

Brazilian Transitional Periodical Journalism in the Dynamics of the Transatlantic Circulation of the Press

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Introduction

A new form of *savoir être* appeared on the frontier between the society of the *ancien regime*, in which public communication was based on the personal aura of the monarch, or their courtiers, and liberal society, founded on communicational presuppositions based on the more reliable criteria of the public use of reason.

This new form of *savoir être*, this new “world of life”, in which aesthetics and ethics had to be present, interacting and communicating, meant the creation of a process of political and social consumption (translated into public opinion) through communicational activity, in the rationalist tradition inherited from the Enlightenment. It is a form of action in which a human being defends something outside the system, autistic by tradition, conservative in terms of survival, which has not felt legitimised by new knowledge¹. It is in this line of thought that I set out for consideration a set of periodicals, which fit within the double transition² of the transatlantic circulation of information: the process of Brazilian independence, and the whole atmosphere that surrounded it, and the new way of producing periodical journalism in accordance with the emergence of a new public space.

Similarly, it can be stated that, concurrent with this double transition, the contents of the periodicals circulated, without doubt, in the transatlantic “bridge” made possible by the trade routes between Brazil and Portugal, and joined to this “trade” ideas and beliefs, in the “highways” of information, confirming the relationship between the press and its circulation between the two “edges” of the Atlantic.

Indeed, the transatlantic movement of the press, in which we cannot forget the involvement of another space, that of England and the Portuguese language periodicals from London-based émigrés, did not occur in one sense only. On the one hand, we have a model of periodical journalism (especially that from the London-based émigrés), embodied in another type of writing, with new content, which projected itself into Brazilian territory; on the other hand, the *rebound effect*, that is, the echo of Brazilian periodicals in Portugal, which echoed Brazilian reality in the pages of the Portuguese press.

The relationship between the transatlantic circulation of periodicals and the birth of a “culture of the periodical” is a process that should be looked at as a new world, which the nineteenth century had announced, i.e., the deepening of globalization, which accelerated the distribution and circulation of Brazilian and Portuguese periodicals, ideas, practices and modes of political communication in everyday life.

In this context, as shown by *O Compilador Constitucional, Politico, e Litterario Brasiliense*³ and the information published by *Astro da Lusitania*⁴, *O Correio Brasiliense*, *O Portuguez* and *O Campeão Portuguez* these emerged as archetypes of the Luso-Brazilian “bridge” towards the birth of another form of periodical production and transmission of knowledge, within the “culture of the periodical”, which intensified the relationship and circulation of the press in both directions⁵.

Genesis of the dynamics of the transatlantic circulation of the periodical

In 1820, the Revolution which had conquered Portugal and put a formal end to the Portuguese *Ancien Regime*, placed individuals in power who swore to obey the fundamental principles of the liberal ideal.

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In the wake of this process, and following on from other events at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century⁶, and with the hope of re-establishing a new political pact to ensure more pro-eminent functions within Brazil, on 10 February 1821 Bahia set in motion its own revolutionary process through a financial and political break, with power based in Rio de Janeiro⁷. In 1821, not only Bahia, but throughout Brazil as a whole there were revolts and accelerated political change. In this complex set of developments, on 1 February 1821 Pará had already witnessed a set of phenomena similar to Bahia and on 26 February, in Rio de Janeiro, João VI was forced to agree with swearing in the Constitution that would be drawn up in the constituent assembly (*Cortes Constituintes*).

It was within this context that what I may call the “explosion” of modernity for Brazilian periodical journalism occurred, which formed the "breeding ground" for the argument for and against the independence of Brazil, and, at the same time, address the importance of Brazilian periodical journalism in the transition regarding the dynamisation of the transatlantic circulation of print.

The periodicals produced in Brazil abandoned their newsgiving character (a *Gazette* model) with those contributing displaying their beliefs, which was a necessary condition for the success of the journal. Independence was thus prepared with a subliminal confrontation with Royal journalism, a confrontation just involving that of ideas, which encouraged writing on both sides.

Brazil previously had a limited number of periodicals, but the yearly period between 1821/22 was undeniably one of expansion and unrestrained rhetoric both for those in support of the independence movement and those arguing against the emancipation movement. Their eloquence, whether in favour or against, became more notable with the abolition of censorship on 12 July 1821.

Journalism in actu

The news from the periodicals which arrived, from those which were in circulation or were reflected on the pages of metropolitan journalism all bear witness and show an intense interchange. Various examples can be given of the impact that Brazilian periodical journalism had on Portuguese periodicals, but I have resorted to the *Astro da Lusitania*⁸, as the main news source, which provides us not only with information but also informs us about the circulation of the Brazilian press reaching Portugal, at the crucial moment of the change to independence for Brazil.

It could be said that the *Astro da Lusitania* provided occasional precious news about what was happening in Brazil, such as foreseeing the Declaration of Independence, which was not far away, while referring to “anonymous pamphlets”, as they were called, that were actually periodicals produced in Brazil, and distributed in Lisbon, such as the *O Amigo do Rei e da Nação*, *O Conciliador Constitucional e O Bem da Ordem*⁹, and informing of “which side they were working on in order to turn public opinion”¹⁰.

On the one hand, the contents of the periodical from Alves Sinval would provide news coming from the Brazilian territory, using for this purpose the press that reached him from Baía: The *Semanário Civico*¹¹. On the other, the correspondence sent to him, and included in the pages of the *Astro* confirmed, in essence, the news from the Bahian periodical¹².

What is more, the editor of the *Semanário Civico*, Joaquim José da Silva Maia, imbued with the changing communication paradigm, possessed a great awareness of the ethics that should govern his function, which was in particular deepened, if that is possible, at moments of acute political crisis, when armies left their barracks and made themselves heard in the symbolic and public infrastructure arena:

The most delicate and risky task of a journalist is, without fear of contradiction, writing in the middle of conflicts involving various factions which are stirring up the country where he resides. However moderately and impartially he writes, he acquires large number of detractors, because the different parties, looking at objects through their preventative microscope, only approve of what flatters the way of thinking of their respective faction. This is exactly the sad alternative in which we find ourselves. We protest before God and men who, when we take up our pen to write on this sheet, we do it always free of premeditation, because only the spirit of perfect impartiality directs our ideas. Nevertheless, we are slandered, insulted! But as nothing but the truth is the goal of our writing (...) we will continue to write, convinced that the good and true constitutions will bring us justice¹³.

From another perspective of the topic addressed here, the importance of conspiratorial activity should be emphasized, as a component that helps the circulation of the press and the supply of copy for the periodical, in which the pamphlet and the anonymous letter appetizing are appetizing supports:

Who will be the factions, the representatives of the nation or those who in Rio arranged in French (they say that the arranger of such elegant prose had been the promising Severiano Maciel¹⁴) this collection of rubbish, which had no other purpose than to completely separate Brazil from Portugal and where (...) one can find such affectionate terms - arid cliffs of Portugal! Who are the factions, the representatives of the nation and those who in Rio wanted to make an attempt on the life of s.a.r. and ... what was said according to those there? The factions are those who, departing from the purposes which they had proposed to the Portuguese nation, which are the happiness and glory of its king, only devising his doom, causing all kinds of evil”¹⁵.

That is, the periodical provides us not only with information but also provides an overview of the pamphleting activity that in the said pamphlets which circulated between the two “sides” of the Atlantic. Of a similar view was the *Diario extraordinario da Europa*¹⁶, a daily that was published every morning – “A true and faithful compilation from British, French and Spanish pages” –. This periodical provided means of circulating information, with anonymous letters, originating from Rio de Janeiro, being the preferred means which it did not hesitate to publish¹⁷.

We cannot ignore either, in this systemic circulation of news and communicational activity, other information supplied¹⁸ and other data, linked to this circulation and activity, information to which the *Astro* gave body, such as: a dinner/dance that was held in Rio de Janeiro, on 24 August, while in the province of Pernambuco the Portuguese were beheading each other. With painful irony, the *Astro* publishes copy, which had reached it from Brazil, with the rules concerning the *Etiquette to be followed by the gentlemen invited to the ball on the night of 24 August* - immediately suppressed, with the copy which the editor transcribed having escaped - in which one could see the requirements to be respected concerning the order of entries and dances, as well as the culture of appearances (the mode of dress)¹⁹, for the aforementioned dinner/dance.

In what may be called an environment of paroxysmal communication, at the end of 1821 and early 1822, Brazil occupied a predominant place with numerous news reports that metropolitan periodicals received and sent back using different channels²⁰.

It was not by chance that Ferreira de Moura, reflecting on what was happening within the information and communication framework at the global level, and with regard to the transatlantic circulation of periodicals, referred to Brazil in a short brief speech in the Cortes, stating that: "There [Brazil] is also [the Prince] for the face of the nation, since the newspapers let us know what is happening around the globe, and more so with regard to the European countries”²¹.

In the same panorama, what should also be noted is the appearance in the pages of *O Independente*²² reference to anti-Portuguese Brazilian periodicals, such as *A Malagueta* and the *Despertador Braziliense*, “insidious publications against the Portuguese, against their representatives (...), seeded (...) the most sinister and insulting interpretations of the Cortes (...) and the Portuguese”²³, which were the subject of an intervention by the MP Borges Carneiro, concerning “periodicals (...) from Rio de Janeiro”²⁴. Further in line with the theme that is being studied here, *O Independente* published in its *Suplemento* extracts from the *Memoria sobre o estado actual das Américas e meio de pacificá-las*²⁵, which filled several pages.

Of the Brazilian periodicals that circulated in Portugal, whether through their own circulation, or by reference or quotation, I have provided the list that is possible. If some do not exist in the catalogues of the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* or Porbase, this does not mean that they did not arrive, circulate, and be read, forwarded and retransmitted, via the psycho-political network²⁶, that, linked to the “reading circle”²⁷, enabled a remarkable increase in their systemic circulation, constituting the transmission of news and information on a real scale.

One thing can be stated in relation to the set of journals studied and researched: their role for or against the independence of Brazil.

Given the space limit, I will provide in this compilation brief information about the journals surveyed:

Idade D'Ouro do Brazil (1811-1823). Bahia: Na Typographia de Manoel António da Silva Serva, 1811-1823, No. 1 (1 January - 1811) – No. 12 (11 February - 1823). Started in 1811, it maintained the Gazette template model. Unofficial, it defended the requirements of the governmental faction, which obviously provided it with protection. The opposition called it the Iron Age, instead of the Golden Age.

Jornal de Variedades (1812). Bahia. Some authors speak of it, but copies are unknown.

O Patriota, Periódico Litterario, Politico, Mercantil, &c. do Rio de Janeiro (1813). Rio de Janeiro: Na Imprensa Regia, 1813. It followed the periodical model in the Portuguese language, and was produced in London. Near to that of Lisbon, a type of non-compromised unofficial publication. It dealt mainly with the various areas of knowledge and about politics which it limited itself to reporting.

O Amigo do Rei, e da Nação (1821). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia Real, 1821. Only one issue, with no indication of date and numbering. It appealed to the United Kingdom, according to the values of the new imaginary.

O Bem da Ordem (1821). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia Real, 1821, No. 1, 3-9. Defender of European interests. Op-ed periodical.

O Conciliador do Reino Unido (1821). Rio de Janeiro: Na Imprensa Regia, 1821, No. 1 - 7 (March – April - 1821). European op-ed periodical.

Génio Constitucional (1821). Reprinted in Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia Real, 1821 (14 November - 1821). It called for the election of deputies, quoting in context, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 25, and 26 of the *Génio Constitucional* (1820). Porto: na Typ. de Viuva Alvarez Ribeiro & Filhos, 1820, No. 1 (2 October - 1820) – No. 77 (30 December - 1820). It used, as its major argument, the Cortes of Lamego, a basic pact of the monarchy.

Despertador Brasiliense (1821). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia Real, 1821. Only one specimen, without any indication of date or numbering. Brazilian nationalistic op-ed periodical.

Sabatina Familiar de Amigos do Bem-Comum (1821-1822). Rio de Janeiro: Na Imprensa Nacional, 1821-22, No. 1-5 (8 December - 1821 - 5 January - 1822). Op-ed periodical with a bias in literature, apparently suffering from vagueness.

O Conciliador do Maranhão (1821-1823). Maranhão: Na Typographia Maranhense/Imprensa Nacional, No. 1 (15 April - 1821) - No. 210 (16 July - 1823); from No. 77 (6 April - 1822), only *Conciliador*, from 15 April - 1821 – 16 July - 1823 (No. 1-210), with issues missing (1821 - Nos. 9-34; 1822 - Nos. 102, 108, 152; 1823 - No. 162). Mostly news, unofficial, which did not exclude opinion articles (which are emphasized from mid-1822, mainly through correspondents), with the seal of Lisbon. It entered into controversy with *A Folha Medicinal do Maranhão*, calling it the *Palmatoria Semanal*.

Compilador Constitucional Politico, e Litterario Brasiliense (1822). Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional/Typographia de Moreira e Garcez, 1822, No. 1, 3-15 (5 January-26 April - 1822). News, opinion, correspondence news sources: *o Correio Brasiliense* and *O Portuquez*. Defender of the union; European.

Reclamação do Brasil (1822). Rio de Janeiro: Na Imprensa Nacional/Typographia Nacional, 1822, Parts I-XIV. An example of the process of going from an attempt at consensus to rupture, in favour of Brazilian nationalism.

O Conciliador Nacional (1822-1823). Pernambuco: Na Typographia de Cavalcante e C^a, No. 4 (4 September - 1822) – No. 18 (31 May - 1823). (1822) Nos. 4,5,7, and 8; (1823) Nos. 9, 10, 14 and 18. Clearly showing its modernist beginning as an op-ed periodical. “Lover of the Brazilian cause”.

Annaes Fluminenses de Sciencias, Artes e Litteratura, Publicado por huma Sociedade Philo-Tecnica (1822). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia de Santos e Souza, 1822, No. 1 (January - 1822). Op-ed periodical, similar to those of London and Paris, written in the Portuguese language (*Annaes das sciencias, das artes e das letras / por huma Sociedade de Portuguezes Residentes em Paris*; [dir. José Diogo Mascarenhas Neto]. Paris: A. Bobée, 1818-1822). Clearly inserted in the new paradigm, the single issue that it was possible to have access to has 115 pp., plus an appendix of 8 pp.. Divided into themes: Politics, Economics, Science, Church Administration, etc.. European.

Diario Constitucional. Bahia: Na Typ. Da Viuva Serva e Carvalho, 1821, No. 28 (6 September - 1821; No. 34 (14 September - 1821). Defender of the Brazilian cause, *O Diario*, due to controversy around it, it suspended publication on 15 December 1821. It reappeared on 8 February 1822, and was then substituted by *O Constitucional*, which followed its convictions.

O Constitucional (1822). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia do Diario, 1822, No. 1 – 8. Incendiary and disturbing op-ed periodical, which finished violently on 21 August 1822, after various aggressive acts.

A Folha Medicinal do Maranhão (1822). Maranhão: Na Typographia Nacional/Na Imprensa Nacional, 1822, No. 1 (11 March - 1822) - No. 10 (13 May - 1822). This dealt with home medicine for the diseases of the province (cf. No. 2 (18 March - 1822)). Using a medical metaphor with political objectives. Remorseless Brazilian nationalistic op-ed periodical.

O Brasil (1822). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia Real, 1822. Only one issue, without any indication of date or numbering. Unofficial.

O Macaco Brasileiro (1822). Rio de Janeiro: Na Imprensa de Silva Porto, 1822, No. 1 – 10. Op-ed periodical. Defender of the union, with systematic usage of imagery from Classical Antiquity.

O Papagaio (1822). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia Moreira Garcez/Diario, 1822, No. 1-12 (4 May - 1822 - 8 August - 1822). Defended the meeting of the Cortes in Brazil and Brazil as the seat of the executive power. Issues with continued reflection, in the same sector as *O Constitucional*. Result: Brazil to regain its unquestionable sovereignty.

A Verdade Constitucional (1822). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia de Santos e Souza, 1822, (16 March - 1822). One unnumbered issue. Regular news and op-ed periodical, but with no hesitations concerning the path to follow: the interests of America.

Semanario Civico (1821-1823). Bahia: Na Typographia da Viuva Serva e Carvalho, 1821-1823, No. 1 (1 March - 1821) – No. 117 (7 June - 1823). Unofficial, European, extreme defender of the Portuguese cause.

Sentinella Bahiense (1822). Bahia: Na Typographia da Viúva Serva e Carvalho, [1822], No. 1 - 15 (21 June – 7 October - 1822). From this collection only one issue exists, in the *Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*: No. 4 (24 July - [1822]). The *Sentinella* has been described as reactionary press²⁸, which seems to me to be reductive. Both the *Semanario Civico*, and the *Sentinella Bahiense* (Joaquim José da Silva Maia edited both), defenders of the interests of Lisbon, were opposed by the *Diario Constitucional*, then *Constitucional*, Brazilian nationalistic periodicals, as we have seen.

Sentinella Constitucional Bahiense (...) por os Amantes da União (1822). Maranhão: Na Imprensa Nacional, 1822. Only one issue exists, in the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*. Radical defender of the interests of Lisbon, midway between a periodical and a pamphlet, together with other reflective writings.

Atalaia (1823). Rio de Janeiro: Na Typographia Nacional, 1823, No. 1 - 14 (30 May – 2 September - 1823). Op-ed periodical, anti-Masonic and pro-English, it advocated amalgamating with British positions. It seemed to argue for the end of one colonialisation in order to subject Brazil to another one.

Conclusion

If it is possible to talk about “yeast”²⁹, then it would not be bold to say that the circulation of the press, whether a periodical or not, looked at naturally as Communication, is a “yeast” filled with ideas, a first rate ingredient and a rich host for its own multiplication. Indeed, one could say that the power of Communication, the connection between experiences and interpretations, captivates, recreates, recovers, refocuses and reorders the relationships human beings have with ideas, politics, power and their community. It follows that it is so important to survey the circulation of the press, and to emphasize the systemic “transhumance” of ideas, themes, experiences, opinions, carried through dissemination. Speaking of the circulation of the press by abstracting away the themes incorporated in it would be the same as speaking of a body without soul, of a reason without conscience. Through political periodical journalistic activity, these Brazilian journalists sought to reanimate a society in which they existed and for which they wrote.

In the double sense of circulation and the double shift, which is present in this text, in the new form of journalistic production and the transition to independence, two living worlds and opposing arrival points came face to face. Thus, on the European side, we have:

A vision that let itself be overtaken by time, which did not understand the inevitable independence, while bearing in mind the values that the 24 August 1820 had established in Portugal. Between the virtual possibility of continuing to maintain the colony, in comparison with the factual impossibility of this, the European faction did not try to look beyond the borders of Brazil and the limited urban space of Lisbon.

Haunted by the process of possible decolonization and an unprecedented crisis in sight on the near horizon, towards the end of the supposed empire, the journalists in favour of keeping Brazil as a dependency of Lisbon, resorted to the possible argumentation that was within their reach, to try and, unsuccessfully, obtain their desired effect. Independence was just around the corner.

On the Brazilian side:

The feeling of the abominable: the maintenance of colonial Brazil. This hatred ran deep. The Brazilian periodicals, in favour of total disengagement with Portugal, began publication life in a moderate tone, and with the passing of time there was a refinement of the writing process, which was essentially liberal, but nationalistic. And it does not hold water to accuse them of being absolutist, because politics, which had been utterly foreign to the public, was not out on the street, having left the offices.

In addition to the programme of liberal principles, the tenors of independence continued in the hiatus of waiting, in the undefined spaced between the Cortes and Brazil, to sing the requiem for the colony, irrespective of the wishes of Lisbon and the Portuguese bourgeoisie interested in Brazilian trade and strengthening their new way of producing periodicals.

In their inheritance of the Gazette model and their movement towards another mode of production, and another world of life, the Brazilian press, on both sides of the divide, exhibited a form of thinking and action, which was also a mission: the “media campaign”,³⁰ for or against independence, with multiple “faces”, often covered by standardised masks. Only later, after the breakdown of the Brazilian “historical bloc” around independence, were they unmasked, but that is another story.

Be that as may, the decision of 7 September 22 (Ipiranga) and 14 September 22 (the acclamation of Pedro), political acts of enormous significance and rupture between the two countries did not, to cite an example, prevent the fact that in the 1830s *O Brasileiro em Lisboa* was published³¹, an evident sign that the transatlantic circulation of the press remained intact, without any obstacles.

¹ Cf. Jürgen Habermas, *La reconstrucción del materialismo histórico*, Madrid, Taurus, 1983, p. 249.

² Here I understand Brazilian journalism in transition in two senses: on the one hand, that of a new form of journalistic creation, which took place at the change from pre-modernity to modernity, on the other hand, that of a political perspective, based on the passage from colonization to independence. This was a double transition, which was linked to the circulation of periodicals as provided by the Luso-Brazilian “bridge” between Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco and Maranhão.

³ “This [the extract] will consist of content regarding Portugal and Brazil from two interesting Portuguese periodicals published in London, the *Portuguez* and *Correio Braziliense*” (*Prospecto de hum novo periódico intitulado O Compilador Constitucional, Politico, e Litterario Brasiliense, Para o anno de 1822*, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1821); cf. also, in this regard, the *Sentinella Constitucional Bahiense*, Maranhão, Imprensa Nacional, 1822, p. 8.

⁴ “S.m. had told the noble Heliodoro Carneiro to send him the *Correio Braziliense* and the *Campeão Portuguez* from London, with the laudable purpose of knowing what was going on in Europe” (*Astro da Lusitania*, N° 186 (7 July - 1821), pp. [1-2]). A graduate in Medicine from the University of Coimbra, Heliodoro Carneiro (1776-1849) spent most of his life outside Portugal, initially on scientific committees, then on diplomatic and private missions in the service of the sovereign “The steward, with his lands, served as a tool for the King to see and know what he wanted, so he sent him the *Campeão*, the *Portuguez* and the *Correio Braziliense*, and the letters which are in the pamphlets which I have printed” (*Ex.mo sr. Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira*. Lisbon: in Typ. Rollandiana, 1821, published by Innocencio Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez, Estudos de Innocencio Francisco da Silva, applicáveis a Portugal e ao Brasil*, 23 vols., Lisboa, 1858-1975, ed. Imprensa Nacional, tomo X, 1883, pp. 383-385).

- ⁵ In this context it is important to draw attention to a phenomenon that should not be ignored in the context of the transatlantic circulation of the press: the circulation of the manuscripts which fed press output. That the press ran, nobody doubted. But the manuscript, with greater ease of diffusion, since it escaped censorship, spread more easily. There were no commercial channels for their distribution, an essential mechanism for the practice of repressive censorship. The archives of the Quartermaster General of Police, until 1820, provide testimony to this fact. If the manuscript arrived in Brazil, more important than it originating from France, Spain or Portugal is consideration of the flow of information and ideas that it contained, that led to it being circulated, through the multiplication of the word, with or without the use of printing. An in-depth work, carried out by an extensive team of researchers, would give us possibilities to draw the most evident conclusions about this movement of which the files of the Quartermaster General of Police in Portugal, clearly provide evidence.
- ⁶ Consider the *Inconfidência Mineira de 1788-1789*, the *Conjuração Baiana de 1798*, the *Conspiração dos Suassunas, em 1801* and the *Revolta de Pernambuco, em 1817*.
- ⁷ Cf. Inácio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memórias Históricas e Políticas da Província da Bahia*, Anotado por Braz do Amaral, Bahia, Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1919-1931, 3 vols. pp. 272-273.
- ⁸ *Astro da Lusitania*, Lisboa, na Typ. De J. F. M. de Campos, 1820-1823. It was his editor, Joaquim Maria Alves Sinval (17--18--), Bachelor in Canon Law, in 1813, from the University of Coimbra. Born in Viseu, Sinval edited the *Astro*, the third political newspaper that was published in Lisbon, after the capital had joined the 24 August Revolution on 15 September 1820. The two prior to that date had been *O Portuguez Constitucional*, of Nuno Álvares Pato Moniz, and the *Mnemosine Constitucional* of Pedro Alexandre Cavoé. The *Astro da Lusitania* lasted until the suspension of guarantees, which preceded the fall of the Constitution in June 1823, with the last issue being published on 15 April of that year. It was one of the most widely read and credible periodicals of the period, characterised by its opposition to the ultra-liberal exercise of power.
- ⁹ *O Amigo do Rei e da Nação* and *O Conciliador do Reino Unido* are to be found in the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, O Bem da ordem*, only in Brazil, as well as several “conciliators”, but no “constitutional”, just the *O Conciliador Nacional*. It should be noted that the *Conciliador do Reino Unido* (1 March 1821-25 April 1821), seven issues, was produced by José da Silva Lisboa, Viscount of Cairo; *O Bem da Ordem* (1821), 10 issues (only existing copies at the *Fundação Biblioteca Nacional Brasil*, lot P01.03.01), edited by the canon Francisco Vieira Goulart; *O Conciliador Nacional* (No. 4, 4 September 1822- No. 18, 31 May 1823), 15 issues (only existing copies at the *Fundação Biblioteca Nacional Brasil*, lot P19.02.17), produced by Father Miguel Sacramento Lopes Gama.
- ¹⁰ *Astro da Lusitania*, No. 193 (16 July - 1821), pp. [1].
- ¹¹ *Semanario Civico*, No. 37 (cf. *Astro da Lusitania*, Nº 334 (7 de janeiro - 1822), pp. [1-2]).
- ¹² "He designated a government to rule over the good cause (...). However, intrigues and passions were not long in forthcoming (...) and the subsequent disorder (...). Public disgust began to be felt, the administration made little or no improvement, the old evils continued and the steps taken by the government, as if by design, served only to exacerbate them "(*Astro da Lusitania*, No. 335 (8 January - 1822), pp. [1]). Incidentally the same *Semanario Civic*, No. 14, given its importance, can be quoted by The Portuguez or, *Mercurio Politico, Commercial, and Literary*, [1]). In fact, the *Semanario Cívico*, No. 14, given its importance, was cited by the *O Portuguez*; and the *Mercurio Politico, Commercial, e Literário*, Vol. X, No. 64, p. 364 and by the *Astro da Lusitania*, No. 215 (11 August - 1821), pp. [1-2]).
- ¹³ *Semanario Civico*, No. 37 (7 November - 1821), p. [1].
- ¹⁴ João Severiano Maciel da Costa (1769-1834), 1st Viscount and 1st Marquis of Queluz, in Brasil. Concerning the political versatility of Maciel da Costa, Joaquim Martins de Carvalho, regarding *Apologia que dirige à Nação Portuguesa João Severiano Maciel da Costa... a fim de se justificar das imputações que lhe fazem homens obscuros...* Coimbra, University Press, 1821, written by the Marquis of Queluz, writing in the *Conimbricense* stated: "This *Apologia* is very curious. Among other things that draw my attention [are] the repeated protests that (...) Maciel da Costa, the future (...) Minister of the Brazilian empire, made in 1821 (...) against the complaints levelled at him, to promote the separation of Brazil" (*O Conimbricense: jornal politico, instructivo e commercial*, No. 2874 (10 February 1875)). According to Carvalho, some pages of the *Apologia* lead one to believe that Maciel was the author of the pamphlet which he had refuted.
- ¹⁵ *Astro da Lusitania*, No. 206 (1 August - 1821), pp. [1-2].
- ¹⁶ *Diario extraordinario da Europa*, Lisboa, Nova Typ. Maigrense, 1821.
- ¹⁷ Cf., e.g. "Carta de um militar do Rio de Janeiro". *Diario extraordinario da Europa*, No. 23 (1821), Lisboa, Nova Typ. Maigrense, 1821 (cf. *Astro da Lusitania*, No. 227 (28 August - 1821), pp. [1]).
- ¹⁸ See news concerning Pernambuco, the Constitutional Governing Junta of the Province of Pernambuco, the events that occurred in 1821, from July to October, under the leadership of the controversial Luís do Rego Barreto (cf. *Idem*, No. 303 (27 November - 1821), pp. [1-2]), furthermore, the Constitution of Maranhão (cf. *Idem*, Nos. 175, 176 and 180 (23, 25 and 30 June - 1821)).
- ¹⁹ "The ladies will be dressed in a courtly manner, but without their cloaks. Those dancing, however, take round dresses, gloves and with their headwear styled in a lighter manner, more suitable for that purpose. Gentlemen will also dressed in a courtly manner, however, those who intend to dance will wear white silk stockings, with their uniform unbuttoned, a band on the waistcoat and white gloves. Other according to uniform requirements" (*Idem*, No. 304 (28 November - 1821), pp. [1-2]).

- ²⁰ Cf. *Idem*, Nos. 316, 317, 318 (13, 14, 15 December - 1821).
- ²¹ *Diario das Cortes Geraes e Extraordinarias da Nação Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Na Imprensa Nacional, 1821, No. 180, Day session 20 September, p. 2341.
- ²² *O Independente* (1821-1822).
- ²³ *Supplemento ao No. 64 do Independente*, Lisboa, Na Imprensa Nacional, [1822], p. [1].
- ²⁴ *Diario das Cortes Geraes e Extraordinarias da Nação Portuguesa, Segundo Anno da Legislatura*, Lisboa, Na Imprensa Nacional, 1822, Day session 22 March 1822, pp. 575-576.
- ²⁵ Starting with the *Supplemento ao nº 58 do Independente*, No. 58 (12 March - 1822), p. [1], it would be published in pamphlet format, until the *Supplemento ao nº 69 do Independente*, No. 69 (27 March - 1822), p. [1]. No reference to this publication has been found, whether in the *Fundação Biblioteca Nacional Brasil*, in Porbase, or in the manual catalogue of the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*.
- ²⁶ Cf. José Augusto dos Santos Alves, *A Opinião Pública em Portugal (1780-1820)*, 2nd ed., Preface by José Esteves Pereira, Lisboa, eduiual, 2004, pp. 31-32.
- ²⁷ Cf. José Augusto dos Santos Alves, *Comunicação e história das ideias: a génese do editorial político*, [Lisboa, s.n.], 2004 ([S.l.], Tipografia Maia); *Idem*, *O Poder da Comunicação: a história dos media dos primórdios da imprensa aos dias da Internet*, pref. Alexandre Manuel, Cruz Quebrada, Casa das Letras, 2005, pp. 47-48.
- ²⁸ Cf. Consuelo Pondré de Sena, *A imprensa reacionária na independência: sentinella bahiense*, Salvador, Centro de Estudos Baianos da Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1983.
- ²⁹ I am appropriating here the expression by Lucien Febvre & Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du Livre*, Foreword by Paul Chalus. Paris, Albin Michel, 1957.
- ³⁰ The "press campaign" is a concept in motion, that, throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, would have enhanced models (which the *Digital Revolution* would enable), and which would mark journalistic production from this period until the middle of the century. A component of the urban landscape, and omnipresent in its writings, the "press campaign" becomes a true social phenomenon in this period, aiming to capture public opinion. One might wonder about its effectiveness and its importance specifically in the political and social sector, which may have been minimal. But in the broadest sense, this refers to every writing "technique" used to make known or assert one's goals, whether a policy change or fall of a ministry or minister, an event, an idea, whatever the form and the purpose. The evolution of journalism and the appropriation of public opinion by periodicals within the information and communication sector, in the heart of the political space, at the moment when the phenomena of periodicals and opinion occupied an ever more considerable space in the life of the individual and the community, made from the outset the "press campaign" an element of a vast field, communication, which would impress on not only daily activities but also on political, social and cultural life. The "press campaign", the impressions which it supplied of politics and the exercise of power, should be considered as representative of the tendencies of the period, despite all the ambiguities of discourse, and fabulation of impressions which it provided. Reductive or not – the message is sometimes short and impressive – the "press campaign", due to its nature, stimulates the public use of reason and provokes the interiorisation of values of the imaginary transported by the message, to produce a legitimising discourse, the object of which is to delegitimise the regime, the power in action, a government, making one forget its potential to legitimise in favour of the incorporation of what is latent and virtual in the socio-political framework of what is yet to come. The "press campaign", although it may contain certain speculative ingredients, does not happen as an epiphenomenon, since it does not play out on the borders of the daily socio-political process. This daily activity is experienced intently. The journalists did not only write to defend their position in the courts of the people representing public opinion, but as someone who thinks of power, without being able to possess it, in a subsequent logic of aims to be attained.
- ³¹ *O Brasileiro em Lisboa* was published between No. 1 (12 October - 1837) and No. 10 (11 December - 1837), Lisboa: Na Imprensa de Galhardo e Irmãos, 1837. *O Prospecto* announced, among other information, that, having set up a society, "a small number of Brazilian patriots, along with a number of Portuguese, who for similar reasons are considered as citizens of the entire world, have come together to publish a weekly periodical in Lisbon (...), in order to propagate and generalise (...) wise laws and patriotic zeal (...). This example may have stimulated similar companies in other European countries [with] relative and reciprocal advantages for trade in general, as well as finding benevolent acceptance in the illustrated public" (*O Brasileiro em Lisboa*, Nº 1 (12 October - 1837), p. 1).