He kept on referring to the Portuguese as “brothers”. Showing an extremely wide range of feelings of belonging, he asks: “what shall Pernambuco do? What shall the whole Brazil do?” He kept on talking, on the one hand, of the “glorious annals of Brazil” and, on the other hand, about the “heroic descendants of the Vieiras, Vidaes, Camarões and Dias”. He has finalized, in a conciliatory tone, saying that “our European brothers [...] are not to blame for some sinister intentions with which, some congressmen in Portugal, affiliating to political committees, and preponderance in the Congress, have been wanting to subjugate Brazil”⁵⁵

There are, in the speech of Lopes Gama, three feelings of belonging. He is, at the same time, from Pernambuco, descendant of the Vieiras, Vidaes, Camarões, and Dias; he is a Brazilian; and he is also a part of the “Great Portuguese Family”. When referring to the “Great Family”, one realizes it refers to the Portuguese family, in which Brazilians and Portuguese are brothers. Brazil, however, is no longer just an administrative unit within the Portuguese world, but a well-defined political space, which should be governed by an Executive and a Legislative of its own. When referring to the nation, however, one realizes this is the one referred to as “Great Family”. He still considered, at that point, the congressmen in Lisbon as representatives of the nation. The idea of the United Kingdom, born in 1815, under the influence of the Holy Alliance, seemed to still have credibility. The United Kingdom was not, however, forged in the *joanina* Court and in the Congress of Vienna. These were now two constitutional kingdoms, each with its own legislative and executive powers. Although this political arrangement was institutionally dying, it was still used on discursive fields. The ideal union still echoed in public spaces.

On September 16, Lopes Gama stated that “the righteous movements of Rio de Janeiro, and other provinces” proclaim the “union” and “Just don’t want to be under dependency and the mentoring of Portugal”. Shortly after, he writes:

We will not cease recommending the union, the good intelligence, and the harmony of the Peoples. Let us forget domestic disagreements, let us all be friends, uniting a tone will, when it comes to saving the whole family. Let us shout out to Portugal, and to the world, that we want the union with our European

⁵⁴O *Conciliador Nacional*, n. 4, September 4, 1822.

⁵⁵*Idem*, *Ibidem*.

brothers; what we don't want are the shackles the Congress want to give us: we want permanent laws, but made here by an Assembly we trust: and at last, that our Lord The Prince Royal be our Regent, who, hearing our cries, has sworn to be our perpetual defender, and we his.⁵⁶

On November 19, after the arrival of the news about the Cry of Ipiranga in Recife, Lopes Gama explained what he understood by "independence". He made clear that the rumors that independence meant republic were untrue. False rumors, according to him, were saying that the Green tie with the inscription "independency or death" was the end of the throne, the church, the religious services, and so on. The green tie would be, according to these gossips, "invention of the free *Pedreiros*, who want to renovate the scene of 817 [sic]". If the Prince Regent created this tie, how could it be the meaning of a Republic? "Independence of the Congress of Lisbon [...] loving their brothers from Europe", claimed the Benedictine monk. Then, he would say Brazilians "just don't want to live under the oppression of the old metropolis". Finally, he affirmed:

We do want the — independence — of half a dozen factious, who, arrogating to themselves all the powers, known in society, have arrested and coerced Our Beloved King, D. João VI [...] We want, at last, the — independence — of our business, belongings [sic], and requirements, so that we don't find ourselves in the harsh reality of having to cross two thousand leagues of the Atlantic.⁵⁷

Where, then, lays the union of the Great Portuguese Family for Lopes Gama? If the Legislative Power was independent and so were the Judiciary and Executive powers, where was this union? Institutionally, Lopes Gama has not made any arrangement to establish this union, but kept on preaching it. The only bond explicit in the quoted passage is the dynastic one: "Our Beloved King, D. João VI".

Since Lopes Gama did not formulate concrete proposals to the union, it is necessary to investigate when the defense of the union of the kingdom ideal disappears from his writings. When does he stop using words such as "Great Family", "brothers", and "union"? These expressions fail to appear in his writings after the acclamation of the emperor, taken in Recife, on December 8, 1822. It is believed here that the disappearance of these words thereafter is symptomatic.

The newspaper *O Conciliador Nacional* reported in detail the acclaim ceremony: "flags were up in all Fortresses, and ships, and a Royal ovation was given with 101 gunshots". At 8 in the morning, the first- and second-class troops started marching and posted themselves in the Field of treasury. At the site, it was "innumerable association of citizens of all classes". "As soon as the hand kissing would stop", everybody "made way to the *Paços do Conselho*". "The room was magnificently adorned, and under a rather rich throne [sic], the Portrait of Our Beloved One, and Immortal Emperor". After

⁵⁶*O Conciliador Nacional*, n. 5, 16 de setembro de 1822.

⁵⁷*O Conciliador Nacional*, n. 8, November 19, 1822.

the service, held by Friar Caneca, there was a *Te Deum*, in which Lopes Gama prayed “showing the Just reasons for our Independency, and the need for acclamation of THE LORD D. PEDRO I, CONSTITUTIONAL EMPEROR, AND PERPETUOUS DEFENDER OF BRAZIL [...] In the three successive nights, there was general lighting, being noticeable that the lights held out to the suburbs of Recife”. In these three nights, there was also theater, “being great the contest of all classes of Citizens”.⁵⁸

Where, then, lays the union of the Great Portuguese Family for Lopes Gama? If the Legislative Power was independent and so were the Judiciary and Executive powers, where was this union?

It has been seen that, for Lopes Gama, the sovereignty resided in the nation. When acclaiming the Emperor, the nation granted him part of this original sovereignty. The other part of the sovereignty was delegated to the Constituent Assembly. In fact, this formula would be enshrined in Article 11 of the Constitution of 1824: “the Representatives of the Brazilian nation are the Emperor and the Assembly”. If there was a moment of transformation in the speech of Lopes Gama, in order to give Brazil the status of nation, this transformation happened after the acclamation.

This inflection in the speech of Lopes Gama corroborates the studies of Iara Lis Carvalho e Souza, who attempted to verify “which power, discursive, festive and everyday networks strengthen the notion of Brazil as an autonomous political body”. For her, these networks forged “its first sovereignty was united to the first emperor of the country”. The “notion of contract-emperor-party” was crucial in the construction of this new conception of sovereignty. Finally, the author stresses that “this construction of the figure of the ruler brings about a whole network of relationships captained by the chambers in Brazil”.⁵⁹ In Pernambuco, the chamber of Recife was the first one to promote the acclamation of the Emperor. This proved to be fertile ground for the incubation of projects coming from Rio de Janeiro. The mechanisms that would check the will of the nation (or even which nation was being issued) were not yet defined. It was observed, previously, that the *gervasista* board believed that the voter of all chambers in the province should meet in the capital to manifest the will of the people, whenever this was necessary. However, from the convening of the Constituent Assembly, another mechanism seems to have prevailed in Pernambuco. The direct

⁵⁸O *Conciliador Nacional*, n. 9, January 23, 1823 (original text capitalized).

⁵⁹Iara Lis Carvalho e Souza, *Pátria coroada: o Brasil como corpo político autônomo (1780-1830)*, São Paulo, Editora da Unesp, 1999, p. 17.

consultation to the chambers had become the way by which the center, Rio de Janeiro, would communicate to the other parts. This communication channel was established especially when the provincial leadership was hostile to the orders coming from the Court.

From the acclamation, *O Conciliador Nacional* no longer intended to reconcile with the Portuguese nation, its initial goal. A new nation, Brazil, was already visualized by Lopes Gama after the emperor was acclaimed in Recife. On May 31, 1823, enthusiastically heralding the installation of the Brazilian Constituent, Lopes Gama would write, addressing the congressmen: “Distinguished Representatives of a People, who swore to be free, beloved fellow citizens, who now gathered in this sacred precinct, represent the Brazilian Sovereignty”. In the sequence, he stated that in the “Constituents resides, collectively and essentially, the Sovereignty of the Nation”. Finally, the oath the congressmen were forced to take in the opening of the first session was praised. Especially the part that required them not to “admit, with any Nation, any other Bond of union or federation”.⁶⁰

In October 1823, when “federalists” and “unitarians” almost got down to it, Lopes Gama drew a reflection on the term “civil war”. He was very concerned with popular commotions in the province because “intrigues among the Brazilians in order to disunite us” were being sown. Lopes Gama distinguishes two kinds of civil war: (1) total anarchy, all against all; and (2) between two political parties. After citing several examples of civil war throughout history, it was concluded that “from any source that is Born civil war (says Mr. Gondon) it is always fatal to the People who do it”.⁶¹

In short, Lopes Gama preached that the nation should never dissolve. A national consensus around the Constituent and the emperor should be established.⁶² Any division within the nation would be disastrous. Within the United Kingdom arrangement (Portugal and Brazil), Lopes Gama proved to be a sharp critic of the group that Valentim Alexandre called “integrationist”. It is about a group of Portuguese congressmen in the Courts of Lisbon that could see a united, indivisible, Portuguese nation, with only one Center of Power, Lisbon.⁶³ Márcia Berbel said the “integrationists” used to exten “the need for full centralization: Executive (kings and ministers), Legislative (the Courts) and Judiciary (the maximum instances for judgements)”.⁶⁴ Any proposal indicating political divisions within this united nation would be frowned upon and tagged, pejoratively, federalist.

⁶⁰*O conciliador Nacional*, n. 18, May 31, 1823.

⁶¹*O conciliador Nacional*, n. 36, October 4, 1823.

⁶²Adam Przeworski establishes the consensus as a basic feature of the Western representative system in “Consensus and Conflict in Western Thought on Representative Government”. Revised paper prepared for the 2006 Beijing Forum, 2006, p. 25.

⁶³Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime português*, Porto, Edições Afrontamento, 1993.

⁶⁴Márcia Regina Berbel, “A Constituição espanhola no mundo luso-americano (1820-23)”, *Revista de Índias*, v. LXVIII, 2008, p. 239.

In 1822, Lopes Gama, supporting the Project of Rio de Janeiro, had heavily criticized the “integrationists”. However, from 1823 on, in the case of the Brazilian nation, his speech referred to clearly integrationists concepts: a center (Rio) and a nation (Brazil).

If it is undeniable that the construction of a unitary national state had decisive effect on policy formulation and articulation of installed units in Rio de Janeiro; it is also undeniable that this project can only become successful with the decisive participation of provincial political actors. Friar Miguel was a provincial politician, of strictly provincial performance, who helped putting together a large network of coordination at national level, capable of founding the Brazilian unitary state. The performance of the elite — theme yet little investigated, especially regarding Pernambuco — in the development of the unitary Project needs further research.

In relation to Friar Miguel, in the subsequent and dramatic outcomes that the deployment of the unitary Project had in Pernambuco — notably, the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the Grant of the Constitution and the Confederation of Ecuador — he would once again have a fundamental role. Lopes Gama, after the defeat of the confederates, was encharged by Lima e Silva (the one responsible for the enforcement), on October 2, 1824, with controlling the press of the province.⁶⁵ Therefore, he became, responsible for the closing of the free press after the military defeat of the Confederation of Ecuador. As the first principal of the *Liceu Pernambucano*, position held in 1825, he ordered that “no young men would be enrolled in classes of Rhetoric and Philosophy, [...] if they would not present to the Principal of Studies the certificate to attest they had sworn to the Constitution of the Empire”.⁶⁶ Next to death sentences, arrests, and stealing assets, it was necessary to win over hearts and minds in favor of the unitary Project, work diligently exercised by Lopes Gama.

⁶⁵Registro de Provisões 17/2 (provisões, portarias, editais e bandos) — Arquivo Público Estadual Jordão Emerenciano (APEJE). See the following brochure, published in 1825 by the controlled typography of Lopes Gama, having been the authorship of the brochure attributed to himself: Reinaldo Xavier Carneiro Pessoa (org.), *Diálogo entre um Corcunda, um Constitucional e um Federativo do Equador: um raro e curioso documento*, São Paulo, 1975.

⁶⁶Instrução Pública, vol. I, p. 10 (verso) — APEJE. Cf. also Olívio Montenegro, *Memórias do ginásio pernambucano*, Recife, Imprensa Oficial, 1943, p. 9-10.