

INSTITUTO HISTÓRICO E GEOGRÁFICO BRASILEIRO

Ana Carolina Galante Delmas

PRINCESS ISABEL MARIA DE
BRAGANÇA: REGENT OF PORTUGAL
BETWEEN D. PEDRO AND D. MIGUEL¹

DELMAS, Ana Carolina Galante
PRINCESS ISABEL MARIA DE BRAGANÇA: REGENT OF
PORTUGAL BETWEEN D. PEDRO AND D. MIGUEL¹
R. IHGB, Rio de Janeiro, a. 181(484): 75-106, set/dez. 2020

Rio de Janeiro
set/dez. 2020

PRINCESS ISABEL MARIA DE BRAGANÇA: REGENT OF PORTUGAL BETWEEN D. PEDRO AND D. MIGUEL¹

D. ISABEL MARIA DE BRAGANÇA: REGENTE
DE PORTUGAL ENTRE D. PEDRO E D. MIGUEL

ANA CAROLINA GALANTE DELMAS²

Abstract:

The daughters of King John VI of Portugal and Queen Carlota Joaquina had their lives forgotten by historiography and have remained at the threshold of ostracism. Amongst the events of the political trajectories of the six infantas, the regency of Isabel Maria (1826 to 1828) can be considered the high point of the history of such princesses. Her role in the government of Portugal began with the death of her father and was marked by the disputes between D. Pedro and D. Miguel for the post. The fourth daughter of the Portuguese sovereigns assisted King John as secretary in his political functions and, as regent, sought to secure the throne for her brother D. Pedro, and later supposedly turned to the other brother. Chosen by her own father to take over the regency of Portugal, she reluctantly handed over the command of the country to D. Miguel. Unmarried to death, the infanta showed a political posture distinct of that of her mother and sisters, aligned with her father and older brother posture, and actively participated in the political events of the 1800s. Through the analysis of her personal and public trajectories, it is sought to understand its importance in the Brazilian and the Iberian political contexts, especially the relations between Brazil and Portugal. This study also seeks to contribute to the analysis of important themes of Brazilian and Portuguese historiographies through new uses and possibilities of biographies, which has been gaining space through the approaches of New Political History.

Keywords: Portuguese Royal Family; Iberian Peninsula Politics; Biographies; Sociabilities.

Resumo:

As infantas filhas de D. João VI e D. Carlota Joaquina tiveram suas vidas esquecidas pela historiografia e têm permanecido no limiar do ostracismo. Dentre os acontecimentos das trajetórias políticas das seis infantas, a regência de D. Isabel Maria (1826 a 1828) pode ser considerada o ponto alto da história de tais princesas. Seu papel no governo de Portugal teve início com a morte do pai e foi marcado pelas disputas entre D. Pedro e D. Miguel pelo posto. A quarta filha do casal de soberanos auxiliou D. João como secretária em suas funções políticas e, enquanto regente, buscou assegurar o trono para o irmão D. Pedro, tendo, mais tarde, supostamente se voltado para o outro irmão. Escolhida pelo próprio pai para assumir a Regência de Portugal, entregou relutante o comando do país a D. Miguel. Solteira até a morte, a infanta mostrou uma postura política distinta da mãe e das irmãs, alinhando-se à do pai e à do irmão mais velho, e participou ativamente dos acontecimentos políticos do oitocentos. Por meio da análise de suas trajetórias pessoal e pública, busca-se compreender sua importância no contexto político brasileiro e da Península Ibérica, especialmente das relações entre Brasil e Portugal. Tal estudo visa contribuir ainda para a análise de importantes temas das historiografias brasileira e portuguesa por meio de novos usos e de possibilidades das biografias, que vêm conquistando seu espaço por meio dos enfoques da Nova História Política.

Palavras-chave: Família Real; Política Ibérica; Biografias; Sociabilidades.

1 – Article relative to the presentation at the Center of Professional Education Hélio Augusto de Souza - CEPHAS (Comissão de Estudos e Pesquisas Históricas)) on 11/16/2016, revised and enlarged text.

2 – Doctor of History from PPGH/UERJ, with post-doctoral degree from the same insti-

The histography of some of the members of the Portuguese Royal family, such as Prince Regent and King, D. João VI, D. Maria I and D. Carlota Joaquina, D. Pedro I, and although to a lesser extent D. Miguel, is well known. However, the six daughters of D. João and D. Carlota have remained practically unknown. In a large portion of the histography, their involvements with politics has gone practically unnoticed, as though no interaction whatever with the context in which they lived had ever occurred.

All of the six Infantas were born in Portugal, only some years before the Royal Family went to Brazil in the period between 1793 and 1806. Therefore, their histories are confounded with the context of Portugal, Brazil and Spain of the 1800s. Far beyond the mere political games in the hands of their parents, these Infantas became involved in the questions of the relations between Brazil and Portugal, and particularly, between Portugal and Spain. They had some say in the choice of their husbands, moved from the Court to protect the rights of their children, were exiled, regents, participated and fought actively in the problems of dynastic succession of Portugal and Spain. On salvaging their trajectories, we were able to perceive that the Infantas' involvement in questions of the Houses of Bragança and Bourbon were beyond merely acting as characters playing the roles of consorts in a marriage policy to ensure alliances.

An example of this was D. João and D. Carlota's fourth daughter: Princess Isabel Maria. Her father chose her to assume the Regency of Portugal after his death, and she was regent between the years, when she ended up handing over command of the country to her brother, D. Miguel. In the few texts written with respect to her, it was affirmed that she had regretted having supported D. Pedro and had finally taken sides with D. Miguel. Nevertheless, the documentation found appeared to point in another direction. The Infanta adopted a political posture differing from that of her mother and sisters, aligned with that of her father and older brother, and participated actively in the events, irrespective of remaining

tution with Scholarship from the Rio de Janeiro Research Support Foundation (FAPERJ).

single until her death, and therefore not becoming part of the policy of alliances by marriages.

The presence of D. Isabel Maria at her father's side began to intensify with the return of D. João VI to Portugal, a period that was troubled until the monarch's death that culminated in the Regency of D. Isabel Maria, which she saw divided between an absolutist brother and liberal brother. Her role in the plans of the regency allowed the thought that the affirmation of the historian Ângelo Pereira³, which would go almost ignored until the death of her father would be an exaggeration, or she would not have received the difficult mission of.

In the early days of March 1826, perceiving the severity of her father's illness, D. Isabel Maria would have suggested a reconciliation with D. Carlota Joaquina. In D. João's conversation with the Patriarch of Lisbon and the Pope's representative, he had agreed to and asked for her to be fetched from Queluz and brought to the Palace of Bemposta. The queen would not have denied this request but would have alleged that she was in very poor health to undertake the journey. The British ambassador, Sir William A'Court, witnessed that on presenting the condolences of the English Court a few days later, the widows and her daughters "showed health, vivacity and no trace whatever of tiredness"⁴.

The news about D. João's health began to come to light in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* on March 06, 1826⁵, in the first of the twenty-seven bulletins published between this day and his death on March 10. The medical board's first bulletins that reported the king's health problem affirmed that

3 – PEREIRA, Ângelo. "Infanta D. Isabel Maria". In: *As senhoras infantas filhas de El-Rei D. João VI*. (The ladies, daughters of the King João VI.) Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, (National Publicity Company) 1938. p. 105.

4 – LIMA, Oliveira. "The difficulties." In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel - a querela da sucessão (1826-1828)*. [D. Pedro and D. Miguel - the quarrel of the succession (1826-1828)]. São Paulo / Caieiras / Rio de Janeiro: Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1925. pp. 13-15.

5 – *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Lisbon Gazette. No. 55, Março D. Isabel Maria, 1826. Lisbon: Imprensa Imperial e Real (Imperial and Royal Press), 1826. Available on the Google Books Platform. Accessed on 08/30/2020. https://books.google.com.br/books?id=6u8vAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pt-BR&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

it had improved, and that this progress remained. The situation, however, worsened. On March 7, the same periodical published a decree in its *Suplemento*⁶, which entrusted the government to Infanta Isabel Maria and councilors, and declared a State of Regency. The publication of the degree expedited from the Palace of Bemposta, on March 6, made it clear that D. João, his ministers and their counselors no longer really considered the exiled D. Miguel an option in the line of succession of Portugal. Until D. Pedro arrived in the Kingdom, the only one who remained was D. Isabel Maria.

Some subsequent bulletins continued to announce improvement in the state of health and hope of his recovery, which did not occur. Then there were rumors that the news of death had been postponed in order to allow time to publish the mentioned decree and thereby remove D. Carlota and D. Miguel from the line of succession⁷. With or without intrigues, Portugal lamented the loss and waited, depositing its hopes in D. Isabel Maria:

If you are absent afterwards; ... ah! You leave us
In the Branches, It is the Trunk on the Ground
The Fatherly Virtues; and starts
Shining in the Lusitano Hemisphere
Your People even more than the beautiful Aurora,
Or than the Virgin of the luminous Sphere,
INFANTE AUGUSTA, and Beautiful, Messenger
Of the high Venture, that you send from the People⁸.

6 – *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*. (Lisbon Gazette Supplement). No. 56, March 7, 1826. Lisbon: Imprensa Imperial e Real (Imperial and Royal Press), 1826. Available on the Google Books Platform. Accessed on 08/30/2020.

7 – PEDREIRA, Pedreira & COSTA, Fernando Dore. “Os três últimos anos”. (The last three years). In: *D. João VI: Um príncipe entre dois continentes*. (A prince between two continents). São Paulo: Companhia das Letras p. 423-425.

8 – GOUVEIA, José Fernandes de Oliveira Leitão de. *Epicédio na infausta morte do senhor D. João VI*./Epicidium [funeral ode] on the unfortunate death of the lord D. João VI. Coimbra: Imprensa Real da Universidade, 1826. (Royal University Press) Com Licença da Real Comissão de Censura e oferecida à D. Isabel Maria. pp. 1-7./With permission from the Royal Censorship Commission, and offered to D. Isabel Maria. Se Te ausentas depois; ...ah! Tu nos deixas / Nos Ramos, é Tronco, junto ao Sólido / As Paternais Virtudes; e

The sisters residing at the Spanish Court soon corresponded with D. Pedro. In a polished manner, D. Maria Francisca sent her condolences on the death of the father and congratulated him on ascension to the throne of Portugal, without failing to remind him that she had a place in the inheritance of João. D. Maria Teresa, although disgusted by her seditious brother, addressed him in a letter of May 9, written on the same elegant and mourning paper used by D. Maria Francisca. At any rate, the envelope was addressed “To His Majesty the most Faithful King of Portugal, my dear brother”, who the Infanta did not fail to wish that he would return to the good path of a government that would put an end to the revolutionaries. She emphasized that this time, the place he would occupy on the throne was legitimate, although her opinion might change or reveal itself sometime later.

The Infanta then found herself at the center of the dispute for the throne of Portugal, which this time, suffered from succession problems due to the excess of heirs. D. Isabel Maria was described as a woman who led a simple and withdrawn life, whose conversation at first denoted a certain coldness and circumspection, but it became interesting and warm, as the topics revolved around her former political life⁹. In addition to the comments about her character and religiousness¹⁰, devoted a little space to the stigmas indicating that her regency was poorly conducted¹¹, and was at all times permeated with reports of health problems, especially about her

começa / A brilhar no Hemisfério Lusitano / A Teu Povo inda mais que a bela Aurora, / Ou que a Virgem da Esfera luminosa, / INFANTE AUGUSTA, e Bela, Mensageira / D’alta Ventura, que do Povo envias

9 – LICHNOWSKY, Felix Maria Vincenz Andreas. *Portugal Recordações do anno de 1842*. (Memories of the year 1842). Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional (National Press), 1845, p. 123-124.

10 – PEREIRA, Ângelo. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *As senhoras infantas filhas de El-Rei D. João VI*. (The ladies, daughters of the King João VI.) Lisbon: Editorial Labor, 1938, p. 122-123.

11 – LACERDA, José Maria Almeida e Araújo de Portugal Correia de. *A. B. da Costa Cabral: apontamentos históricos, Vol. (historical notes) I*. Lisbon: Typographia de Silva, 1844, p. 19. Available on the Google Books Platform. Accessed on 08/30/2020. https://books.google.com.br/books?id=mSErAQAAAJ&pg=PA1&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false

supposed hysteria¹². The directions of her regency were changed by the Constitutional Charter that was granted, and by the divergences between liberals and absolutists that occurred in the kingdom. These were also felt within the Royal Family, through the quarrel between D. Pedro and D. Miguel, and the sisters' involvement in the dispute.

At any rate, D. Isabel Maria appeared to have ruled the Kingdom with a firm hand and had been active in politics even before she had been nominated Regent. A letter sent to an ecclesiastic about three months before the death of João already showed her perception about the family divided among the rights of succession:

Father Master¹³ I received your letters and a little gift, for which I certainly thank you very much; besides being very beautiful I thank you so much for remembering me.

I congratulate you on your order, which I certainly esteemed as highly as you may suppose; with respect to news you will see in the “*Gazetas*”. The internal [issues] continue, as you may think. The diligences are still being done in the same way so that the letter does not go ahead, and to tell the truth, what they want is for brother Miguel to be the King, and they say that they count on the marriage with my Niece because otherwise they see that it is impossible; and that being married to her, he would soon be King; pretending [that he is not], and also that the letter will end soon, as all this is done only by free masons and that brother Miguel is the only salvation of the Nation and they all agree [that] with a person with the respect that I owe him, I do not dare to name, and with the two sisters in Spain who have more than declared themselves [in favor of] brother Miguel and against Mano Pedro, it is impossible [...] Aguiar will also say this to you or certainly much better explained¹⁴.

12 – PEREIRA, Ângelo. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *As senhoras infantas filhas de El-Rei D. João VI.* (The ladies, daughters of the King *João VI.*) Lisbon: Editorial Labor, 1938. p. 122-123.

13 – The Father Master to whom the Infanta referred was probably Fr. Antônio de Nossa Senhora da Arrábida, who was the Portuguese language teacher of both the Emperor and Regent. Born in Lisbon, he was Librarian at the Convent of Mafra. His work was admired by the Prince Regent D. João, who invited him to be his Royal Counselor. He was also the man in whom Emperor D. Pedro I placed his trust.

14 – Arquivo do Museu Imperial. (Imperial Museum Archives) Ref: I-POB-16.01.1826-IM.P.c. Carta de Isabel Maria, infanta de Portugal, a um eclesiástico. (Isabel Maria, in-

The Constitutional Charter was an old project that had previously divided opinions. It was the second Constitution of Portugal and had been in force for a longest time, was revoked by D. Miguel in his acclamation as the absolutist king (1828) and restored by D. Pedro in 1834. However, the absolutists who were opposed to her, and supporters of D. Miguel, against D. Pedro and the Freemasons, were aware that the smoothest way for the prince to assume the throne was through marriage with D. Maria da Glória. Furthermore, when speaking about D. Maria Teresa and D. Maria Francisca, it could be supposed that the person at the head of the movement that favored the acclamation of D. Miguel and who was not nominated out of respect, would be D. Carlota Joaquina. Apparently, there was no doubt as regards the mother's and sisters' support for the Infante, who was in exile at that time.

The content of D. Isabel Maria's letter is extremely interesting, and at the same time, open to doubt and suspicion, because it states the political disagreements with the throne so openly and in such detail, long before the death of D. João. Since the letter is stored in the Archives of the Imperial Museum and was cataloged as being genuine, there is doubt about D. João's health, which would be a reason why the plans for succession plans had been so well laid. Moreover, the letter is completely lucid and rational. There was awareness of the political intrigues between liberalists and absolutists, and the infanta appeared to know exactly who those who attacked her were, and what their purpose was. She also declared her preference for the acclamation of D. Pedro, and contrary to the other members of her family, the infanta opening affirmed that she was constitutional. The concerns of D. Isabel Maria, therefore, were directed towards protecting the kingdom of D. Miguel and safeguard it for D. Pedro and D. Maria da Glória. At the end of the letter, there is an interesting declaration. For a princess who was so aware of the political happenings and concerned about the course they were taking, in addition to being highly involved in the decisions of the kingdom - since she

fanta de Portugal's letter to an ecclesiast). Ajuda, (Help) January 15, 1826. s.n.p.

appeared to have had an active part in the government - D. Isabel Maria affirmed that she wanted distance from being in command:

If Abrantes is still there, tell him – as far as I am concerned - to stay until I tell him to come, because then I believe everything is safe and the way it is, and I do not want to see him being sacrificed because he is an honorable man, I say of Brother Pedro's party, and for this reason they promise to take his? head off, if brother Miguel comes here; would certainly have many more things to say to you, but I will tell you if I remember; now I only tell you that I would like to sit in a corner of the house eating some soup as soon as possible, rather than Govern, because night and day I have nothing but displeasure, and what preserves me is my friendship with Brother Pedro, and I also see the damage that would result in these circumstances – both to the Nation and to the right of Brother Pedro, as these are the only reasons and no others.¹⁵

The *Post Scriptum* of the letter is also interesting, because shortly after the declaration of displeasure arising from the political actions, the infant asks the ecclesiast for advice, appealing to him as a frank and faithful disciple, the renewal of her confidence in the “Father Master”: “Find a way to tell my brother to authorize me so that I can nominate some Peers that will be of his party, and not those of Brother Miguel, because the entire Chamber, with the exception of one or two, are all on Brother Miguel's side, without exaggeration”¹⁶. The consultation about the right persons for the role of Peers of the Kingdom (Deputies) however, simultaneously denotes the concern about ensuring the command of D. Pedro and some doubt about those who surrounded him. She probably sought to leave the Chamber more favorable to her older brother for the time being while the question of succession was being imposed.

Irrespective of her affections and the position she took in the midst of the family conflict, the infanta conducted her father's government with

15 – *Carta de Isabel Maria, infanta de Portugal, a um eclesiástico*. Ajuda, 16 de Janeiro de 1826. s.n.p. Arquivo do Museu Imperial. Ref: I-POB-16.01.1826-IM.P.c. (Isabel Maria, infanta de Portugal's letter to an ecclesiast)

16 – *Carta de Isabel Maria, infanta de Portugal, a um eclesiástico*. (Isabel Maria, infanta de Portugal's letter to an ecclesiast). *Op. cit.*

continuity, demonstrating firmness. Documents found in the Portuguese Royal Cabinet of Literature¹⁷ showed evidence that D. Isabel Maria commanded the army with an iron hand, seeking to maintain the Kingdom in order until the arrival of D. Pedro. In the period between 1821 and 1826, D. João would take steps against the highwaymen and robbers of wealthy houses; he had sought to find out the “state of the public mood” in weekly bulletins so that he could prevent dissensions, and had acted to put an end to the smuggling of products such as tobacco and soap. At the beginning of every month, he followed-up the reports of military personnel who were sick and being treated in civilian hospitals, lists and civilian and military personnel deported for political reasons¹⁸.

D. Isabel Maria persisted with the maintenance of public order, by ordering strictness in the capture of bandits and criminals, and pursued deserters by establishing a list that would make it possible for them to be recognized. Simultaneously, she ordered the authorities to proceed with care as regards meticulous analysis of passports: so that they would act with rectitude and in accordance with the regulations¹⁹. In the year 1827, the transit of military personnel was strictly controlled by means of forms and permits. Portugal and England signed a treaty about the maintenance and permanence of English troops on Portuguese soil for the length of time that would be of interest to the Portuguese people²⁰. Therefore, although the authorities had the power to demand transit permits to prevent desertions, the infanta ordered that the English troops summoned were to be treated

17 – The documents from the files of the Portuguese Royal Cabinet of Literature, cited as follows, belong to the library of Carlos Malheiro Dias (1875-1941). He was a Portuguese journalist, chronicler, novelist, short story writer, politician and historian exiled to Brazil between 1910 and 1935.

18 – Portuguese Royal Cabinet of Literature Files. Ref: ENC 7 D 26, Alguns documentos officiaes do reinado de D. João 6 (1821-1826) e da regencia da infanta d. (Some official documents from the reign of D. João 6 (1821-1826) and the Regency of Infanta D. Isabel Maria (1826).

19 – Alguns documentos officiaes do reinado de D. João 6... (Some official documents from the reign of D. João 6 *Op. cit.*

20 – Archives of IHGB. Carta de ratificação e confirmação passada pela [regente] D. Isabel Maria expondo os artigos do tratado celebrado entre Portugal e Inglaterra. / Letter of ratification and confirmation passed by [regente] D. Isabel Maria disclosing the articles of the treaty celebrated between Portugal and England. Ajuda, (Help) January 6, 1827. s.n.p.

with great respect. As the rights of troops were guaranteed, deserters were hunted relentlessly, pursued by their names and physical descriptions, captured and imprisoned. It was observed that D. Isabel Maria understood the need for a strong army in the midst of the escalating tempers. She requested that the ordinance officers who arrested the recruits should not be maltreated and that the “idle imprisoned individuals” should also be recruited. She ordered the authorities in charge to do whatever was required to maintain the order and loyalty of the army and in the streets. Another known form of command was instituted: censorship of writings. This time, an attempt was made to prevent printed subversion it could enter the kingdom:

Informing the Lady Infanta Regent that a subversive text was being printed in Paris, of which a large number of copies would be sent to this Kingdom as soon as the printing was completed, and ordering the aforementioned Lady to tell Same Lady Augusta, in Notice of 22nd of the current that the mentioned copies were apprehended, before their distribution and Sale to Your Majesty began, so that the measures that were necessary in Conformity with this, by the District of its Comarca, by informing all the Judges of this Order, and they will give me information about the Result of This Order.²¹

A little over a month after the death of D. João VI and even before the publication of the Constitutional Charter, the *Gazeta de Lisboa*²² attributed the title “King of our Lord” to D. Pedro instead if Emperor of Brazil (the use of the usual abbreviation S.M.I., was resumed later). The Regent had no doubt about recognizing the rights of the oldest brother, without questioning the wishes of the father. Similarly, no voices were immediately raised against these wishes, declared publicly by the sovereign, so many times before his death²³. D. Pedro himself turned

21 – *Regência da infanta D. Isabel Maria - (alguns documentos officiaes do seu governo (anno de 1827).* Acervo do Real Gabinete Português de Leitura. Documento 31. Ref: 48 R 7

22 – *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Lisbon Gazette. No. 96, April 7, 1826. Lisbon: Impressão Régia, 1826. (Royal Printers) Available on the Google Books Platform. Accessed on 08/30/2020.

23 – BRANCATO, Braz A. A. “La muerte de Don João y los problemas de la sucesión lusitana”. (The death of Don João and the problems of the Lusitanian succession). In: *D. Pedro I de Brasil, Posible Rey de España (Una conspiración liberal).*/D. Pedro I of Brazil,

his interest towards the Portuguese question, proceeding as if he were in command of the administration of both Brazil and Portugal, and signing the dispatches of the latter as D. Pedro IV - which did not fail to upset the Brazilians²⁴.

However, the references to the first born in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* promptly gave way to the exchange of correspondence between D. Isabel Maria and D. Miguel. The “*Parte Oficial*”, which opens the copy of the mentioned periodical, announced that D. Miguel was informed of the news by means of a letter from the Regent sister, and the pain caused by the loss was so great that the Infante was affected by violent attacks of convulsion, losing his sleep and appetite. Only after the attacks ceased, and only the hurt and sadness remained, did D. Miguel write a brief reply to his sister.²⁵ The Emperor of Austria, out of respect for the period of mourning of the Portuguese Royal Family, ordered solemn funeral services were to be celebrated in the Imperial Chapel of the Court in Vienna, for the rest of the soul of the Lord Emperor and King João VI. With the intention of maintaining the good relations with D. Miguel as well, Francisco I sent him his condolences in the same edition of the *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Moreover, in the same new, the two letters of the mentioned correspondence between the sibling were published in full. As the Regent had, by means of the periodical, manifested her wish that the exiled Infante should not cause problems, they proceeded with publication of a short missive sent by D. Isabel Maria to her brother, who answered:

My dear Sister! Oppressed by the most profound hurt due to the irreparable and lamentable loss we have both just experienced, my only desire is to see preservation of the tranquility and unhurt respect in our beloved Country, which it so badly lacks, and which behoove the Sovereign Determinations of our beloved Father and Lord, who

Possible King of Spain (A liberal conspiracy). *Porto Alegre EDIPUCRS, 1999. p. 259.

24 – LUSTOSA, Isabel. “Portugal x Brasil”. In: *D. Pedro I: um herói sem nenhum caráter/ a hero without any character*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2006. p. 278. (Company of Letters

25 – *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Nº 98, 27 de Abril de 1826. Lisboa: Imprensa Régia, 1826. Disponível na plataforma Google Books. Disponível na plataforma Google Books. Acessado em 30/08/2020.

God was Served by calling him to himself: and having stated that I am intimately convinced of the recognized and pure fidelity, which the honored and proud; Portuguese Nation always gave their paternal and legitimate Sovereigns, I have anyway reflected on the possibility that some persons with evil intentions and sinister and reprehensible purposes, seek to exercise disloyal and criminal upheavals in these Kingdoms, perhaps making use of my name to conceal their pernicious designs²⁶.

As may be observed, the exchange of correspondences began with explicit civility and with calculated demonstrations of respect. In the immediacy of the death of D. João, and in the midst of political uncertainties, there was the need to affirm that the Infant would not be part of the seditious movements and would place the wellbeing of Portugal above everything. Prudently, he reiterated respect for their father's wishes with regard to the Regency, without losing the opportunity to point out that the power had not been delegated directly and exclusively to the sister, but rather to a Junta of Government. He also declared respect of the right of succession of his brother, closing the letter with the following wishes, which denoted that it was written with the purpose of being divulged and pacification of the political scene, although momentarily.

I therefore ask you, my beloved sister, that in the unlikely case that someone has the nerve to dare abuse my name into serving as a cover for subversive projects against good order, and the legal existence of the Junta of Government, established by the One Who had the indisputable right to institute it, to make public and declare when, whom, and where it would suit, by virtue of the present letter, the sentiments contained in it, emanated spontaneous from my spirit and inspired by the fidelity and respect owing to the memory and the last wish of our beloved Father and Lord.

I ask God, my beloved Sister that he Guards you for long ears, as your brother desires for you, your most loving and longing brother, Miguel²⁷.

26 – *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Lisbon Gazette. No. 98, April 27, 1826. Lisboa: Imprensa Régia, 1826. (Royal Printers) Available on the Google Books Platform. Accessed on 08/30/2020.

27 – *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Lisbon Gazette. No. 98, April 27, 1826. Lisboa: Imprensa Régia, 1826. (Royal Printers) Available on the Google Books Platform. Accessed on 08/30/2020.

At the time, D. Isabel Maria was president of a Regency Council. The Infanta followed the political guidance of D. João VI, by keeping herself on the side of the moderate persons of the liberal party who had been chosen as ministers of the late King. After the sudden death of the governor, the infanta withdrew herself to the station of “Caldas da Rainha” for a brief period to recover her nerves.²⁸ As soon as she returned to Lisbon, she wrote to her brother D. Miguel again, on July 19, with respect to the letter of June 14.

I highly esteem that my dear Brother will approve the decision I took and ordered publication of your appreciated letter of April 6, as soon as I received it; and this measure product a thankful effect on the Public, which I expected. My dear Brother, my main object is, and always was, cut down intrigues, unite our Family, and make it increasingly loved by a Nation gifted with the most beautiful qualities that in all the centuries of the Monarchy distinguished it at all times, and in these latest times some men, as ambition as they are perverse, sought to disorientate and lose²⁹.

At that moment, the exchange of correspondence between the exiled and regent transmitted a supposed calm in which D. Pedro was seen as the heir of Portugal. The need is perceived for a change of courtesies to maintain the calmness of tempers, or at least, maintain the conflicts in suspension. In addition to the demonstrations of peace, the text of the letter recommends continuation of the government of D. João. One perceives the request - or warning - of the Infanta to her brother that he should allow the actions of the regency government to follow the wishes of the late Sovereign. Furthermore, in the same letter, D. Isabel Maria thanks the Infante for the confidence placed in her. D. Miguel sent his sister his full power to administer the “*Casa do Infantado*”, (House of the Infantes), his property, in his name, in addition to the authorization that she should proceed with the division of their father’s assets. Apparently,

28 – Ângelo Pereira. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *Os filhos de El Rei D. João VI*. Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1946, pp. 529-530.

29 – Carta de D. Isabel Maria a D. Miguel *apud* Ângelo Pereira./Letter from D. Isabel Maria to D. Miguel *apud* Ângelo Pereira “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *Os filhos...The children.... Op. cit.* pp. 530-532.

he would have asked the Regent to take the administration onto herself, which previously was in the hands of the government, and this request would give her the strength to perform the task with dignity, promising to perform it with the greatest zeal. And, as always, the correspondence ended with wishes for health, long life and swearing longing.

Contrary to what appears to have happened with D. Miguel, whose correspondences found with date after the death of D. João, D. Isabel Maria and D. Pedro had been exchanging missives since the times of the Independence. However, the correspondence found in the Archives of the Imperial Museum denoted more intimacy and friendship, even when dealing with matters of State. Whether in long or short epistles, the Infanta D. Isabel Maria also acted as a type of interlocutor between her brother and father. The correspondence encompassed congratulations on the births of nieces and nephews and even orders:

If my brother wishes to order something, the tobacco she still uses or any other thing, I am ready. My brother well knows that I ask him to tell Marcus that on my part I always remember him and his music, because here there is none that I miss very much. Now here is a petition of mine, if my brother could send the organ here, which was in the house of the statues and that no one other than I played, you would do me a great favor. You do not have to feel angry with me, because I ask this of you, which is the confidence of a sister who is your very good friend.³⁰

D. Isabel Maria referred to the composer Marcos Portugal, who was one of the music teachers of the infantas. It is interesting to see her referring to the master in such an informal manner and observe her attachment to the instrument she had left behind. At any rate, the correspondence demonstrates affinity and complicity between the siblings, which may help to explain the unconditional support the Infanta offered D. Pedro.

Some years later, with the death of D. João VI, the tone of correspondence became aggravated. Since the first times as Regent, the

30 – Cartas de d. Isabel Maria, infanta de Portugal, a d. Pedro I. Queluz, 09/07/1822. Arquivo do Museu Imperial. Ref: I-POB-31_03_1822-IM-P.c 1-4

Infanta positioned herself on the side of D. Pedro; a different posture was assumed by D. Carlota Joaquina and the other infantas. In the same way as the uncle, D. Fernando VII, King of Spain, they immediately placed themselves on the side of D. Miguel. And, in the same way as in the Royal Family and the people, the external relations of Portugal were also divided. The problems of succession to the Portuguese throne caused by the separation and by the Independence of Brazil caused different expectations. England and Spain intended resolving the question in almost opposite ways. The former was prepared to recognize the legitimate sovereign of Brazil Emperor D. Pedro I by the abdication of the European crown in favor of his daughter, D. Maria da Glória. In its turn, Spain, as well as Austria, without having recognized the Independence of Brazil and its status of Empire, intended to see the absolutists infante D. Miguel acclaimed³¹.

However, Oliveira Lima judged that the use of the title Emperor of Brazil by D. João did not constitute a paternal vanity, as has previously been affirmed, but rather a “a thin designation” of a political nature. He had intended that after his death, D. Pedro would reunite all the titles of King of Portugal and Algarve, to which his son had granted him honorably. If the father intended to reunify the crowns, his plans went in opposite directions. To D. João, the center was Portugal while to D. Pedro, Brazil would always be preponderant. Doubts about the succession had arisen in Portugal long before the death of the sovereign; the Kingdom was divided between the absolutists who believed that D. Pedro had lost the right to the throne on choosing to remain in the former colony, and the constitutionalists who did not desire a return to the old system³².

Although the best-known plan for resolving the problems of succession would be the acclamation of D. Maria da Glória, the possibility

31 – LIMA, Oliveira Lima. “A atitude das potências estrangeiras.”/”The attitude of foreign powers” In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel – a querela da sucessão (1826-1828)*. [D. Pedro and D. Miguel - the quarrel of the succession (1826-1828)]. São Paulo / Caieiras / Rio de Janeiro: Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1925. pp. 25-27.

32 – LIMA, Oliveira Lima. “A atitude das potências estrangeiras.”/”The attitude of foreign powers” In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* Cit. pp. 27-29.

of the acclamation of D. Isabel Maria was also put forward. The liberals called for D. Pedro, but they were far more satisfied with D. Isabel Maria than with D. Miguel. Some preferred D. Maria da Glória, who governed at the side of the absolutist uncle - a marriage that had been cogitated since before the time of D. João's death, with D. Pedro asking his father to send the brother to Brazil for this purpose³³. There was also the possibility of uniting D. Maria da Glória with her cousin D. Sebastião (son of D. Maria Teresa and D. Pedro Carlos), which could mean another absolutist King consort. Considering the two possible husbands of the Princess of "*Grão-Pará*", the liberals saw a liberal and legitimate alternative in D. Isabel Maria. However, the European powers were inclined towards the abdication of D. Pedro in favor of the daughter. The Regent, in turn, fought to impose her command in the midst of the ministers of the regency, and under accusations that she allowed herself to be influenced by the ultraliberals. Between intrigues and rumors, the Infanta is known to have sought to conserve the regency safe until the decision came from brother D. Pedro. And this decision was the fuse that was missing to make the parties position themselves in the dispute for the crown of Portugal³⁴.

It is necessary to point out that, at the core of the dispute, there was still the question of the Independence of Brazil, separating the two crowns and placing D. Pedro as the legitimate sovereign of Brazil. Remembering that the fundamental principle of the Portuguese Monarchy was that the Kingdom could not be passed to foreign princes, which could be noted in all the maneuvers executed to prevent the crown from falling into

33 – Carta de D. Pedro a D. João VI. (Letter from – to In: *Diário das Cortes Gerais, Extraordinárias, e Constituintes da Nação Portuguesa./Diary of the General, Extraordinary and Constituent Courts of the Portuguese Nation Segundo ano da Legislatura./Second Year of Legislature Tomo Sétimo./Seventh Tome* Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional (National Press), 1822, p. 123224. Available on the Google Books Platform. Accessed on 08/30/2020. <https://books.google.com.br/books?id=w0ZFAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Diario+das+cortes+geraes+e+extraordinarias+da+nac%C3%A3o+portuguesa&hl=pt-BR&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjZy5a1t-rrAhXjIlkGHRAhAOAQ6AEwAXoECAUQA#v=onepage&q=Diario%20das%20cortes%20geraes%20e%20extraordinarias%20da%20nac%C3%A3o%20portuguesa&f=false>

34 – LIMA, Oliveira. "As atribuições e ambições de D. Isabel Maria." / The attributions and ambitions of D. Isabel Maria." In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* pp. 48-51.

Spanish hands. However, in the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, signed in 1825 to “reestablish the peace, friendship and good harmony between brother peoples, so that the most sacred ties may conciliate and unite them in perpetual alliance”³⁵, there is no mention whatever of renouncing the Portuguese crown. Although the treaty separated the two kingdoms, it left a door open to D. Pedro I in the line of succession in Portugal, as D. João VI had wished³⁶.

The broad nature of the document protected the friendship between the kingdoms and left the questions of succession open. However, D. Pedro’s rights to the Portuguese crown became doubtful in the eyes of the Portuguese when he rebelled against his father and the State. There were those that argued that D. Pedro had never lost his Portuguese nationality, especially with independence already carried out with the approval and at the convenience of D. João³⁷. The fact is pointed out that the two countries were separated in every way, except by communication between father and son. The legitimacy of D. Pedro resided in doubts, in the wish of those of desired to see D. Miguel dislodged from the Portuguese crown, and in the wishes that the firstborn should occupy his place in the government of Portugal. Moreover, there was the fact that D. Miguel was exiled and had conspired against his father and the State. The Portuguese Crown was in fact, therefore, found to be between a liberal usurper and an absolutist usurper. Aside from the family feelings that made D. João proud of his son Emperor, who had asked him for his blessing for Independence, and disgust for the other son who had tried to steal his only remaining crown, both had struck a political blow against their father.³⁸

35 – The treaty of friendship and alliance between the King Lord D. João VI and D. Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, made by mediation of his British Majesty, signed in Rio de Janeiro on August 29, 1825, and ratified by Portugal on November 15 and by Brazil on August 30 of the said year. Available at site http://dai-mre.serpro.gov.br/atos-internacionais/bilaterais/1825/b_2/ Accessed on 08/30/2020.

36 – LIMA, Oliveira. “O aspecto jurídico da sucessão.”/The legal aspect of the succession” In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* pp. 52-53.

37 – COSTA, Sérgio Correia da. “D. Pedro e a coroa de Portugal”./“D. Pedro and the crown of Portugal” In: *As quatro coroas de D. Pedro I.* /The four crowns of D. Pedro I. Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Record Editora, 1940. pp. 164-166.

38 – LIMA, Oliveira. “O aspecto jurídico da sucessão.” In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op.*

D. Pedro, in turn, had apparently never considered Independence as an act of betrayal to D. João, especially if we observe the exchange of correspondences that indicate the king of Portugal's consent. Perhaps, this is why, the balance on the paternal side had tended towards favoring D. Pedro, especially after Vilafrancada (1823) and Abrilada (1824), as can be seen in the articles of the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro (1825), signed with D. Miguel already in exile. In her turn, D. Carlota and the infantas D. Maria Teresa and D. Maria Francisca did not take these arguments into account. They defended D. Miguel and the absolutists ideals, and only in fact expressed their views about Independence after 1825, as may be seen in their correspondences.

Returning to the plans for the marriage of D. Miguel with D. Maria da Glória, the infante in his turn, was not satisfied with occupying the place of consort. Therefore, he was impeded from participating in the government and even the royal title as long as the marriage did not take place. However, after the Treaty of 1825, it was also understood that the designation of D. Pedro as D. Pedro IV of Portugal was stripped of legal value, and so was his abdication in favor of D. Maria da Glória. D. Miguel was, in fact and by right, the male heir of the Bragança dynasty.³⁹ Between two male heirs attempting a coup, a single infanta, who was fifth in the line of succession (D. Miguel being the sixth), and a “foreign” princess born in the former colony, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly who had the rights to the Portuguese throne. The Courts had the authority to decide and change the laws of Portugal, if necessary, but were caught in the crossfire between the claims of absolutists, liberals and constitutionalists.

The Constitutional Charter of the Portuguese Monarchy was published in April 1826, decreed and granted to the Portuguese by a D. Pedro already entitled “King of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves, and Emperor of Brazil”⁴⁰,

cit. pp. 54-57.

39 – LIMA, Oliveira. “O aspecto jurídico da sucessão.” In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel - a querela da sucessão (1826-1828)*. São Paulo / Caieiras / Rio de Janeiro: Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1925. pp. 58-59.

40 – *Constitutional Charter of the Portuguese Monarchy Decretada e dada pelo Rei de Portugal e Algarves D. Pedro, Imperador do Brasil, ao 29 de Abril de 1826./Decreed*

who appeared to have no doubts about the legitimacy of his place in the line of succession to the Portuguese throne, as well as that of his daughter. The granting of the Charter and the abdication in favor of D. Maria da Glória dissatisfied the supporters of D. Miguel and dashed their hopes for the restoration of absolutism. The new constitution imported from Brazil cause dissatisfaction within and outside of Portugal. Divided about the legitimacy of the rights of the two brothers to the throne, the powers were unwilling to enter conflict because of the new Constitution⁴¹.

In the meantime, D. Isabel Maria continued at the head of the regency; It was necessary to govern the country, irrespectively of whether it was in the name of D. Pedro, D. Maria da Glória or of D. Miguel. As we have seen, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* was used to disseminate the government's actions and calm down tempers. Various items of correspondence between the Regent and her brother D. Miguel were published, such as the part of the letter that opened to issue of July 15, 1826.

But it is not only from this side that I have highly esteemed your Letters; it is also for the grateful affection that they produced in the good Portuguese, (and they are the larger number), and by the terror that they induce in those who are perverse, and give the false and deceptive appearance of being Mano's friends, desire scenes of blood and horror to see whether, in the midst of a revolution, and disorder, they would be able to satisfy their anger against innocent [people], and improve their fortune⁴².

In the same letter, D. Isabel Maria reiterates that she does not wish to reign and that she is carrying out her father's orders, awaiting the decisions of her brother, emperor and legitimate successor to the crown. In a most

and given by the King of Portugal and Algarves D. Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, on April 29, 1826. *Correta e fielmente reimpressa segundo a edição autêntica da Impressão Régia.* / Corrected and faithfully reprinted according to the authentic edition of the Royal Printers Coimbra: Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1826. pp. 3-4 Available at <https://archive.org/stream/cartaconstitucao00port#page/22/mode/2up/search/94> Acessado em 30/08/2020.

41 – LIMA, Oliveira. "A outorga da Carta." / Granting of the Charter In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* pp. 60-67.

42 – *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Lisbon Gazette. No. 164, April 27, 1826. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1826. (Royal Printers) Available on the Google Books Platform. Accessed on 08/30/2020.

direct manner, after briefly touching on the subject of the administration of “*Casa do Infantado*”, and the end of the listing of the inventory of D. João’s assets, the periodical published the first part of the Constitutional Charter of the Portuguese Monarchy. It was yet another public declaration that in spite of the confused political situation, the Regency and Infanta were on D. Pedro’s side.

For this purpose, the plans of the Emperor of Brazil and the Regent of Portugal were being followed so that she would remain Regent until Princess D. Maria da Glória became a major, at 25 years of age. However, a few years before the death of D. João, at the height of his grudge against the Portuguese, the infante had declared that to Portugal, he would only yield his third son if he were to have one. He would reserve the firstborn and the second born for Brazil because he was surer of the maintenance of the dynasty in America. However, after the death of D. João, the Emperor rapidly concerned himself about guaranteeing the European throne for his firstborn. D. Miguel was in exile, where he would remain for 7 years, until 1831. He would, however, be 25 years of age in 1827, attaining majority that would enable him to be Regent. With the uncertainties surrounding succession, D. Pedro and England sought to keep the Infante in Vienna for the maximum length of time possible, until the political situation went in the direction they desired. It could, therefore, be perceived that D. Pedro sought to safeguard the rights to the two crowns and prevent his brother from becoming king in Europe. And to do this, he counted on his sister’s help.⁴³

To extend the Infanta’s regency until D. Maria da Glória came to the throne, they sought to take advantage of the fact that the Liberals were in a more advantageous position, and that the Absolutists would be considered rebels on challenging if they were to challenge the position of D. Pedro. Since it was necessary to win the loyalty of the army, which was already in a rebellious state, the rumor was spread that the government D. João had organized for the regency had tried to oppose the Infanta’s

43 – LIMA, Oliveira. “A interinidade constitucional.” In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* pp. 71-72.

appointment as the sole regent. The rumor led to the colonels of the major portion of the capital's line regiments and the various militia regiments to speak out in favor of D. Isabel Maria to support her in her role as Regent⁴⁴. Moreover, the proclamation was published in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, on August 1, 1826:

Portuguese people! By the Constitutional Charter, which you have just sworn, I am called to the Regency of these Kingdoms during the minority of My August Niece, and our Legitimate Queen, Lady DONA MARIA DA GLÓRIA. As the First Subject, it is my first duty to put into immediate and vigorous effect, the Wise Constitutional Charter which, from the Height of His Throne, he gave his Portuguese subjects, My August Brother, and our Legitimate King, the Lord Dom Pedro IV, whose Glorious Name is repeated with admiration, respect and awe in America, in Europe, and in the whole World! I will therefore comply, and will enforce this immortal Constitutional Code, the only Way Out for our Political Salvation. Damned be whoever opposes it. The Law will punish you without mercy; and I will be as relentless as the Law⁴⁵.

The Regent affirmed that her ambition was only to restore the glory of Portugal, and that she had sacrificed her health for her country, and would sacrifice life itself if necessary. She also asked the Portuguese people to support her Regency until her niece arrived. The message was published. The political direction of the Regency was constitutional, and the Charter was described as the savior of the Portuguese nation. In addition to D. Pedro's abdication from his role as legitimate successor, D. Maria da Glória was declared a legitimate sovereign, and in the same sought to establish the unquestionable nature of D. Isabel Maria's regency in her niece's name. Everything was arranged so that D. Miguel would stay out of the government in case he did not swear to the Constitution and contract a marriage to the princess of "*Grão-Pará*". To guarantee that the events would occur within this planning, the government affirmed that as

44 – LIMA, Oliveira. "Os embarços domésticos."/"The domestic embarassments". In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* pp. 93-94.

45 – *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Nº 178, 01 de Agosto de 1826. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1826. Disponível na plataforma Google Books. Acessado em 30/08/2020.

soon as D. Miguel swore an oath to the Constitutional Charter, he would begin to enjoy all the rights this reserved for him⁴⁶.

However, the Infanta felt the need to justify her place in the regency of Portugal, alleging that her conscience was at ease, and affirming that the reason for the lack of correspondence on the part of D. Pedro I could only be due to lack of time, and not because of any displeasure he felt about her actions. Apparently, there were problems in communication between the sibling, whatever the reasons might have been. Several months after the Constitutional Charter had been granted, D. Isabel Maria wrote a long letter to D. Pedro I:

From the public papers my dear Mano will know by now what has happened in Portugal since the Wise Constitution that Mano generously granted to these Kingdoms was sworn, which they needed so much and without which, Portugal was lost; and I would have been lost if that Constitutional Charter had not been granted among us, which despite the efforts of the Holy Alliance, Apostolic Board and their agents in this Kingdom, I do not expect. In the same public papers Mano would see the Proclamation I made and published on August 1: Proclamation that saved this Capital from swimming and blood, and that was received with the most lively enthusiasm and with the greatest approval and applause possible. In my previous letter I explained to my dear Mano that I understand that I should take that first step because Article 22 expressly states that - During the minority of the King (or Queen) the Kingdom will be governed by a Regency, which will belong to the closest relative of the King or Queen, according to the order of succession and who is older than twenty-five years. Who could, therefore, dispute with me the Regency during the minority of my Niece Augusta? It is not my fault that I was born before Mano Miguel.

Secondly, because if brother Miguel, could not rule the Kingdom even after he was married to my dear niece; how could he govern it during her minority?

46 – LIMA, Oliveira. “Os embaraços domésticos.”/”The domestic embarrassments”. In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* pp. 100-101.

Thirdly, If, according to article 100, as it would appear to me, brother Miguel cannot be Tutor, how can he be Regent⁴⁷?

The meticulous attention to the articles denotes that she kept herself well informed politically, concerned with details and with the need to have her Regency well-grounded and supported, even in the face of her allied brother. Another important point revealed is the Regent's autonomy, at least during the first months of her government. The historiography leads us to believe that the actions of D. Isabel Maria had been stipulated by D. Pedro. However, it is understood that in view of the circumstances, the infanta acted without waiting for instructions or the consent from the Emperor. In view of the necessity, she acted first in order to ask afterwards, perceiving that with the Constitutional Charter in hand, it could be too late to wait for news from Brazil:

If I did not declare myself Regent during the minority of my dear Niece, and my Legitimate Queen, but only temporarily, this step would be extremely unpolitical, and dangerous because the “*Infantistas*” would relax, and would become prouder and bolder; the true friends of your homeland, of your rightful king, of your rightful queen, and of the Constitutional Charter would undoubtedly fade, and I can assure my dear Mano, that if I had not taken that step, it would not be long before all were lost: because it is necessary to speak clearly - the counts of Porto Santo, Murça, Barbacena are declared enemies of any and all Constitutional governments, as well as Patriarch, Duke and Count of Arcos; and all of those in agreement have tried to direct things in such a way that if the constitution had not been sworn, or if the oath had not at least been postponed as long as possible, to gain time. And this would have been done, this would have been achieved, if it had not been for my diligences, my assiduous efforts, and the measures that I adopted, without consulting Governors, and Secretaries of State. The only person who knew about that Proclamation was Lacerda, at that time the only one whom I did not suspect and with reason. His shortcomings are of another nature⁴⁸.

47 – Arquivo do Museu Imperial.(Imperial Museum Archives) II-POB-14.10.1826-IM.P.c. Letters of Isabel Maria, infanta of Portugal, to D. Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil. Palace of Ajuda, 10/14/1826. Arquivo do Museu Imperial.(Imperial Museum Archives) 10/14/1826.

48 – Letters of Isabel Maria, infanta of Portugal, to D. Pedro I... *Op. cit.*

The tone of justification for reiterating the Regency before the Portuguese people resembled that of the letter he sent to his father, in which D. Pedro himself justified his actions with regard to the proclamation of Independence and his acclamation as ruler, by the people. The direction of her loyalty also changed slightly: although she continued to call D. Pedro a legitimate king, it was to her niece that the Infanta expressed her allegiance several times. In the aforementioned letters to D. Pedro I during the last months of 1826, it is also observed that although the idea was not new, the action of proclaiming herself Regent in the name of her niece, and no longer provisionally, as she had been appointed by her father, was D. Isabel Maria's idea.

Therefore, if there had been time for D. Pedro to try to articulate the government for D. Maria da Glória, it appears to have been due to the actions of D. Isabel Maria. With great capacity for observation, exactly as was described by Prince Lichnowsky⁴⁹, her political considerations were extremely sharp and perspicacious. No one had spoken directly to D. Pedro about D. Miguel. While D. Pedro believed in his brother's character or more probably thought that he was capable of controlling him, D. Isabel warned him of the dangers coming from Vienna. Complaining about the intrigues of the Ministry of the Holy Alliance, he declared:

I am also told that Mano Miguel, induced by those who wish to flatter him, appears to be determined to protest against my Regency during the minority of my Legitimate Queen. He intends to show that the Regency belongs to him: proving it is impossible.

Mano Miguel has not yet sworn in the Constitution: if he does not want to swear it in, he cannot be considered Portuguese. If he swears it in, and it is as it should be, by the arrangements and determinations of My dear Mano, and our Legitimate King, he cannot be Regent, for the reasons pointed out above, some based on the Constitution, others on Politics, and public utility. I must speak clearly to my dear Mano and King - the moment Mano Miguel enters Portugal, Portugal will swim in blood and all will be lost; he must not enter Portugal before our Legitimate Queen has come of age to reign, marked by

49 – LICHNOWSKY, Felix Maria Vincenz Andreas. *Portugal: Recordações do anno de 1842*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1845. pp. 123-124.

the constitution: at least until the Constitutional System has been established and is secure among us: otherwise, I repeat, all is lost ... For the love of God, my Mano, be under no illusion about this⁵⁰.

The regent was not entirely against the acclamation of D. Miguel as King of Portugal, judging him to be second in the line of succession, but she appeared to be more aligned with the older brother, the firstborn. In this correspondence that mixes the public and private aspects of the infanta, it is interesting to note the sharpness of her political senses, and at the same time the insecurity of a younger sister.

However, I beg Mano by all that is most sacred, I would like you to declare to me whether [you] approve of the step I took - If you approve of it, [I] ask on my honor, my sensitivity, and my success that my dear Mano Declare this to the English and Austrian governments, as well as to brother Miguel to his govern and mine. If you do not approve of it, I would also like Mano to declare to me, so that I can take my measures: measures that summed up simply, will be to withdraw myself to the “*Convento da Estrela*”, before I am sent there, as they wish.

I do not have the slightest ambition to rule; I have never had it; and now that I know what it is, if I ever had any, it would certainly have vanished completely. If I had had the ambition to reign I would not have indignantly rejected the proposal to be acclaimed Queen, made in June - My answer was - I do not want what is not mine: if my August Brother the Emperor of Brazil does not want to accept the Crown of these Kingdoms, it then belongs to my Brother the Infante D. Miguel. I do not want to hear talk about such a project. You should withdraw.

They already had proclamations ready to post in this Capital and in the entire Kingdom on the same day. And how could I agree to such a criminal project, if I were the one who had the courage to leave with brother Miguel, on April 30, 1824 when he tried to take the crown from our August Father? His hatred and anger against me dates back to that time. This fury, and this hate honors me ⁵¹.

Separation by an ocean and the lack of agility in communication contributed to the need to strengthen communication. To reiterate the

50 – Letters of Isabel Maria, infanta of Portugal, to D. *Pedro I...* *Op. cit.*

51 – Letters of Isabel Maria, infanta of Portugal, to D. *Pedro I...* *Op. cit.*

bonds of trust, the regent stated that D. Pedro could be sure that his orders would be carried out, that she would never fail in the duties of a faithful subject and a loyal Regent. The question leads to another point raised by historiography: that the Infanta would have adhered to the cause of D. Miguel and absolutism after the government had been taken over by the Infante. It is difficult to accept that such a change in behavior could have occurred after the enmity transcribed above.

Despite the fears of D. Isabel Maria, the plan of the oath of D. Miguel recognizing the rights of her brother and niece as followed. The marriage between D. Miguel and D. Maria da Glória was a conciliatory solution, seeking to annul the opposition of the infante's supporters in relation to the queen. However, this maneuver, which gave liberals great hope, would not have the desired effect. In no way did it cool the realists tempers⁵².

Irrespective of its effects, this an oath took place on October 4, 1826 in the presence of the baron of Vila Seca, royal minister in Vienna and representative of D. Pedro. The marriage between D. Miguel and D. Maria da Glória took place on the 29th of the same month, also in Vienna. Between the two acts of condescension, by means of a petition, the infante claimed the provisional rule provided for in the Constitutional Charter⁵³, in Article 92: "During her minority, the Kingdom will be governed by a Regency, which will belong to the relative closest to the King, according to the order of succession, and who is older than twenty-five years of age"⁵⁴.

Although the regency was safe at that moment, D. Pedro's uncertainties and lack of decisions also agitated the international scene. The powers demanded a resolution concerning the succession. D. Pedro

52 – BRANCATO, Braz A. A. "La muerte de Don João y los problemas de la sucesión lusitana". (The death of Don João and the problems of the Lusitanian succession). In: *D. Pedro I of Brazil...* Op. cit. pp. 276-280.

53 – LIMA, Oliveira. "O juramento do infante." In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel ...* Op. cit. pp. 119-123.

54 – Constitutional Charter of the Portuguese Monarchy Op. cit. pp. 3-4. Accessed on 08/30/2020.

did not return to Portugal personally, nor did he send his daughter. Not even D. Isabel Maria was free to act, which alarmed her in the face of a possible change in plans by Great Britain if she concluded that the only possible authority during the Queen's minority were that of D. Miguel⁵⁵.

The emperor remained reluctant to send D. Maria da Glória to Portugal and, in her place, he sent a ship to fetch his brother. D. Miguel, however, shielded himself with the opinion of the emperor of Austria, who advised him to wait for new requests from the other European courts, which demanded that the regency of Portugal had to be handed over to him, and would no longer need to wait for D. Maria da Glória's condition of being marriageable. At the same time, the Portuguese absolutist party would not be content with the acclamation of D. Miguel as king consort and would seek real acclamation and the fulfillment of his rights. The constitutionalists and liberals, who had hopes about D. Isabel Maria and D. Maria da Glória, understood the danger posed by the infant's refusal to go to Brazil. Conflicts were raging and English troops were preparing to repel a foreign invasion and guarantee the regent's safety in their capital⁵⁶.

Portugal relied on British troops to support the constitutional regime, but it was feared that the arrival of a triumphant D. Miguel would lead to the loss of everything. The Infanta complained about the international politics of her office and was alarmed by the Infante's arrival in Lisbon. In turn, the emperors of Brazil and Austria exchanged correspondence about the establishment of D. Maria da Glória and D. Miguel in the Portuguese capital, and of D. Isabel Maria's journey to Rio de Janeiro, in order to help her widowed brother with raising and educating her nephews. On perceiving the real situation of the kingdom, and knowing the effect that the presence of the younger brother could cause, the regent sought to

55 – LIMA, Oliveira. "Preparativos da regência de D. Miguel./Preparations for the Regency of D.Miguel Mudança de ministros."/ Change of Ministers In: In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel - a querela da sucessão (1826-1828)*. [D. Pedro and D. Miguel - the quarrel of the succession (1826-1828)]. São Paulo / Caieiras / Rio de Janeiro: Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1925. pp. 161-165.

56 – LIMA, Oliveira. "Palmella e Saldanha." In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* pp. 173-175.

resist the collapse of the army: the Bank of Portugal suspended payment of the employees and the troops' salaries were paid with the proceeds received from the sale of the Infanta's jewelry.

The scales then began to tip in favor of D. Miguel. D. Pedro's indecision cost him supporters every hour, especially with rumors of the loss of support from the English. Each day, the country tended towards sympathy for the Miguelists, and allowed the resentment about Brazil's independence to flourish. In view of her brother's indecision, and despite his instructions, the regent declared her post to be definitive and began to act, at least until the course of things changed⁵⁷.

In the end, D. Pedro gave way to pressure from the other European powers and appointed D. Miguel a lieutenant on July 3, 1827, by a decree that gave him all the powers that the king would have. This being so, D. Isabel Maria's Regency occurred due to the absence of a sovereign in the kingdom rather than because of the minority of the infanta. D. Pedro requested the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Austria to protect the situation in Portugal, but he also took steps in an attempt to restrict his brother's actions. He made it known that the infante would have his title revoked if he served the purposes of the seditious factions and violated the rights of the emperor and of D. Maria da Glória. D. Miguel accepted the conciliatory terms and thereby aroused some suspicions, in addition to raising a new fervor in the political tempers. Opinions and positions remained divided, and the Courts were summoned to swear in the oath to the Constitutional Charter in December 1827, but would wait for the infante until February 1828⁵⁸.

In the beginning of the year 1828, the scale tipped even further in favor of D. Miguel. England began to lose interest in the situation

57 – LIMA, Oliveira. "A próxima vinda do infante." / "The infante's next coming". In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* pp. 176-179.

58 – LIMA, Oliveira. "O infante feito lugar-tenente." / "The infante made a lieutenant. Iminência da borrasca." / "Imminence of the storm .. In: In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel - a que-rela da sucessão (1826-1828)*. [D. Pedro and D. Miguel - the quarrel of the succession (1826-1828)]. São Paulo / Caieiras / Rio de Janeiro: Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1925. pp. 13-15. (Improvements of São Paulo) pp.218-222.

in Portugal, especially after the death of its main interlocutor, Lord Canning⁵⁹. The realistic troops, loyal to D. Miguel and discontented with the ministry chosen by the Infanta, promoted uprisings in the majority of the provinces of Portugal. The infante was acclaimed in different cities and towns, and officers of the insurrected regiments swore in writing that they would defend the legitimacy of the Infante⁶⁰. The strongest support provided by another power came from Spain, in the figure of Uncle D. Fernando VII, who helped the troops with the necessary aid⁶¹.

After passing through Paris and London, D. Miguel reached Lisbon on February 22, 1828, where he was received with warm acclamations. After taking office as D. Pedro's lieutenant, the infante took the oath prescribed in the Constitutional Charter on February 26, 1828, assumed the regency and relegated D. Isabel Maria to private life⁶². D. Miguel himself assumed the position of regent of a troubled Portugal, with the movements of Vilafrancada and Abrilada⁶³ contained in his political baggage. Despite the promises made to the European powers, the popular acclamations, ultra-realist movements, periodicals and pamphlets in defense of his rights to the crown led D. Miguel to abolishing the Constitutional Charter and acclaiming himself to be King by right. The discourse of D. Miguel's supporters proclaimed that the exiled prince had returned by Divine Providence and the laws of the kingdom had made

59 – LIMA, Oliveira. “A caminho do poder.”/The road to power. In: *D. Pedro e D. Miguel... Op. cit.* p.238.

60 – *Aclamação de D. Miguel Rei de Portugal pela Divisão Realista do Alentejo* Apud.; *Acclamation of D. Miguel King of Portugal by the Royalist Division of Alentejo* Apud. Ângelo Pereira. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *Os filhos de El-Rei D. João VI.* (The children of the King João VI.) Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, (National Publicity Company) 1946. p. 532-533.

61 – *Aclamação de D. Miguel Rei de Portugal pela Divisão Realista do Alentejo* Apud.; *Acclamation of D. Miguel King of Portugal by the Royalist Division of Alentejo* Apud. Ângelo Pereira. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *Os filhos...The children.... Op. cit.* pp. 534-532.

62 – PEREIRA, Ângelo. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *Os filhos...The children.... Op. cit.* pp. 539-532.

63 – LOUSADA, Maria Alexandre & FERREIRA, Maria de Fátima Sá e Melo. “O Regresso a Lisboa”. In: *D. Miguel*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2006. Coleção Reis de Portugal. pp. 24-25.

him king⁶⁴. The infante regent promptly appointed a new ministry, with a core of D. Miguel's supporters, and the environment began to become absolutist. And the unanimity of the infante was reported by both liberals and realists: he was enthusiastically acclaimed in the streets⁶⁵.

D. Isabel Maria, who tried to assume neutrality and protect herself, was in an especially delicate situation, as she explained in a letter to D. Pedro dated November 13, 1829:

Mano, I wish you have been well.

Mano will have to forgive all the mistakes because I think I do not even know how to pick up a pen to write two words, due to the reasons that the brother does not ignore; as the carrier is safe, I have therefore dared to write him this letter, exposing clearly to him, the internal state of everything here. The misery is extraordinary, the insults in the same way, the prisons packed with people the most dignified and firm to their oath and loyal to the brother, in the sight of this so-called government, are great. What I ask you very, very much is to see how to end all this once and for all, and that you do not give in to the demand nor do you want five kings because otherwise we are lost; the brother has courage, take a measure of his value. As for me, what I have suffered is of no concern, only I know they have not put me where they wanted to because they absolutely cannot do this to everyone, because they certainly know that there would then be a revolution of the good Portuguese, because everyone knows, thanks be to God, that nothing would have made me change my feelings, nor do they think I did it, because I would rather die if it were necessary than to change the principles which are and will continue to be if God wants them to be firmer than a rock until death. With this I say all goodbyes I ask you not forget to show us who you are.

Your truly faithful friend and sister.

P.S. I ask you to keep this letter of mine as the greatest secret, otherwise I will be lost⁶⁶.

64 – LOUSADA, Maria Alexandre & FERREIRA, Maria de Fátima Sá e Melo. "O rei chegou"/The King has arrived In: *D. Miguel. Op. cit.* pp.104-105.

65 – LOUSADA, Maria Alexandre & FERREIRA, Maria de Fátima Sá e Melo. "O rei chegou"/The King has arrived In: *D. Miguel. Op. cit.* pp. -108-532.

66 – Arquivo do Museu Imperial.(Imperial Museum Archives) Ref: I-POB-13.11.1829-IM.P.c. Letters of Isabel Maria, infanta of Portugal, to D. Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil.

In addition to describing a government commanded with an iron fist and with no room for political dissension, the letter denotes the infanta's coercion in reign of her brother. It is worth remembering that no information was found about her actions after handing over the regency to D. Miguel - and only at the end of her life did sparse data appear. However, historian Ângelo Pereira rashly asserted that if at first, the Infanta politically circled within the constitutional guidelines of D. João and D. Pedro, D. Isabel Maria surrendered to traditionalism after the arrival of D. Miguel, and accompanied him in his campaign.⁶⁷ From the public trajectory, it is not possible to affirm which side of the policy D. Isabel Maria would have approached since no documentation was found to establish this. However, her letters until 1829, especially the last one, were consistent with the position she had taken since she stood beside her father on the balcony of Bemposta leaning towards constitutionalism. Apart from the silence of historiography and documentation, there is nothing that leads one to presuming that the infant had turned towards Dom Miguel's absolutism.

In the same way, one must be suspicious of her involvement, on D. Miguel's side, in the events of the civil war of 1832. With the unfortunate outcome of the quarrel between Mano Pedro and Mano Miguel, the first consumed by the war of succession and the other exiled forever from his kingdom, a disgusted D. Isabel Maria returned to Lisbon in order to settle in Paço with her sister-in-law, the Empress D. Amélia. The reason is not known, but her sister-in-law did not receive her, making the Infanta decide to live in Quinta de Benfica, where she organized her own court, permeated by religiousness and music⁶⁸. This behavior on the part of the empress led the historian Ângelo Pereira to conclude that it was an indication of D. Isabel Maria's support for D. Miguel. However, the fact has not been corroborated by any other source or bibliography, whereas

Lisbon 11/13/1829. s.n.p.

67 – PEREIRA, Ângelo. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *Os filhos... Op. cit.* pp. 546-547.

68 – PEREIRA, Ângelo. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *Os filhos de El-Rei D. João VI.* (The children of the King *João VI.*) Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, (National Publicity Company) 1946. p. 549.

the documentation found, especially the letters, as seen, suggested the opposite. In the meantime, D. Isabel Maria established a strong bond with her niece and queen D. Maria da Glória, who held her in high regard, and constantly maintained a guard of honor for her Aunt. Although geographically distant from each other, the friendly relations between the Queen and the Infanta lasted until the death of D. Maria II⁶⁹.

D. Isabel Maria died a spinster, without children on April 22, 1976. She was loved by her niece, D. Maria da Glória, whom she considered a legitimate sovereign when she was still a child who would not even have recognized her aunt, separated from her by the Atlantic. Of the rumors of romances and the political intrigues, nothing has been proven, and from the little that has been written about her, to whom the characteristic of being always in the shadow of her brothers was attributed, much remains to be clarified. D. Isabel Maria was a governor of nuances. Her regency took place amid the fierce tempers of liberals and absolutists and in the turbulence of family relations that accompanied the political winds. It could, however, be said that she, like D. Carlota Joaquina, was a woman with politics in her veins, and with the impetus to act in the midst of a century of transformation. Perhaps it would be an exaggeration to say that D. Isabel Maria was a political counterpoint to her older sister, the absolutist D. Maria Teresa, since she was not strictly liberal, but as she herself declared, constitutional. However, it is possible to affirm that the regent was fundamental to the unfolding of the succession dispute between the heirs of D. João VI, and that D. Pedro and D. Maria da Glória would not have had a chance to fight for the throne of Portugal without her actions.

Texto apresentado em agosto de 2020. Aprovado para publicação em outubro de 2020..

69 – PEREIRA, Ângelo. “Infanta D. Isabel Maria”. In: *Os filhos...The children.... Op. cit.* pp. 549-550.