

English and Irish Naval Officers in the War for Brazilian Independence

By Brian Vale



View of Rio de Janeiro 1799
(Garneray)

In the literal sense they were mercenaries, but that word acquired distasteful associations in the twentieth century and is best avoided. These men simply sought to earn a living. Since the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had lasted for a generation, there were plenty of people in Europe who knew of no other occupation or had no other expectations.

South American Independence and the Sea

The Napoleonic Wars dealt a devastating blow to the Spanish Empire in the Americas. The arrest of the Spanish Royal Family in 1808 and the French occupation of Spain produced a maelstrom of revolution and led to the appointment of local juntas at home and abroad to rule in the name of the absent king. In the Americas, the juntas acquired a taste for self-government and, led by radicals and military strongmen, successively replaced the Royalist administrations with republican regimes. Argentina was in the vanguard of this movement. By 1814 it had formed an independent republic, and in 1818 Argentine troops crossed the Andes and liberated Chile. Peru was then invaded by sea and, in 1821, became an independent republic. When Simón Bolívar secured the territories to the north, in 1825, Spanish South America was free from Spanish rule.

Territorial armies and land campaigns played a vital role in securing independence, but command of the sea was also crucial. While the Spanish Navy ruled the waves it was impossible to expel the Royalists from the River Plate, capture the coastal fortresses of Chile, launch a successful seaborne attack on Peru, or prevent the arrival of reinforcements from Europe. The creation of local navies by the patriot forces was therefore a priority.

Fortunately the River Plate provinces, Chile and Peru each had access to a naval base – Buenos Aires, Valparaíso and Callao, the port of Lima. While suitable ships and equipment were readily available, manpower was more difficult to come by. In spite of its extensive coastline, South America was a continent of mines, cattle ranches and plantations. There was little in the way of maritime tradition and few people had any knowledge of the sea. The patriot authorities were faced with the dilemma of finding the sailors they needed to man and fight their ships.

The solution was partially to be found in Britain and Ireland. At the close of the Napoleonic Wars, the Royal Navy was effectively demobilised. Within a few years, the number of ships in commission had fallen from 713 to 134 and the number of men from 140,000 to a mere 23,000. Of the navy's 5,264 commissioned officers, 90% were unemployed and eking out a living on half pay, while at the level below there were legions of former Midshipmen and Masters' Mates who received no salary whatsoever. Among these thousands it was not difficult to find officers and men eager for the pay and prize money offered by a foreign war.

In 1818, the newly liberated state of Chile sent a special recruiting mission to London in search of men and materials. This proved a successful undertaking, and within two years, the new Chilean Navy could boast fifty officers and 1,600 men, the majority in each category originating from Britain and Ireland.. The commander-in-chief was one of the naval heroes of the age – a Scottish naval officer, Thomas Lord Cochrane. Cochrane was a political radical; a military genius at sea but a quarrelsome nuisance in port. Within two years, Cochrane and his men had swept the Spanish Navy from the Pacific and had helped to secure the independence of both Chile and Peru. Inspired by the Chilean example, when Argentina went to war with Brazil in 1825 over control of the northern bank of the River Plate, the country also toyed with the idea of recruiting officers and men in London. This proved unnecessary as, from the beginning, cheap, available land, high wages and a temperate climate had made the River Plate ideal for European settlement. The Argentine authorities found, as they had during the war of independence, that there were already enough European immigrants with naval experience to man the new navy it had created under the command of the Irish-born William Brown.



Brazil 1821-6

The Case of Brazil

Across the Andes in Portuguese Brazil, the impact of the Napoleonic Wars resulted in differing outcomes. In 1807, the timid and corpulent Regent of Portugal, Dom João, had avoided capture by Napoleon by moving his court and government lock, stock and barrel to the Portuguese colony of Brazil. Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Portuguese Empire and the country boomed as a result. By 1815, Brazil had been raised to the status of a kingdom – equal to Portugal in the Braganza dominions. However as a result of the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, King João VI, as he was now known, had been forced to return to Portugal, leaving his son, the charismatic 23 year-old Prince Pedro, as Regent. As soon as the king had returned to Lisbon, the Portuguese attempted to turn back the clock and reduce Brazil to colonial subservience, provoking anger and widespread resistance throughout the country. A revolt was masterminded by Brazil's Chief Minister, a tough 58 year-old scientist turned politician called José Bonifácio de

Andrada e Silva. It was de Andrada who won the impetuous young Prince over to the cause and led the country down the path of independence. On 7 September 1822, Pedro made his historic declaration of 'Independence or Death!' and a fortnight later, he was crowned Emperor of Brazil.

The Brazilian revolt was therefore of quite a different nature from that which had taken place to the southern side of the Andes. In Spanish America, the independence movements had been led by republicans who had swept away the old system and created new institutions run by new men. In Brazil, on the

contrary, the independence movement was led by the heir to the House of Braganza and was monarchical from the beginning. The machinery of government therefore remained intact, as did the naval infrastructure, its personnel and its organisations – the Ministry of Marine, the Navy Board, the Hospital, Academy, and the Dockyard. The Brazilian government promptly provided itself with a fighting force by seizing fourteen warships and fourteen schooners of the Portuguese Navy deployed in Rio de Janeiro and the River Plate.

Independence had not yet conclusively been achieved in Brazil. When Pedro made his declaration in 1822, only the central region around Rio de Janeiro was under Brazilian control; the rest of the country continued to be dominated by Portuguese juntas and troops occupying the towns and the coastal capitals. The most significant of these were Belém, at the mouth of the Amazon; São Luís do Maranhão on the northern coast; and Salvador, capital of the state of Bahia and the site of a great naval arsenal and military garrison. Although under siege by a rag-tag Brazilian army, Salvador was seen as the spring-board for re-conquest and reinforcements were already en route from Portugal.

In Brazil however, there were two factors in the situation which had a familiar ring. As in the Pacific, maritime dominance was crucial. Only by seizing control of the sea could Brazil cut off the flow of reinforcements from Portugal, blockade and expel the enemy garrisons, and make independence a reality. As in Spanish America, there was a critical shortage of naval manpower. Brazil, like Chile and Peru, was a country with no sea-faring population or maritime tradition. Not only was there a lack of local recruits to man the ships which comprised the new Brazilian Navy, but the officers and men who had worked on the vessels which José Bonifácio's government had commandeered in Rio de Janeiro were Portuguese by birth and of doubtful loyalty.

The Brazilian solution was the familiar one of looking to Britain and Ireland for the men it needed. The first recruits, found in Rio de Janeiro, were two young English Sub-lieutenants, William Eyre and George Manson; and three senior officers - an American captain called David Jewitt, Captain Mathias Welch of the Royal Portuguese Navy and Lieutenant John Taylor of HMS *Blossom* who, to the fury of the Admiralty, resigned his commission to become a Brazilian frigate captain. News had also reached Rio de Janeiro that Lord Cochrane's glorious career in the Pacific had ended in bitter squabbles over pay and prize money, and that the commander was looking for a job. Pedro promptly offered him the post of commander-in-chief of the new Brazilian Navy with the rank of First Admiral. Cochrane accepted, and arrived in Rio in March 1823 accompanied by five officers, all of whom were commissioned into the Brazilian service [1] – an Englishman, John Pascoe Grenfell, a Scot, James Shepherd and two Irishmen - Cochrane's flag captain Thomas Sackville Crosbie and Commander Bartholomew Hayden. The nationality of the fifth officer, Lieutenant Stephen Clewley, was not recorded.

The major Brazilian recruiting initiative was, however, carried out in the ports of London and Liverpool in the winter of 1822-1823. Urged on by Brazil's agent in the British capital, General Felisberto Brant, who was receiving alarming reports of the despatch of Portuguese reinforcements, the Government authorised a recruiting campaign and the purchase of huge quantities of arms and naval stores. [2] On 26 December 1822, Brant appointed a compatriot, Antônio Meirelles Sobrinho, as Vice-Consul in Liverpool, where he hoped to source the bulk of the men. Meirelles was told to offer up to £2.60 a month - a figure which compared favourably with the £1.60 paid to Able Seamen in the Royal Navy - and was ordered to raise 150 sailors in as expeditious and clandestine a manner as possible. In London, Brant employed a former Royal Navy officer, James Thompson, as his agent. Thompson was appointed as a Brazilian frigate captain and authorised to find fifty men and five junior officers. [3]

Recruitment in London and Liverpool presented few problems. There were a sufficient number of hardy souls willing to exchange the chilling fogs of the European winter for service in the sun, good pay and prize money. The salary scales of the Brazilian Navy may have been generous for seamen, but for officers they were less so. £8 a month for lieutenants and £5 for sub-lieutenants were only two-thirds of the rates paid in the Royal Navy, but the comparison meant little to men who had long since abandoned all hope of ever serving again under the British flag. Furthermore, the contracts offered by the Brazilian Agent were attractive. Each officer was to sign on for five years - if at the end of that time he remained in the service he would receive an extra 50 per cent in addition to his normal salary; if he returned to Britain he would receive Brazilian half-pay for the rest of his life. Free passages were provided and pay was to commence from the date of embarkation. [4] All the officers recruited by Thompson had previously served in the Royal Navy. Vincent Crofton, Samuel Chester, Francis Clare and Richard Phibbs had been midshipmen but had passed the examination for lieutenant and were appointed as such. The fifth, Benjamin Kelmare, had served with Cochrane in Chile where he had been wounded in the attack on the *Esmeralda*. He was commissioned as a commander. [5]



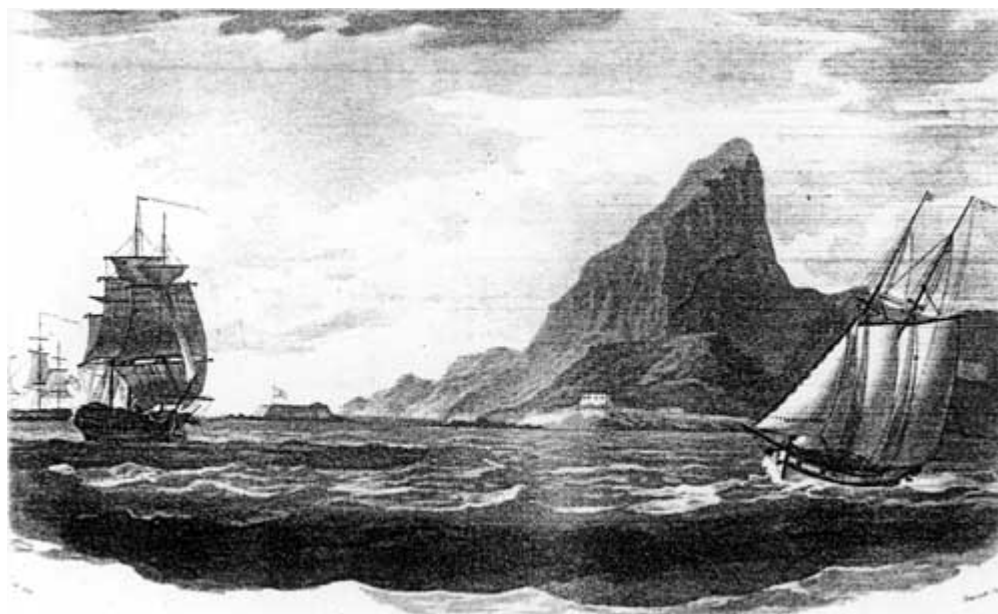
The Emperor Pedro I of Brazil

The first recruiting exercise was a complete success and was conducted in strict secrecy to escape the attentions of the British authorities and the Portuguese consuls. To avoid detection under the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, Brant maintained the fiction that the recruits were settlers emigrating to Brazil, and carefully described the seamen in official documents as 'farm labourers' and the officers as 'overseers'. The authorities must however have colluded in this deception since in dress, language and gait, seamen were such a distinctive group that they could not have been mistaken!

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At the end of January 1823, the first party of 125 men and six officers left Liverpool on the *Lindsays* to be followed three days later by a second group of forty-five seamen who left London on the *Lapwing*. [6] On arrival in Rio, the officers were distributed among the most powerful ships in the squadron [7] while the seamen were signed on and allowed ashore for the first time in six weeks. Within a few hours of exposure to all the pleasures of a foreign port, the majority were gloriously drunk. When some officers complained to the Empress, it is reported that she laughed and said 'Oh, 'tis the custom of the north where brave men come from. The sailors are under my protection; I spread my mantle over them!' [8] Lieutenant Phibbs was found to be medically unfit, but the vacancy was easily filled by the recruitment of John Nicol and William Parker, Mates respectively of the *Lapwing* and the *Lindsays*. [9]

Brant reported on the success of his efforts with undisguised satisfaction. The cost of recruitment in London had been reasonable and the men had accepted monthly pay of just £2. In Liverpool on the other hand, the 'perfidious' Meirelles had ignored his instructions and had not only offered £5.50 a month but, disregarding the need for secrecy, had 'criminally and unnecessarily' signed a contract to that effect. Brant reported hotly that on being reprimanded on the excessive offer of pay, the Vice-Consul had merely retorted that when the men were in Rio and the government could pay what it liked. [10]



The entrance to the Bay of Guanabara showing the Sugar Loaf
(*Naval Chronical*, 1808)

Nevertheless, news of Portuguese reinforcements continued to arrive and when in March, officers of the HMS *Conway*, recently returned from Brazil, reported that the navy was still hampered by a lack of men, Brant determined to launch a second recruiting

campaign. [11] He and Meirelles went into action, and within six weeks had found 265 seamen and fourteen officers, all of whom had previously served in the Royal Navy. This time the officers were engaged through the agency of Captain James Norton, a 34-year-old English officer with aristocratic connections who had fought in the Napoleonic Wars with the Royal Navy and had then served with the East India Company. Norton was commissioned as a frigate captain, while five of his companions - John Rogers Gleddon, George Clarence, Charles Mosselyn, Samuel Gillett and Raphael Wright - became lieutenants. The more junior recruits - Duncan Macreights, George Broom, George Cowan, Ambrose Challes, Charles Watson, William George Inglis, and James Watson - were appointed as sub-lieutenants. [12] Together with officers and seamen, the party also included petty officers and boatswains as well as thirty-one young men who signed on as Master's Mates or Volunteers in the hope of eventually gaining promotion to the quarter deck. They were not disappointed; within a year, almost all had been appointed as sub-lieutenants. [13]

Having staffed and fitted out his ships, in April 1823 Cochrane led the Brazilian Navy out of Rio de Janeiro on a cruise of astonishing audacity and success. In a campaign of only six months he blockaded and expelled a Portuguese army and a greatly superior naval squadron from its base in Bahia, then harried it out of Brazilian waters and across the Atlantic. He then tricked the Portuguese garrisons into evacuating Maranhão and Belém, leaving the northern provinces free to pledge allegiance to the Empire. By the end of the year, the country had rid itself of all Portuguese troops and was, to all intents and purposes, independent. If 1823 was the year of victory for the Brazilian Navy, 1824 was the year of consolidation. Cochrane's men first deployed themselves in preventing any Portuguese counter-invasion, then co-operated with the army in defeating a dangerous north-eastern rebellion known as the Confederation of the Equator. [14]

The War of Independence had also seen a dramatic increase in the size of the Brazilian navy. In 1823, it had comprised just twenty-eight warships and schooners carrying a total of 382 guns. A year later as a result of captures and further purchases it had grown to forty-eight vessels with 620 guns. The expansion was spectacular, but it meant that once again the government was short of junior officers and men. The experience of foreign recruitment in 1823 had however been highly satisfactory. Desertions had been minimal; of the fifty-eight British officers or aspiring officers recruited in England and locally, only thirteen had deserted their posts. Crosbie had left with Cochrane to seek their fortunes in Greece; James Watson and Samuel Gillett had deserted; Joseph Sewell, Thomas Poynton and John Rogers Molloy had been dismissed; Commander Benjamin Kelmare and Sub-lieutenants Blakely and Macreights had quietly

left the service; and Lieutenants Chester, Challes and Mosselyn had died or become invalids, a relatively small proportion in view of the diseases prevalent on overcrowded ships in the tropics.



The Coronation of Pedro I in 1822
(J.B. Debrett)

Encouraged by its initial success, the Brazilian Government mounted a second recruiting campaign in 1825. General Brant in London was ordered to find eight hundred seamen and eighteen officers below the rank of commander and to buy two frigates and two armed steamships. [15]

This time, in spite of pay increases for both officers and men, the task was more difficult. Brant and his new colleague Gameiro managed to find eleven officers, but this time only two - Lieutenant Thomas Haydon and Midshipman Louis Brown, cousin of the Irish-Austrian General Gustavo Brown who had transferred to the Brazilian service - were British, the rest were French or Scandinavian. [16] Seamen were easier to find, and by the end of 1825, about four hundred were on their way - just in time for Brazil's war with Buenos Aires. [17]

The war between Brazil and the United Provinces of the River Plate was fought out by small squadrons in the channels and mud-flats of the river and by individual warships engaging the Argentine privateers who were unleashed along the Brazilian coast. One of the curiosities of the war - in which British trade was a major victim - was that the navies of both sides were substantially commanded and manned by men from England, Ireland and Scotland. On the Brazilian side Commodore Norton, who lost his arm in the process, commanded the inshore squadron in the river and led it to minor victories, backed by ships commanded by Bartholomew Hayden, Francis Clare and William James Inglis. John Pascoe Grenfell, Thomas Craig and George Broom all distinguished themselves as commanders in single ship actions. Not all survived; Lieutenant John Rogers Gleddon and Sub-lieutenant Charles Yell were killed at sea, while Captain James Shepherd died leading a disastrous attack in Patagonia. The navy quietly dispensed with the services of four more, Sub-lieutenant Gore Whitlock Oudesley and Lieutenant David Carter for being drunk during the capture of their corvette in 1827; Lieutenant Vincent Crofton, graphically described by his commanding officer as 'a madman and a drunkard'; and Commander Alexander Reid for sheer incompetence. In 1827, Sub-lieutenant Robert Mackintosh seized control of the schooner he commanded with the help of Argentine prisoners and sailed it to Buenos Aires. There he sold it to the government and pocketed the proceeds.

The war inevitably served as a powerful stimulant to the growth of the Brazilian Navy. By 1828, it was the biggest in the Americas and had grown to one ship-of-the-line, nine frigates, sixty-six smaller warships and two armed steamships carrying 875 guns. The personnel consisted of about 8,400 officers and men, of whom no less than 1,200 were natives of Britain and Ireland. [18] The advantages of this arrangement were clear, yet so too were the problems. There had been, for example, instances of groups

of captured seamen changing sides rather than face unpaid imprisonment. A minor revolution in 1831 and the abdication of Emperor Pedro brought a government to power in Brazil which believed in economies and retrenchment. The navy which was cut to one-fifth of its former size and was firmly recast in the role it was to play for the rest of the century, that of regional policeman and coastguard. When it eventually went to war, first against the Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas in 1852, and then against Paraguay as part of the Triple Alliance with Argentina and Uruguay in 1865, its field of glory lay not on the ocean but in seizing control of the great internal rivers of South America.



Lord Cochrane, First Admiral of Brazil
(From the mezzotint by Meyer showing him in his prime in 1810)

The abrupt change in the navy's role dealt a blow to its personnel. Promotion was frozen and foreign officers who had not fought actively in the War of Independence were discharged. Nevertheless, the Navy List of 1835 still contained the names of twenty-two English, Scottish and Irish veterans, a number of whom stayed on in Brazil to attain the highest ranks in the service. [19] Of the remaining thirty-nine who had been recruited during 1823-5, seventeen had resigned or returned home at the end of their five-year contracts, nine had died or been killed in action, two had become invalids, five had deserted and six had been dismissed for incompetence, frequently the result of excessive drinking. A further twelve junior lieutenants had been recruited specifically for the Argentine war and were discharged immediately afterwards. Their fates are unknown.

Economies may have been made but the navy was still necessary. The simmering regionalism of Brazil and growing economic hardship resulted in a spate of colourfully named rebellions: the 'Cabanos' in Pernambuco 1832-1835 and in Pará 1835-1836; the 'Sabinada' in Bahia in 1837-1838; the 'Balaiada' in Maranhão in 1839-1840; and the 'Farrapos' in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina which dragged on for a decade from 1835. These crises caused a partial mobilisation of forces. In 1836, the number of ships in commission was increased to thirty, but a rapid expansion in manpower proved as difficult to achieve as it had been in 1823. This time, the government mounted a recruiting campaign in the Orkneys and Shetland Islands.

The Brazilian Navy was prominent in the suppression of all of these outbreaks, as were its remaining British officers. Captain William James Inglis and Lieutenant Richard Norbert Murphy were killed during the bloody 'Cabanos' rebellion in Pará. Commodore John Taylor led the force which restored order, assisted by Captains William Eyre, George Manson and Bartholomew Hayden. In the south, it was Commodore John Pascoe Grenfell who suppressed the 'Farrapos' rebellion, with Captains William Parker, Richard Hayden and George Broom under his command.

Reflections

How can one analyse the contributions of these officers who fought for the Independence of Brazil? In the literal sense they were mercenaries, but that word acquired distasteful associations in the twentieth century and is best avoided. These men simply sought to earn a living. Since the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had lasted for a generation, there were plenty of people in Europe who knew of no other occupation or had no other expectations.

As individuals they were certainly a mixed group. Some successfully completed their five-year contracts and returned to Europe. Others died in action or of the diseases that were endemic on overcrowded ships in the tropics, and never saw their homelands again. Some were heroes whose achievements are remembered to this day. Others - to quote Brazilian Admiral Tamandaré's reflections in old age - 'were immensely brave but not very bright.' Some had dubious careers due to drink or incompetence and were quietly retired, while others, though relatively few, were dazzlingly successful as leaders, married locally and stayed on in Brazil to reach the highest ranks in the Imperial Navy. Some officers merged into Brazilian society, but the majority did not come as long-term migrants but as short-term employees with professional skills to sell. This was quite unlike the navy of Buenos Aires, for example, whose officers were immigrants who happened to have naval experience.

Another point which also emerges is that whereas the revolutionary squadrons of Chile and Argentina attracted officers from a number of national backgrounds, notably North American, the Brazilian Navy was dominated by officers of English, Scottish and Irish origins. A possible reason for this is that whereas subjects of King George may have been at ease with the monarchical trappings of Brazil and were happy to become subjects of the Emperor Pedro, Americans preferred to serve in the more familiar atmosphere of republican regimes.

What is also clear is that victory at sea was vital in securing Brazilian independence and that the reliability, leadership and technical skills of officers recruited by the navy from England, Scotland and Ireland were crucial to that success. The decisive effect of Lord Cochrane's incomparable military talents is obvious, yet the presence of the officers who supported him was no less significant, bringing with them professionalism, an aggressive approach and a confidence in victory born of years of unquestioned supremacy at sea. They may not have had the social impact on Brazil of large groups of immigrants, but in qualitative terms their contribution to the country's independence and survival was immense.

From documents scattered in the Brazilian archives, it is possible to piece together the careers of those of British and Irish origin among these men in South America. A great deal is known about the seven who achieved the rank of commodore or admiral, including their births, marriages and deaths. However, there are few records in Brazil about the origins, nationalities or pre-independence careers of the bulk of the others. Likewise, while it is possible to find some records showing previous service in the Royal

Navy, the Admiralty only kept central records for Lieutenants and superior ranks, rendering it impossible to trace the legions of Midshipmen and Master's Mates whose names are scattered in the muster rolls of a thousand ships. Neither is O'Byrne's usually invaluable 1849 *Biographical Dictionary* of all living officers of the Royal Navy helpful. Entries were written by the individual concerned who, unless they had aristocratic or fashionable connections, tended to say nothing of their origins, apart, of course, for the most flamboyant or self confident. Captain Donat Henchy O'Brien's extensive entry, for example, begins with 'descended from one of the ancient monarchs of Ireland,...' while that of Thomas Sackville Crosbie says nothing of his family or place of origin. It is only Maria Graham's description of him as 'a young, gentleman-like Irishman' that provides a clue.



Cochrane's Flag Captain, Thomas Sackville Crosbie, in Brazilian Uniform, and Bartholomew Hayden in old age wearing the uniform of a Brazilian Commodore.

Neither is anecdotal evidence of nationality easily found in South America. Generally speaking, South Americans did not distinguish between Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen, classifying them all as 'ingleses'. Indeed the men themselves also seemed uninterested in these distinctions and seemed happy to refer to themselves as both 'inglés' and 'Englishman.' When discussing the impact of his campaigns on trade with officers of the Royal Navy, the Scotsman Cochrane frequently reminded them that 'he was conscious of his duty as an Englishman'. [20] It is no surprise that Woodbine Parish, His Majesty's Consul-General and an Englishman, should remark as he surveyed the diverse Brazilian squadron in the River Plate, that 'it appears so formidable to the Buenos Aireans because it is largely commanded and manned by Englishmen.' [21] It was a Scotsman, Robert Gordon, who wrote a furious dispatch from the British Embassy in Rio complaining that the Brazilian-Argentine War, rather than being a conflict between the nationals of two foreign states, was actually 'a War Betwixt Englishmen.' [22] What he meant was a war between English, Irish and Scottish subjects of King George. His colleague in Buenos Aires, the Irish peer Lord Ponsonby, was a little more accurate, portentously ending a dispatch by describing the glorious engagement of Brown's Argentine flotilla by Norton's Brazilian squadron at the Battle of Monte Santiago with the words 'You will observe that all these splendid displays of courage have been made by Britons!' [23]

Brian Vale

Notes

[1] Decree of 21 March 1823, reproduced in Theotonio Meirelles da Silva, *Apontamentos para a Historia da Marina de Guerra Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1882) Vol. 2, 67.

[2] Brant's dispatches reproduced in *Publicações do Archivo Nacional, Rio*, Vol. VII, 1907.

[3] Brant to José Bonifácio, 4 January 1823, *Publicações*.

[4] Brant to José Bonifácio, 12 January 1823, with appendices, *Publicações*. Also Francis Clare's contract in the Dundonald (Cochrane) Papers in the National Archives of Scotland (NAS), GD 233/34/244.

[5] Decree of 23 August 1823, reproduced in Meirelles da Silva, *Apontamentos*, 69.

[6] *Diario do Governo*, Rio, Maritime Notices, 24 March 1823.

[7] Reports of the Real Junta da Fazenda, 10 and 26 April 1823, Archivo Nacional (AN) Rio, XM80.

[8] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence there during part of the Years 1821, 1822 and 1823*, (London, 1824), 221.

[9] Reports of the Real Junta da Fazenda, AN XM80.

[10] Brant to José Bonifácio, 11 February 1823, *Publicações*.

[11] Brant to José Bonifácio, 25 March 1823, *Publicações*. Inevitably, the Brazilian Government refused to pay the amounts promised by Meirelles, with the result that after the campaign of independence the seamen began to desert in droves.

[12] Decree of 23 August 1823, reproduced in Meirelles da Silva, *Apontamentos*, 69.

[13] At the beginning of 1825, of the 174 officers in the Brazilian Navy List, 49 were British – one Admiral, five Captains, nine Commanders and 34 Lieutenants and Sub-lieutenants - all of whom were serving at sea.

[14] For the story of the campaigns see, Brian Vale, *Independence or Death! British Sailors and Brazilian Independence 1822-5*, (London, 1996).

[15] Brant and Gameiro to Carvalho e Mello, 5 November 1824, reproduced in *Archivo Diplomatico da Independencia*, (Rio, 1922), Vol. 2. Only one frigate was purchased in London – a converted East Indiaman called the *Surat Castle* – but two armed steamships were purchased in Liverpool. Originally called *Britannia* and *Hibernia*, they were renamed *Correio Brasileiro* and *Correio Imperial* and reached Brazil in 1826. In what is probably the first recorded action between sail and steam, the first found herself in action against the Argentine privateer *Congreso* off Rio de Janeiro in September 1827 and was disabled by a shot in her paddle wheels.

[16] Gameiro to Vilella Barbosa, 7 May, 27 June, 9 July, 19 December 1815, reproduced in *Archivo Diplomatico*.

[17] For an analysis of the war see, Vale, 'A War Betwixt Englishmen', *Brazil versus Argentina in the River Plate 1825-30*, (London, 2000).

[18] *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios da Marinha*. (Rio, 1828), Bibliotéca Nacional, Rio.

[19] See *Almanack da Marinha 1835*, Bibliotéca da Marinha, Rio.

[20] Captain Hickey to Commodore Bowles, 24 May 1819, Public Records Office (PRO), Kew, Ad 1/1563.

[21] Parish to Canning, 20 July 1825, PRO Kew, FO 6/9.

[22] Gordon to Dudley, 1 October 1827, PRO Kew, FO 13/39.

[23] Ponsonby to Canning, 20 April 1827, PRO Kew, FO 6/17

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Appendix: Irish Officers in the Brazilian Navy 1822-1856

Below is a list of officers of the Brazilian Navy who were, or may have been, Irishmen. I would welcome information from any reader who recognises a name or can provide details of the origins and previous careers of any of these men.

William Blakeley: Acting Sub-lieutenant May 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823. Sub-lieutenant August 1824.

Louis Brown: Cousin of Field Marshal Gustavo Brown, chief of staff of the Brazilian army in the South. Recruited in London as Midshipman November 1825. Sub-lieutenant 12 October 1827. At the River Plate 1827.

David Carter: Volunteer 28 March 1823. Blockade of Bahia and capture of Maranhão 1823. Sub-lieutenant 12 October 1823 Promoted Lieutenant October 1825. Battle of Los Pozos and Lara Quilmes, 1826. Drunk during capture of *Itaparica* 1827. In service 1835.

Ambrose Challes: Sub-lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823 and Confederation of the Equator 1824. Frigate service 1825. Died 19 June 1825.

George Clarence: Ex-Midshipman Royal Navy and officer of East India Company ships. Brazilian Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. River Plate 1826-1828 commanding frigates.

Stephen Clewley: Born in 1797. Royal Navy Midshipman 1809. Chilean navy. To Brazil with Cochrane. Appointed Lieutenant 21 March 1823. Blockade of Bahia, capture of Maranhão and the Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. Commander August 1824. 1825-1827 commanding frigates and brigs in the Plate. Captain of Frigate 12 October 1828. In service 1833.

Francis Clare: Ex-Royal Navy Midshipman. Appointed Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator. Commander 9 August 1824. Battle of Monte Santiago April 1827, later wrecked at San Blas. Captain of Frigate 12 October 1827. In service 1832.

George Cowan: Sub-lieutenant 12 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. Lieutenant 9 August 1824. To the River Plate 1826. Commands schooner at Battle of Monte Santiago April 1827. Commander 1828. In service 1832

Vincent G. Crofton: Ex-Royal Navy midshipman. Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823. Described 1824 as 'a madman and a drunkard'.

Thomas Sackville Crosbie: Born in Ireland 1793. Ex-Royal Navy Midshipman 1806-1815 Served at Lisbon, Mediterranean, South America and the West Indies. Lieutenant 21 March 1815. Chilean navy. To Brazil with Cochrane. Captain of Frigate 21 March 1823. Captain 12 October 1823. Flag Captain at Blockade of Bahia, capture of Maranhão and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1825. Resigned November 1825.

Thomas Craig: Sub-lieutenant 11 June 1824. On frigates during Confederation of the Equator and the River Plate 1824-1828. Decorated June 1828. In service 1829.

Samuel Gillett: Ex-Royal Navy Midshipman. Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Commands schooner in the north-east July 1823 to December 1824. Deserted.

John Rogers Gleddon: Ex-Royal Navy Midshipman. Lieutenant 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. Killed at Battle of Corales 9 February 1826.

Bartholomew Hayden (1792-1857): born on 22 February 1792 in county Tipperary, the son of John and Joanna Hayden. Royal Navy Midshipman during the Napoleonic Wars. 1817-1819, Mid and Masters Mate on South America station. 1821 resigned and bought the brig *Colonel Allen* which brought Cochrane to Brazil, January-March 1823. Commander in the Brazilian Navy May 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823 and off Pernambuco 1824. Successful corvette captain in River Plate 1826-1827. Captain of Frigate 31 January 1826. Battles of Quilmes and Monte Santiago. Commands (Anti-slavery) Division of the East of Angola 1828-1829. Married Anna da Fonseca Costa 2 June 1829, five children. 'Cabanos' rebels in Pará 1835-1836. Captain 22 October 1836. Leave to work in Steam Packet Co. 1839-1840. Retired 1842 as Commodore. Restored to the Active List 1849. Member of Naval Armaments Commission 1851.

Richard Hayden: Younger brother of Bartholomew Hayden. Acting Sub-lieutenant February 1824. Confederation of the Equator and River Plate 1824-1827. Captured during raid on Patagonia April 1827. Lieutenant 12 October 1827. In service as a Commander 1842.

Benjamin Kelmare: born on 25 June 1790. Royal Navy Service as Midshipman and Lieutenant 1809-1815. In Chile with Cochrane. Invalided home. Commander 9 April 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823 and the Confederation of the Equator 1824. Sick. Not on 1827 List

William MacErwing: Sub-lieutenant 12 October 1826. Commands schooners in the River Plate. Lieutenant 18 Sept 1828. Still in service 1835.

John Rogers Molloy: Master's Mate during the blockade of Bahia 1823 and the Confederation of the Equator 1824. Discharged for being drunk during the attack on the rebel capital of Recife.

Richard N. Murphy: Volunteer 1823. Acting Sub-lieutenant February 1824. Confederation of the Equator. Frigate service 1825. Commands steamship *Correio Imperial* (originally *Hibernia*) Sept 1825 then schooners in River Plate 1826. Lieutenant 1828. Killed by 'Cabanos' rebels August 1835.

Thomas Poynton: Acting Sub-lieutenant. *Atlanta* 1823. Dismissed for insubordination July 1824.

Joseph Sewell: Sub-lieutenant 20 July 1823. Blockade of Bahia 1823-4. Court martial and dismissed July 1824.

George Strickland: Masters Mate 1823. Blockade of Bahia and Confederation of the Equator 1823-1824. Sub-lieutenant 18 Sept 1824. River Plate 1824-1825. In service 1829.

Charles F. Yell: Volunteer May 1823. Off Montevideo 1823. Confederation of the Equator 1824. Sub-lieutenant 9 August 1824. To the River Plate 1826. Killed when brig *Cacique* captured by Argentine privateer September 1827.