

Great Britain, the Paraguayan War and Free Immigration in Brazil, 1862-1875

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The Irishman, perhaps justly accused of unthriftiness and insubordination at home, for he is hopeless there and has the tradition of a bitter oppression to make him feel discontented, becomes active, industrious, and energetic when abroad; intelligent he always is. He soon rids himself of his peculiarities and prejudices, and assimilates himself so rapidly with the progressive people around him that his children no longer can be distinguished from the American of centuries of descent.

The Anglo-Brazilian Times, 23 January 1867



Downtown Rio de Janeiro (ca. 1865). The *Anglo-Brazilian Times* office was located, formerly, at Rua do Hospício, to the upper left of the picture. The island close to the docks ('Cais Pharoux') is the Ilha das Cobras, that housed the Navy's Arsenal. On the centre, between the two churches, is the Paço, the Imperial Palace.

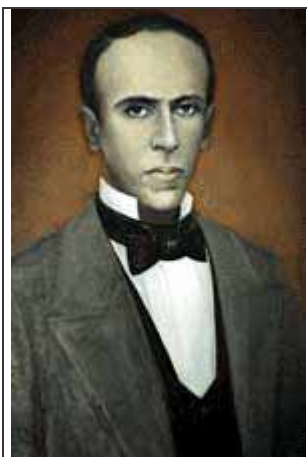
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Introduction

This article examines the relationship between a British newspaper in Rio de Janeiro and the political elites of the Brazilian Second Empire (1840-1889). The publication of the newspaper in question commenced in February 1865 and continued until 1884, when its owner, for health reasons, ceased his journalistic endeavours and passed away shortly thereafter. The newspaper was called the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*. Its editor and owner was William Scully (1820?-1884), an Irish immigrant.

This analysis does not cover the entire period of the publication of the newspaper, a total of twenty years, but rather concentrates on the initial phase, 1865-1870. Nevertheless, the article will also cover, albeit superficially, the five years of publication until 1875, when England decided to call a halt to the emigration of colonists to Brazil. In respect of those final years, this article does not concentrate on Scully's discourse but rather is based on secondary sources. This restriction is in part imposed by the lack of availability of copies of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* for the years from 1871 to 1877. For the purposes of this research, the collection of editions for the years 1865 to 1870 was used. The collection is stored at the National Library in Rio de Janeiro and is available on microfilm. The library does not hold copies for the period from 1871 to 1877. The series with the editions from 1878 to 1884 is also accessible to the public and microfilmed. They have not however been included in the analysis as they do not relate to the proposed theme of discussion.



Zacarias de Góes e
Vasconcelos
(*Governo do Paraná*)

The period of study covers the overall causes of the swift extinction of a project of European immigration in which the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* was involved. This was the settlement of Irish people in Santa Catarina, in Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro along the river Itajaí-Mirim, between 1867 and 1869. The article also pays particular attention to the political crisis that resulted in the dissolution of the Third of August Cabinet on 16 July 1868, and of the liberal-progressive majority led by Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos (1815-1877), which retained political hegemony in Brazil for some time during the 1860s. Both incidents are inter-related. The removal of Zacarias created the political conditions whereby the initial settlement of the immigrants in Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro was rendered impracticable.

Preparations for the founding of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* date from the final stage of the controversies generated by the actions of the British government, represented by its Minister Plenipotentiary, William Dougall Christie (1816-1874), and the Brazilian government, with respect to the slavery question, in the wake of the end to the trans-Atlantic slave trade between Africa and Brazil. Even with the extinction of the trade itself in 1850 (*Eusébio de Queirós Law*), Great Britain persisted in its own goal of forcing Brazil to adopt measures conducive to the abolition of slavery. In that way, Britain adopted an intransigent, bellicose posture, which would provoke the breakdown of bilateral relations between the two countries in 1863, despite the fact that this extreme situation had been caused by problems of minor significance. [1]

This argument attempts to demonstrate that Great Britain, at a time when Anglo-Brazilian relations had been severed, contemplated free European immigration as an alternative that might substitute the diplomatic and military pressures which, until 1863, were aimed at forcing Brazil into adopting a policy clearly favourable to the abolition of slavery. The intimidating operations carried out during the first stage, concluded with William Christie, had been frustrated, and so the British government officially adopted a policy of non-interference in relation to the problem of slavery in Brazil. Nonetheless, Westminster would have proceeded to disseminate propaganda aimed at the liberalisation of Brazilian immigration policy. According to this propaganda, the growing numbers of free immigrants in the country, arriving free of the customary restrictions, would render slavery obsolete or unnecessary. The instrument for this form of persuasion was precisely the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, whose establishment in

the year 1865 appears to have been no coincidence. The activities of William Scully were in line with this hypothesis and would have been subsidised, to a certain extent, by the British government.

The strategy thus outlined, however, was short-lived. Yet it seems to have been the underlying cause of the political crisis of January-July of 1868, which not only signalled the initiation of the decline of the power of the monarch, Dom Pedro II (1825-1891), but would also result in a decisive blow dealt to British propaganda promoting mass immigration. From the deposition of Prime Minister Zacarias Góes e Vasconcelos and the consequent dissolution of the Third of August Cabinet, on 16 July 1868, the colonising initiative in which Scully was most directly involved - the settlement of Irish people along the river Itajaí-Mirim in Santa Catarina, found itself deprived of political, material and financial support, and ceased to exist within approximately one year.

This would have been triggered by the identification of connections between that colonisation experience and British propaganda with regard to the promotion of free immigration. In this specific case, the colonists might have been perceived as a real threat to Brazilian sovereignty in solving the slavery problem. That colonisation project, which not only included Irish people of British origin, but also North Americans, French, Italians and others, ended in failure after a further blow to its possibilities of success, represented by the catastrophic rainy season of 1869. [2] Following the dispersal of this first wave of immigrants, Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro would be settled by Polish immigrants, and also Germans and Italians, in a different domestic political context, under Conservative leadership.

Subsequent initiatives aimed at promoting British immigration were restricted to the provinces of Paraná and São Paulo. Colonies located in Assunguy (present-day Cerro Azul, in the vicinity of Curitiba) and in Cananéia, São Paulo, during the first half of the 1870s, also ended in failure, even though a few settlers managed to succeed (Marshall 2005: 137-187). In 1875, Great Britain, along with France, decided to prohibit emigration for colonisation experiments in Brazil, as other European countries had already done, such as Prussia in 1859. [3]

The Place of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* in Brazilian Political and Socioeconomic Spheres

The date 16 July 1868 was a turning point in the political history of the Brazilian Second Empire, a point of departure from which a process of disintegration of the monarchical regime was initiated. On that day, Joaquim José Rodrigues Torres (1802-1872), Viscount of Itaboraí, of the Conservative Party, was appointed Prime Minister in place of the progressive, Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos. It was the third time that Zacarias had led the Cabinet.

Inaugurated on 3 August 1866, the last cabinet of Zacarias had a legitimate Liberal-progressive parliamentary majority. The progressives were a faction of the Conservative Party, which included radical Catholics, known as *Ultramontanes*. The political aspirations of these last were aimed at the extinction of the politico-religious prerogatives of the Emperor, ensured by the '*padroado*' (patronage) and the '*benelapito*' (approval) systems, which made Dom Pedro II the effective leader of the Brazilian Church. Regulations emanating from the Vatican had validity in the country only with the approval of the monarch. Zacarias was an eloquent politician with an Ultramontane religious background and became the natural leader of that unlikely political majority which united Liberals, ex-Conservatives (*progressives*) and Ultramontanes.

The reason behind that compatibility, as David Gueiros Vieira has well highlighted in his work on the relationship between the freemasonry and the Religious Question of 1872, lay in the free entry of European Catholics loyal to the Vatican (Papists) into the country during the 1860s (Vieira 1980: 245). This might counter-balance, demographically and politically, the religious prerogatives of the Emperor. The idea that a congregation would be expanded by free immigration pleased the Ultra-



Joaquim José Rodrigues
Torres
(*Exército Brasileiro*)

montane clergy and, naturally, Pope Pius IX. Therefore, both the Roman Catholic Church and its legitimate representatives in Brazil supported initiatives aimed at the liberalisation of the immigration policy, provided that Catholics were favoured. Hence the affinities between Liberals and Ultramontanes in the second half of the nineteenth century in Brazil and the composition of the parliamentary majority represented by the Third of August Cabinet. However, this coalition, for the reasons exposed below, did not prosper. [4]

The political commotion of July 1868 was serious enough to provoke the rupture of the equilibrium of the Brazilian political life and national parties. Alfredo Bosi, for example, observes that the Brazilian historiography '[...] is unanimous in pointing to the year 1868 as the great watershed between the most stable period of the Second Empire and the long crisis which would culminate, twenty years later, in the Abolition [of slavery] and the [proclamation of the] Republic' (Bosi 1999: 222). The foundation of the Republican Party would occur just two years after 1868. During the two subsequent decades, the combination of various other movements, among them Abolition and the expansion of Positivism (especially within the Armed Forces), produced the end of the monarchical regime. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to affirm that the removal of the Third of August Cabinet was the historical event that set in motion the forces that led to the birth of the Republic, which occurred on 15 November 1889.



The Duke of Caxias, Patron of the Army. Pinto de Campos, J., *Vida de Luís Alves de Lima e Silva* (Lisboa, 1878)

The events leading up to the crisis of 16 July 1868, for their part, had a direct relationship with the Paraguayan War (1864-1870). The Brazilian command of the military operations of the Triple Alliance (Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay), under the orders of Marshall Luís Alves de Lima e Silva (the then Marquis of Caxias), was, at the beginning of that year, harshly criticised in the Liberal press, most markedly in a series of diatribes by William Scully in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of 7 January.

In view of these criticisms, Caxias presented a request for renunciation, in February 1868. Under these circumstances, Dom Pedro II was left to choose between: 1) preserving the supreme leadership of the Brazilian and Allied military forces at war, or 2) conserving the Third of August Cabinet. Caxias ended up forcing the removal of Zacarias, who asked for exoneration on the pretext of the nomination of the Conservative Francisco de Sales Torres Homem (1812-1876), of Rio Grande do Norte, to the Senate (Vieria 1980: 248-250). A new government was subsequently formed, with the leadership of Conservatives. The change, by force, which was widely regarded as a coup d'état, was made possible because the Emperor

enjoyed the power of a moderator and thus was constitutionally capable of interfering in the normal political process. The new Conservative leader, Itaboraí, was sworn in without an elected majority. Only then were elections called and of course the Conservatives won most constituencies, thereby lending a veneer of legitimacy to the 16 July Cabinet.

Significant authors, such as Batista Pereira (1975: 36-38), Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1972-2, v. 5: 7-13, 95-104), Brasil Gerson (1975: 127-131), Wilma Peres Costa (1996: 251-254) and, more recently, Francisco Doratioto (2002: 334-339), point to *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* as the principal vehicle for Liberal propaganda against Caxias in 1868. According to the proprietor of that paper, William Scully, the Brazilian marshal was too old to carry out the task conferred upon him, that of defeating Solano López, the Paraguayan head-of-state. In an allusion to Republican Rome, Caxias was, in the Irishman's words, a 'septuagenarian Cincinnatus'. Furthermore - which was even more serious - Scully accused Caxias of forcing 'the war [...] to linger on as long as the country can find the gold to squander.' In his view, the Brazilian marshal's 'favorite weapons' were 'gold bags,' thereby evoking an image of trenches guarded by such devices. Consequently, the moroseness with which, towards the end of 1867, military operations on the Paraguayan front had actually been conducted was portrayed as intentional.

The accusations made by William Scully were of impropriety and corruption. Yet these aspects of his article have not been appropriately highlighted, in spite of the fact that it has been recognised that his criticisms initiated the crisis that precipitated the decline of the Second Empire. All this said, the majority of the secondary sources, with the exceptions of David Gueiros and Oliver Marshall, do not mention any prior activity in which the Irish editor was involved. The impression given by the analyses of the authors mentioned above is that of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* surging onto the Brazilian political scene of 1868 like a lightning bolt from out of the blue. This newspaper was however founded in early 1865, in Rio de Janeiro. The office was firstly located in Rua do Hospício (present-day Buenos Aires Street). Scully, although a journalist, was also an *empresario* connected with the business of immigration. The paper had support bases on Fleet Street in London, the traditional location of the offices of the newspapers of the English capital, and also in Liverpool. As for the year of Scully's arrival in Rio, it appears to have been 1861, when he established himself in the Brazilian capital as a teacher of calligraphy (Laemmert 1862: 478, and 'Notabilidades' 22). [5]

SCULLY CANETA CALLIGRAPHICA

CANNETAS CALLIGRAPHICAS

recentemente inventadas pelo professor Scully, as quaes offercem a extraordinaria vantagem de obrigar e acostumar para sempre o discipulo a pegar na penna de modo adequado, sendo guardadas estas cannetas de pequenas chapas concavas nos lugares onde se devem collocar os tres dedos, facilitando assim muito a escripta e contribuindo sobremaneira para qualquer pessoa em pouco tempo adquirir uma boa letra. Note-se ainda que servem tanto para adultos como para meninos.

A VENDA EM CASA DE EDUARDO & HENRIQUE LAEMMERT
77 — RUA DA QUITANDA — 77

e por atacado em casa de William Scully, professor de Calligraphia
6 A — Rua da Candelaria — 6 A

PENNAS DE AÇO E DE OURO

O. Scully tem para vender nas suas salas de escripta, á rua da Candelaria n. 6 A, pennas de aço applicaveis a todo tamanho de letra; pennas de ouro com ponta de diamante (são de duração infinita e tão brandas como as de ganso); Os segredos da calligraphia, um livro com instruções e modelos; tinteiros de nova invenção ou qualquer objecto de escriptorio.

CALLIGRAPHIA ENSINADA EM 10 LIÇÕES

William Scully, professor de calligraphia, admitta alguns discipulos para instrução de calligraphia; para tratar, dirijão-se á rua da Candelaria n. 6 A.

NOTABILIDADES

In 1865, diplomatic relations between Brazil and England had been suspended, because of the many disagreements between the Minister Plenipotentiary William Christie and the Brazilian Government. The most important of these related to the destiny of the Africans who had entered Brazil under the protection of agreements between the two countries. These agreements dated back to 1826 and to a Brazilian law of 1831, which actually declared illegal the transatlantic trade in slaves. In practice however, the smuggling of enslaved Africans into Brazil continued to be rampant long after 1831. In legal terms, all Africans forced to immigrate to Brazil after 13 March 1830 were freedmen ('emancipados') and were to be either repatriated or held in custody by the State. Africans legally seized by the military under the bilateral agreements and retained in the custody of the Brazilian authorities were also 'emancipados,' and yet they had been reduced to slavery. Even after the total suspension of the Atlantic slave trade, in 1850, the governmental lists containing the names of the 'emancipados' were kept undisclosed. The tremendous pressures exerted by Christie to force Brazil to liberate the 'emancipados' and to produce the lists with their names was the true reason for the suspension of relations.

Ironically, Anglo-Brazilian diplomatic relations broke off after a number of events of minor importance, totally unrelated to the problem of the *'emancipados'*: the stolen cargo of a British ship that had sunk on the southern coast of Brazil, and the imprisonment of drunken English sailors following an isolated altercation in Rio de Janeiro. Demanding exorbitant compensation for these minor transgressions, Christie ordered, on 31 December 1862, the blockade of the Port of Rio de Janeiro, and the seizure of Brazilian ships. In May of the following year, official relations between the Brazilian and British governments were cut off (Bethell 1970: 70, 380-383). [6]

It can logically be assumed that the establishment of Scully's newspaper received financial support from the British Crown, at a time when relations between Brazil and England were still suspended. It must be kept in mind that the work of Francisco Otaviano de Almeida Rosa (1825-1889) in the *Correio Mercantil* had been subsidised by the British Legation, a fact highlighted by Leslie Bethell and David Gueiros (Vieira 1980: 90). [7] What would have prevented Britain from supporting financially a newspaper belonging to a British subject established in Brazil? Nothing, one might say. However, much greater attention is given to the fact that the Third of August Cabinet was accused of subsidising Scully's newspaper, which was true and certainly explained by the politico-religious interests connecting one to the other. [8]

Assuming that somehow Britain actually channelled financial resources into the maintenance of a quasi-official newspaper, directed by a British subject, established in Rio and dedicated to the propaganda of free immigration, we have an indication of a radical shift in the country's diplomatic relations with Brazil. The aggressive, aristocratic, Palmerstonian style of implementation of its foreign policy *vis-à-vis* Brazil ('gun-boat' or '*canhoneira*' policy) was being abandoned, and the British imperative of the extinction of slave labour would be implemented, right in the capital of the Brazilian Empire, by way of the more subtle pressure of liberal journalistic propaganda. [9] The colonialist features of that propaganda, however, appear to have frustrated the initiative.

The evidence which justifies these hypotheses is contained in Scully's discourse in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* between 1865 and 1870. The newspaper openly divulged, from its first edition on 7 February 1865, the promotion of spontaneous mass European immigration as a method of rendering slavery obsolete and boosting demographic growth in Brazil.

The fact that Scully was directly involved in the most significant political crisis of the history of the Second Empire would be sufficient to attest to the extent of the circulation and the influence of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*. Nevertheless in his recent book on this subject, Oliver Marshall maintains that the articles written by Scully were translated and published in the local press in Rio. Therefore, it can be assumed that the editions previous to 1868 had had a significant circulation, being read by members of the Brazilian political and military elites. There were also many subscribers abroad, a circumstance which certainly placed the image of the country permanently under the spotlight (Marshall 2005: 28).

The most characteristically colonialist features of Scully's newspaper, along with his insistent suggestions of the Brazilian governmental adoption of liberal directives in immigration policy, are found precisely in the editions prior to 1868. A quick appraisal of some passages suffices to perceive its authoritarian profile, despite its seeming, in comparison to the gunboat policy, a gentler form of pressure.

Scully's Colonialist Discourse

The aggressiveness and forcefulness of Scully's texts were evident from the first months of his editorial activity. His writings do not sound like those of an independent journalist. Rather, they can be construed as a discourse that was backed up by an interventionist power. Dealing with themes and issues of major relevance for the Brazilian elites, he demonstrated extraordinary impatience. His texts evince, equally, a tremendous disdain for those same elites, although he always praised and attempted to cajole the monarch, Dom Pedro II, and his family. [10]



For instance, in relation to the breaking off of relations between Brazil and Great Britain and to the differences between the two countries, the Irishman derisively condemned the exorbitant demands of William Christie (ABT, 24 March 1865). On the other hand, he soon manifested an even greater arrogance than that displayed by the ex-Minister, filling his articles with threats and warnings about what would befall Brazil if his advice and suggestions were not followed immediately. This can be seen in the ninth issue of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (8 June 1865). Scully's lead article contains a weighing up of the results of Brazilian governmental measures aimed at the promotion of immigration until that point, together with an appreciation of the possible results of the delay in addressing appropriately the problem of manpower scarcity created by the slavery crisis. After beseeching the Brazilian readership not to be afraid or disdainful of the European colonist ('foreign immigrants are not the God-forsaken wretches that Brazilian ignorance and Brazilian prejudice fain would deem them'), Scully reminds them that 'their tenure of the slave population is slipping rapidly from out their grasp' and that 'their lands, though fertile and productive, are valueless without the laborer.'

Demonstrating affinity with the economic theories propounded by Adam Smith (1723-1790), Scully then warns Brazilians that 'they must consider that the laborer is of more value to them than they to him, that he is the true wealth-creator of the world, and the merchant, fazendeiro [rancher], and government are dependent on his labor.' Further, Brazilians should:

remember that with the European immigrant comes progress, wealth, and empire; that he brings with him skill, knowledge, enterprize, and advanced ideas, and has full right to demand, as a condition of his advent, equal consideration with the children of the soil he attaches his fortunes unto.

Scully also presents his precise considerations about Brazilian policies regarding the admittance of immigrants:

Brazil 'tis true votes some 600:000\$ annually for the encouragement of immigration -*cui bono?* The general and the provincial governments and individuals have established 'colonies' which they 'direct' and surround with regulations. They waste their money on these exotic plants that barely vegetate beneath the *fostering* care of Directors, Chefs de Policia, and Juizes de Paz, while the independent immigration that asks no subventions, no outlay for religious or profane instructors, no agricultural schools to 'teach the most improved modes of agriculture and grazing,' and no salaried 'directors;' that would bring with it intelligence, enterprize, new ideas, and improved appliances of agriculture, is afforded no facilities, no information, no encouragement.

Scully then plays up the threat of a general slave rebellion:

Do the Brazilians not see that their whole prosperity is in danger; that it now depends solely upon the retention in servitude of some three millions and a half of negro population; [...] that no reliance can be placed upon the uneducated slave when once he is relieved from the stimulus of compulsion [...] that their lines of railways and river navigation, though largely subsidized by the national treasury, are com-

mercial failures from the absence of population along their courses [...] and do they not see [...] the danger of a second Hayti looming in the future, facile amidst the mountains, forests, and unnavigable rivers of this vast and fertile, but almost roadless region?



'Do they not see the danger of a second Hayti looming in the future?

(Latin American Studies Resources)

In continuation, as well as pledging support for mass immigration, his argumentation has aspects that anticipate the geopolitical strategic thinking that underpinned policies implemented by the Brazilian military during the twentieth century:

in fine, do [Brazilians] not see that, with the grasping and warlike republics that envelop Brazil, each having to gain largely by her dismemberment, her existence in her integrality requires her to keep far in advance in population, wealth, and material progress; a result attainable only with the concurrence of a large and persistent immigration?

Therefore, he states that

To arrive at this result, let the Brazilian government and the Brazilian *people* extend a welcoming invitation to foreign immigrants. Let them be afforded every possible facility of settlement, and be relieved from the disabilities and irritating surveillance that disgust them and prevent development.

Finally, Scully argues in favour of the North American model of free immigration:

Let [...] government lands be granted, or sold at moderate prices, in tracts of 30,000 to 500,000 *braças*, each, to real settlers only. Let a sufficient quantity of such tracts, of easy access, be always kept surveyed and mapped. [...] Let every encouragement be given [...] to the formation in Brazil of Societies like the St. George in New York, to which immigrants [...] could apply for assistance and advice; and let means be taken to disseminate knowledge of Brazil in British and Continental Europe.

He ends the article with the following assessment:

With these and similar measures, and perhaps, for a time assisted immigration, together with liberality from the government and the people, such a current of immigration might be induced as would place the prosperity of Brazil upon the only sound and safe basis - a free and intelligent producing population warmly attached to their country, their constitution, and their Emperor.

This line of argument, taken in its totality, suggests the existence of a strategy aiming at the extinction of slavery in Brazil by means of the promotion of mass European immigration. Although it may perhaps have proved historically inapplicable, the greatest obstacle to the implementation of Scully's proposals may have been the man himself. After the first editions of his newspaper, and prior to 8 June of 1865, he published quite disdainful analyses and comments on the political and cultural life of the Brazilian elites. The interpretation of these pieces lends itself to the perception that the aims of his initiatives in relation to immigration were to promote an extensive reform of Brazilian society under the tutelage of the English. This is corroborated by the indications in Scully's discourse of a fundamental inspiration for his proposals: the radical thinker and reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), one of the founders of the utilitarian philosophical movement, also known as Benthamism.

Having in mind the prospect of implementing this supposedly reformist agenda, the practice of *clientelism* (patronage) was emphatically deplored by Scully, since it inverted the priorities of parliamentary and governmental activities. According to him, the working hours of a Brazilian minister were almost totally devoted to the task of finding posts for friends, relatives and party affiliates, while legislative and executive activities were relegated to second place. This was undoubtedly true, and is attested to by diverse sources. [11] Scully, though, used the rough edge of his tongue: addressing the issue of patronage, and how detrimental it was to the development of the country, one reads in the editorial of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of 24 May 1865 that 'the life of a Brazilian Minister is a life of downright slavery'. In other words, slavery was compared to a cancer that afflicted all of society, from bottom to top, including the elites. The Brazilian elites' Eurocentric self-image of enlightenment, combined with their real, or imagined, ties to the nobility to the Old World and with a romantic ideal of indigenous ancestry, certainly would not admit the perceived insolence inherent in this and other denunciations.

Finally, these charges would not be complete without an appreciation of the underdeveloped condition of education in Brazil. Demonstrating yet again what seems to be a utilitarian academic background, the editor of *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* believed that the Brazilian patronage system unavoidably engendered indolence and low productivity, stemming from the absence of competition for positions within the public administration. If they were to remain inactive, the new generations of the Brazilian elites would be crushed under the wave of progress generated by the arrival of European immigrants.

Scully begins a discussion by stating that 'true, our Brazilian boy is not unlearned [...] still, all his studies are without an aim, his only view in life is towards the *dolce far niente* of a government employment.'

Therefore,

the Brazilian educated classes have through indolence and pride abandoned to the more utilitarian foreigner engineering, mining, trades, commerce, and manufactures, and leave the resources and the riches of their wonderful country undeveloped until the educated science of some enterprising foreigner finds out the treasure and turns it to his own advantage.

Throughout the article, published on 8 April 1865 under the title 'Education', the threat is reiterated from different angles. Scully then resorts to a downright derogatory argument in order to underline the likely outcome:

Again we repeat that mind and body react upon each other and enervate together, and we warn our Brazilian youth that, if they suffer to degenerate and become

emasculated through their indolence and contempt for usefulness, they will 'ere long endure the mortification of being ousted even out of their present stronghold of the public service, by those other classes whose pursuits they affect so much to scorn, when once the energies that win for these their wealth be directed to the loaves and fishes of the government employ.

Finally, in defence of the incorporation of physical education into the curriculum of Brazilian schools, Scully argues that it, 'joined with Western utilitarian science, makes two hundred thousand Europeans the arbiters of two hundred millions of the inhabitants of Indian climes'

Brazilians also had to remember that, thanks to discipline and physical exercise, 'Waterloo was won at Eton and Harrow'. Eton and Harrow are two very traditional fee-paying schools for boys in the United Kingdom, founded respectively in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Apparent in the three articles cited is not only a Eurocentric and Benthamist (Utilitarianism) tenor, but above all an uncontained British hegemonic and colonialist vocation. Expressed in these terms, this involves, paradoxically, praising ideas of merit, competitive education, and approval in exams. This naturally clashed with Brazilian social and political customs, then almost exclusively founded on privilege and the formation of clientele. In the articles of 1865 in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* it is possible to perceive, with an antecedence of almost three years, who was the real antagonist of Caxias.

In Scully's discourse, then, British expansionism is articulated along a liberal politico-economic axis, openly opposed to the slavery system. The destruction of that system, according to the newspaper, should be achieved by means of free European immigration. Brazil, however, would ultimately have affirmed her sovereignty by rejecting both that form of expansionism and its proposals. As a result, an initiative in which Scully was directly involved may have been sabotaged. To this end, the Brazilian elites resorted to a practice similar to the 'spoils' system introduced by president Andrew Jackson (1767-1845) in the United States in 1828, [12] according to which only affiliates to the party in power could occupy public office. In Brazil, that political system was known as '*derrubadas*,' or the wholesale change of occupants of public office, after every general election. As soon as they were sworn in, they were able to prevent their opponents' undertakings from prospering. This was an immediate consequence of the removal of Zacarias in July 1868, which concurred to produce the failure of Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro, in Santa Catarina, to which Irish settlers had been sent (Marshall 2005: 78).

As such, the defence of Brazilian sovereignty was structurally entangled with the defence of the slavery system. At a purely diplomatic level, from 1863 Great Britain had abandoned its efforts aimed at the direct termination of slavery in Brazil. Now, however, Great Britain's attention seems to have turned to undermining the foundations of the Brazilian slave system by means of liberal propaganda and free immigration. [13] It was around this issue that Scully's altercations with Brazilian elites would centre, subsequent to the Christie Affair. They appear to have been the most profound reasons for the events of July 1868 and the failure of British colonisation schemes in Brazil.

A Sabotaged Project: The Irish in Santa Catarina (1867-1869)

In 1866 some advances were made in some of the directions proposed by Scully. The creation in Rio de Janeiro of the International Emigration Society, in February of that year, had the direct participation of the Irish journalist, despite all the criticisms he made of the profile of that entity. [14] The *Third of August Cabinet*, inaugurated that year, showed a disposition towards implementing some type of effective mass immigration programme, reflecting the growing perception that the war effort was bound to intensify the country's labour shortage. Later on, Councillor Zacarias determined, in November 1866, that the slaves owned by the State (*slaves of the Nation*) be emancipated for military service, prompting the acquisition of slaves from private owners for same purpose (Costa 1996: 244-248).

However, the clearest proof that the slavery question was the object of primary consideration in Brazil at that time is afforded by the Imperial Speech (*Fala do Trono*) that opened the first session of the Thirteenth Legislature of the General Legislative Assembly on 22 May 1867. Addressing the issue, Dom Pedro II gave the legislators the following message:

The Servile element in the Empire cannot but merit opportunately your consideration, providing in such a manner, that, respecting actual property and without a severe blow to our chief industry - Agriculture - the grand interests which belong to emancipation may be attended to.

Next, the Emperor hinted that 'to promote colonization ought to be the object of your particular solicitude' (Brazil. Federal Senate 1988-1: 264). [15]

It is of significance that the 23 May 1867 issue of *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* featured a very enthusiastic commentary by Scully:

Should Europe pour in here her superabundant population, where employment could be given to 20,000,000 of them, then the Government of Brazil can emancipate the slaves without ruining the production of the country and with some prospect of providing for the future of the freedmen.



Immigrants before landing in Santos, São Paulo
(*Acervo Museu da Imigração, São Paulo*)

This was preceded by a curious occurrence when, a few months earlier, Scully had apparently been sent to jail. Following the outbreak of a fire in the office of his newspaper, in February 1867, the Irishman had had a heated discussion with Chief of Police Olegario Herculano Aquino de Castro, during the course of investigations on the matter and the policeman arrested him. The Emperor himself seems to have interceded and the Chief of Police was exonerated. His substitute, however, issued an order of imprisonment against Scully, who complained about this with the Emperor's son-in-law, and heir to

the throne, Luís Filipe Maria Fernando Gastão de Orleans, Count d'Eu (1842-1922). The order apparently was not executed. [16]

Meanwhile, since 1866, the immigration of North American Confederates had been on the increase. Having decided to leave the United States after the Union's military victory in the 1861-1865 Civil War, the Southerners encountered in *The Anglo-Brazilian Times'* editor a fervent collaborator and publicist. An example of this can be seen in the editorial of 23 June 1866, when Scully praised the then Minister of Agriculture, Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza (1843-1917), a freemason. Scully noted that:

Brazil needed only to be known to be appreciated as a field of emigration, and, fortunately [...] the dissatisfaction in the Southern States of North America caused Brazil to be visited by various small parties of Americans deputized by various companies of expatriating Southerners to seek homes wherever best for them.

The estimates vary greatly, but, according to Frank Goldman, around 2,000 Confederates settled in Brazil, out of approximately 10,000 people who left Dixie after the war (Goldman 1972: 10).

Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro also figured among the destinations of the Confederates. Situated on the right bank of the Itajaí-Mirim river in Santa Catarina and in proximity to another colony, that of Itajaí (renamed Brusque), settled mostly by Germans. Created by the Imperial Decree of 16 February 1866, Príncipe Dom Pedro colony began to be effectively occupied by southern North American pioneers at the beginning of the following year. Its first director was an American, Barzillar Cottle. The amateur historian from Santa Catarina, Aloisius Carlos Lauth, in his most valuable work about the 'Príncipe Dom Pedro' indicates that, at the end of 1867, the number of Confederates involved in the colonising project had reached 237, that is, 35.5% of the total. The number of Irish coming from New York through the initiative of Quintino Bocaiuva was 129 (19.5%), and that of English, 108 (16%). There were also, in smaller numbers, French, Germans, Italians and others (Lauth 1987: 35). [17]

In 1866 Scully took the initiative of advertising Brazil as a prospective home for Irish emigrants. As well as writing a book about all of the Brazilian provinces to serve as a guide for immigrants (published for the first time in 1866 and again in 1868), he twice published in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, in October, a letter addressed to the Anglican Clergy in Ireland, requesting the procurement of colonists to that end. At the same time, in Brazil, the journalist continued to intensify propaganda for Irish immigration:

The Irishman, perhaps justly accused of unthriftiness and insubordination at home, for he is hopeless there and has the tradition of a bitter oppression to make him feel discontented, becomes active, industrious, and energetic when abroad; intelligent he always is. He soon rids himself of his peculiarities and prejudices, and assimilates himself so rapidly with the progressive people around him that his children no longer can be distinguished from the American of centuries of descent (ABT 23 January 1867).

At the end of 1867, around 339 immigrants coming from Wednesbury, England, were ready to embark for Brazil (256 of them Irish) (Marshall 2005: 56). Leaving England on 12 February 1868, and arriving at Rio de Janeiro on 22 April 1868, these immigrants were received in person by Emperor Dom Pedro II. [18] They were subsequently embarked for Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro, where Irish migrants were not well respected because of the problems caused by compatriots of theirs, from New York, who had settled there and were involved in brawls and excessive drinking. Scully, noting the undue interference by another immigration agent (*Chevalier* Francisco de Almeida Portugal) in the undertaking, and informed of the problems that awaited the new arrivals, advised them not to go to the Itajaí-Mirim river valley (ABT 23 March 1868). [19] But it was too late.

When we turn our attention back to Scully's attacks against Caxias in January 1868, we see that the chronology of events is quite suggestive. It can be assumed the imminent embarkation of the Wednesbury immigrants had lifted Scully's spirits, because of his direct interest in the success of the undertaking. Certainly, the apparent moroseness with which war operations were being conducted in Paraguay during the period of the siege of Humaitá irritated him to the extreme, because of the urgency he felt that the proposals put forward by him since 1865 were successful. Therefore, the tone of his diatribes against the Brazilian marshal were not in any way gratuitous or extemporaneous. There was a great deal at stake. The experience in the Itajaí-Mirim valley looked like it constituted the first step towards the formation of a demographic magnet, designed to attract more British immigrants. [20] Therefore the fact that the necessary resources for the promotion of immigration were being spent on the war effort must have been quite exasperating. Actually, after July 1868 and the deposition of Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos, the new Conservative Minister of Agriculture imposed severe 'budgetary cuts in the support of state colonies, in part due to the mounting costs of the Paraguayan War' (Marshall 2005: 78).

During the interval between the fateful article in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of 7 January 1868 (along with other articles) and the removal of the Third of August Cabinet in July, the recently-arrived Irish people that eventually settled in Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro had to face the adverse conditions anticipated by Scully, even though some preparations for their accommodation had been made. Among them was the

appointment, at the end of 1867, of an Irish Catholic Priest, Joseph Lazenby, to be responsible for the spiritual life of the new colonists. Lazenby had been attracted to the colony when he heard of the presence of Irish settlers therein (Marshall 2005: 75), and he even managed to convert the American director Barzillar Cottle to Catholicism (Lauth 1987: 42-46).

The undertaking was frustrated, though, by a combination of factors, that affected all the settlers attracted to it since the foundation of the colony in 1866. A confrontation with the German colonists of the rival colony of Itajaí, on the left bank of the Itajaí-Mirim, resulted in March in the removal of Cottle and in the subsequent nomination of directors hostile to Anglophone settlers. The precariousness of roadways impeded the transport of the produce of the colonists, many of whom alleged not to have received payments for services rendered for the infrastructure of the colony. The lots of land, all of which were assigned with a considerable delay, were situated in locations subject to flooding and torrents, which indeed later occurred. With the removal of Zacarias' cabinet, from July 1868 the colonists found themselves divested of any political support during the Conservative era inaugurated by Itaboraí. When the Itajaí-Mirim river burst its banks and the colony was flooded, any chances for success for the project were obliterated (Marshall 2005: 78).

The *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, in its editions of June 1869, related the arrival at Rio de Janeiro, in rags, of a group of Irish people who had left Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro. Equally, it gave notice that members of the British community of that city had provided help in purchasing return passages for the immigrants to Britain and Ireland. On 19 June a list of donors was published with their respective contributions, totalling £130, which seems to have been employed in the maintenance of the desperate immigrants. Gradually the colony was evacuated of all English-speaking colonists, while the intervention of British consular representatives in Rio and Santos prevented an even worse outcome for the impoverished settlers, most of whom were relocated in Brazil, Argentina and the United States (Marshall 2005: 80-87). Many had lost relatives during the venture. Finally, the lands where the first settlements failed were subsequently occupied by Polish colonists, whose descendants remained there and contributed to the formation of the present-day city of Brusque, an important textile centre in the state of Santa Catarina.

Conclusion

An attentive reading and interpretation of William Scully's editorials and various articles published in his newspaper, *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, prior to 1868 suggest that there was a redefinition of the guidelines according to which British foreign policy towards Brazil between 1863 and 1870 was conducted. This seems to correspond to the predominance of the Liberal (Whig) Party in British politics in the mid-1860's.



On the other hand, such an interpretation complements Leslie Bethell and Francisco Doratioto's assertion concerning the non-existence of hard evidence, in primary sources, in support of the idea that England convinced Brazil and her Triple Alliance partners (Argentina and Uruguay) to undertake the eradication of a supposed Paraguayan challenge to British commercial and strategic hegemony in the South American region of La Plata. Scully's political propaganda and the problems caused by it seem to testify to the opposite: the War of the Triple Alliance would have been detrimental to the execution of Britain's anti-slavery policy regarding Brazil.

It is interesting to note that in the same 9 October 1866 issue of *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* that features a letter addressed to the Clergy of Ireland, whereby the recruitment of immigrants was requested, a short

article was also published, which decries the outbreak, and continuation, of the war against Paraguay. In that article, having recalled arguments brought forward by the followers of Thomas R. Malthus (1766-1834) to justify the role of wars as inhibitors of excessive population growth, Scully points out that the same theory 'loses all the dreadful force of its argument when applied to the scantily peopled region of the Americas.'

Further on, he considers that 'here at least there should be no shouldering of each other on the paths of life to necessitate a war to clear the way.' As he listed every conflict situation in the Americas, Scully implies that Brazil was responsible for ongoing political problems in Uruguay, a factor that led to the outbreak of the Paraguayan War: 'we see a chronic condition of war in an adjoining state fanned by its powerful neighbor.' And as for the War of the Triple Alliance itself, he laments that Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina were 'wasting their substance in battling with the little but aggressive State of Paraguay.' The article continues with a vehement plea for a co-ordination of efforts by European world powers and, possibly, the United States, in order to devise a mediation scheme to bring to an end that armed conflict, since 'so many tens of thousands of their sons' had settled in South America and established such 'intimate and extended [...] mercantile relations' with them. Finally, Scully emphasises the need for such a mediation given the prospect of the conflict spreading to the whole of the southern continent 'through that unreasonable jealousy which the American republics display towards the well organized and progressive immense Empire of Brazil, whose peaceful internal condition they feel a continuous slur upon their internecine factions.'

As *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* was the only English-speaking newspaper in Brazil at the time, the foregoing pacifist discourse does not tally with the theory that maintains that the destruction of Paraguay was of paramount importance to British interests. On the contrary, if one accepts that Scully's newspaper was semi-official, partly sponsored by the British Government, and a vehicle for the conveyance of proposals that expressed the wishes of British policy makers in regard to Brazil, the pacifist spirit contained in the article acquires another meaning. It could be, then, associated with efforts aimed at boosting European emigration to Brazil as part of a larger strategy designed to end slavery through massive immigration. It is not mere coincidence that such an article should accompany an open letter asking for the Clergy of Ireland's collaboration in the achievement of that goal. A state of regional conflagration could only jeopardise those plans, just as appears to have happened.

This analysis thus suggests that the Irish immigrants who were brought over from Wednesbury, England, to people the Príncipe Dom Pedro colony in Santa Catarina, Southern Brazil, in 1867-1868, played the role of pawns in a lengthy and cumbersome international chess match opposing Great Britain to Brazil over the question of slavery - a form of labour exploitation that the latter rid herself of as late as 1888. Ireland, in turn, being a British colony at the time, did not have an independent say on the whole matter, although that country supplied the manpower with which British plans were to be carried out.

As for Brazil, domestically, the 1868 Cabinet change, triggered by Scully's editorials, had momentous consequences. The developments that followed seem to constitute an assertion of the country's sovereignty, and absolute stubbornness, as regards the task of addressing the slavery question. Only in 1871 was a Law effectively approved that liberated newborn offspring of slave women. On the other hand, it consecrated and reinforced the Brazilian version of the North American Jacksonian 'spoils system' in the relationship between the Legislature and the Imperial administration. If one takes it that the Príncipe Dom Pedro Colony was regarded as a type of foreign threat, the wholesale substitution of administrative personnel that followed the downfall of the Liberal-Progressive Cabinet headed by Zacarias de Góes e Vasconcelos was of crucial importance to the goal of securing the colony's failure. Newly appointed Conservative authorities, who replaced Liberal office holders, actually refused to help the English-speaking colonists.

Therefore, that pattern of politico-administrative procedures - and related institutions - was consolidated in 1868, as a basis for a lasting framework of social and political relationships. *Derrubadas* are still a prominent feature of Brazilian political life, with everything that they entail: nepotism, patronage, favoritism, partisanship and, last but not least, corruption. Upon every major political change in Brazil,

democratic or authoritarian and military-led, the parties and newly sworn-in authorities replace, with party-members, allies, friends and relatives, most occupants of federal administrative entities' leaderships, at nearly all levels. The same occurs in state and municipal spheres. There are a few exceptions to the rule, like the Ministry of Foreign Relations, which is rather immune to partisanship. It looks as though, up to this day, those newly appointed to positions of power in Brazilian politics at any given moment since 1868, were always unwittingly celebrating a small, yet significant, and unacknowledged, clandestine victory over British - and Irish - interests: the dismantling of an English-speaking settlement.

Notes

[1] Cf. Graham 1979: 79-127 and Conrad 1972: 41-44.

[2] A detailed episodic narrative of these events, very well documented, although dissociated from the main stage of the political history of the empire, can be found in Lauth 1987. The latest, and most comprehensive, work about this subject is Marshall 2005.

[3] On French emigration to Brazil see Silva 2001.

[4] Many other aspects of the affinities between *Ultramontanism* and nineteenth-century progress ideology in Brazil are examined in Neves 1999: 213-226.

[5] Laemmert's famous Almanac kept an annually updated record of virtually all names of merchants, societies, tradesmen of all sorts, authorities, public officials, noblemen and industries established in the capital of the Empire in and the adjacent province of Rio de Janeiro. There are no entries for William Scully prior to 1862. Therefore, it is safe to assume that he came to Brazil in 1861. Initially not only did he teach calligraphy but also sold what must have been expensive calligraphic pens, as shown in the advertisement on page 22 of the 'Notabilities' section of the 1862 almanac.

[6] See also Graham 1979: 79-127.

[7] The author cites Bethell, Leslie, *The abolition of the Brazilian slave trade: Britain, Brazil and the slave trade question, 1807-1869* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970). *Cambridge Latin American Studies*, N° 6, 313.

[8] This accusation, and somewhat in conflict with the hypothesis of British subsidisation, finds its basis in the correspondence between Zacarias and Caxias, reproduced in Pinho, Wanderley, *Política e políticos no Império: contribuições documentaes* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1930), 86-88. Zacarias, in a letter to Caxias, admits to having supported Scully financially. Caxias most probably had known of this for some time. It is possible that, taking into account the events of 1862 and 1863, the Brazilian military regarded British subjects as potential suspects, therefore keeping at least some of them under surveillance.

[9] For an example of how concerned British diplomacy had become with the hostility displayed by Brazilians towards the question of abolition, see Conrad 1972: 75.

[10] For a different assessment, see Marshall 2005: 24.

[11] A more detailed demonstration of how the *clientelist* system functioned in the Imperial period is presented in: Graham 1990.

[12] Literature on the 'spoils system' instituted legally by President Andrew Jackson appears to be ample. For an introduction to the problem, see Arnold 2002. In the United States of America, the 'spoils system' began to be extinct from the Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883, which initiated a process by which nominations for the exercise of public office ceased to follow political criteria. This legislation was adopted after the assassination of the Republican president James Garfield (1831-1881) perpetrated by a man suffering from mental illness, who wanted to be named consul in Paris, having voluntarily engaged in political propaganda on behalf of Garfield. In England the taking of exams for admission to public

office became law in 1870, which illustrates how well in tune Scully was with institutional advances in Great Britain.

[13] See Graham 1979: 67-68. Richard Graham in this 1966 article, indicates that, after the ending of the trans-Atlantic African slave trade to Brazil ' England continued to exert pressure on the government of Dom Pedro II in the decades of 1850 and 1860, until Brazil manifested a firm decision to put an end to slavery. Although the law that emancipated the children of slaves born after 28 September 1871 is usually considered the first indication of an abolitionist campaign, in reality it was the conclusion of the British phase of a history that had begun forty years earlier.' Unfortunately, Graham does not tell us how this pressure was exerted, after the Christie Affair.

[14] The society was named in that way, using the term *emigration*.

[15] The imperial speech from the throne in 1867 was also published in English by Scully's newspaper. See ABT 23 May 1867.

[16] This can be attested in letters addressed by the count, a Frenchman, to his father. Letter n° 48 Minuit 1/4, 23 April 1867 (Grão-Pará Archive, Brazilian Imperial Museum, Petrópolis) reads "... Scully m'a fait savoir qu'il se voyait obligé de cesser la publication de l'A.B.T.: il offrait même de restituer le prix des abonnements. Il paraît qu'il va s'établir á Buenos Ayres. J'en suis très fâché sous tous les rapports. Ce qui motive cela, c'est que le malheureux s'est vu surpris par une condamnation a trois mois de prison qui lui a été infligée par le Chef de police pour prétendues insultes [contre] l'ex-chef de police que l'avait arrêté lors de son incendie. Dès que j'ai su cela, j'ai demandé à l'Empereur de lui pardonner sa peine. L'Empereur, suivant son usage, ne m'a rien répondu, mais à quelques jours de là, les journaux m'ont appris que le pardon avait été accordé. Seulement, il paraît que cela ne change pas résolution de Scully et moi je suis encore à me demander comment, dans ce pays où l'on a sans cesse à la bouche les préceptes de la Constitution, un Chef de police peut s'ériger en pouvoir judiciaire pour condamner un étranger inoffensif! ...".

[17] An updated and more detailed account of the events is given by Marshall 2005: 63-87.

[18] For a detailed account of the preparations, voyage and arrival of the Wednesbury immigrants, see Marshall 2005: 52-67. Earlier references are Platt 1964: 3-38, 23, and Vieria 1980: 245.

[19] See also Marshall 2005: 52-57.

[20] This was indeed, greatly anticipated in England, by the Catholic Father George Montgomery, who took direct part in the recruitment of the Wednesbury colonists. See Marshall 2005: 60-61.

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