Chapter 03

Hipólito da Costa, the *Correio Braziliense* and the Dissemination of the Enlightenment in Brazil

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Introduction

This chapter covers the career and journalist activities of Hipólito José da Costa Furtado de Mendonça, commonly known as Hipólito da Costa (1774-1823).[1] Like many other characters included in this book, Hipólito da Costa fled from Lisbon to London between 1805 and 1806 to escape political persecution and devoted himself to journalism thanks to the 'reasonably free' press in London and to British liberalism.[2] Hipólito was far away from Brazil, then a colony of Portugal, when he was sentenced by the Inquisition due to his involvement in Masonic activities. His close relations with influential Freemasons, more precisely with the Duke of Sussex, made his adjustment to life in London easier. The two Freemasons had become closely acquainted as a result of the Duke's support for the progress of Portuguese Freemasonry during the years he lived in Lisbon (1800-1803).[3] Thereafter, both Freemasonry and Hipólito's friendship with the Duke of Sussex played a decisive role in the life of the journalist until his death. During the fourteen years of his exile, Hipólito published the *Correio Braziliense ou Armazém Literário* (1808-1822), adapting, as we shall see in this chapter, the format of the English review to found the Brazilian political press. With the *Correio Braziliense* (henceforth *Correio*), he constructed and disseminated his political ideas, contributing to the formation of a Lusophone political community in London, to the rise of a periodical press in the Portuguese language, to the Latin American independence debate, and to the consolidation of London as the hub of transnational politics in the early nineteenth century.

Rio de Janeiro at the Time of the King

It is interesting to note the start and end date of the publication of this first Brazilian periodical. The *Correio* appeared at a fundamental moment of the history of Brazil, when the then Portuguese colony was shaken by a wave of culture and progress brought about by the transfer of the Portuguese king and his court to Rio de Janeiro (1808), and ceased to exist in the year of the independence of Brazil (1822).

When the Portuguese royal family disembarked in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, the colony boasted 2.4 million inhabitants within its territory, of which one million were slaves and 800,000 were Indians. Rio de Janeiro was a modest colonial village, described as a chaotic, badly planned, dirty and stinking place of approximately 60,000 people, that would experience new routines with the arrival of the court and soon witness rapid changes in its urban, political, and cultural landscape.[4] Throughout the colonial period, censorship had been very strict and the Portuguese authorities had kept close control over the production and circulation of any printed matter in Brazil. Whereas Spain allowed its Latin American colonies to establish printing houses and universities from the very beginning of the colonial period, Portugal forbade any printed activity in its most important colony, and so Brazil's intellectual elite went to study in Coimbra, like Hipólito himself: he studied Law at the University of Coimbra.[5]

With the opening of trade to "friendly nations", such as the United Kingdom, the Portuguese monopoly was broken and Brazil saw trade flourish. Portugal's isolation with the French presence in its European territory forced the government to invest in the creation of iron, gunpowder, and glass factories in its American colony. With the help of a French mission that was specially commissioned by Dom João VI to plan buildings and urban equipment, a new town came into existence, with the creation of a Botanical Garden, a

National Library, a Military Academy, and a School of Medicine. In 1815 Brazil's political status was elevated to a kingdom as part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves. Furthermore, the colony was suddenly and rapidly integrated into the transnational literary and political print culture, thanks to the diligent and interested efforts of merchants and intellectuals on both sides of the Atlantic.[6] There was also a need to get the government's acts printed and to release interesting news to the crown. Hence, soon after the arrival of the king, the press was implanted in Rio de Janeiro, more precisely the Royal Press, which retained the monolopoly over all printed matter in Brazil until 1821. It printed the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, the first newspaper to be published in Brazil. It was pro-government and shutdown after the independence.

A free press in Brazilian territory would only exist after 1821, when censorship was abolished. The first political pamphlets and periodicals printed in Brazilian territory appeared at the end of 1821, in support of the independence movement led by the Prince Regent.[7]

The *Correio* was Hipólito's main legacy. It helped advance the creation of a liberal political culture in the Portuguese Americas before a free press existed in Brazil and it was fundamental to the diffusion in Latin America of the ideals of liberalism and the advantages of the system of government based on the Constitution. Furthermore, it gave rise to the London-based Portuguese press scrutinised in chapter 4 of this book. The *Correio* should nevertheless be understood as part of a larger range of activities, as Hipólito's work took on a variety of print forms – particularly in the first years of his residence in London – and he engaged in other activities that broadened his social networks and helped him to make a living.

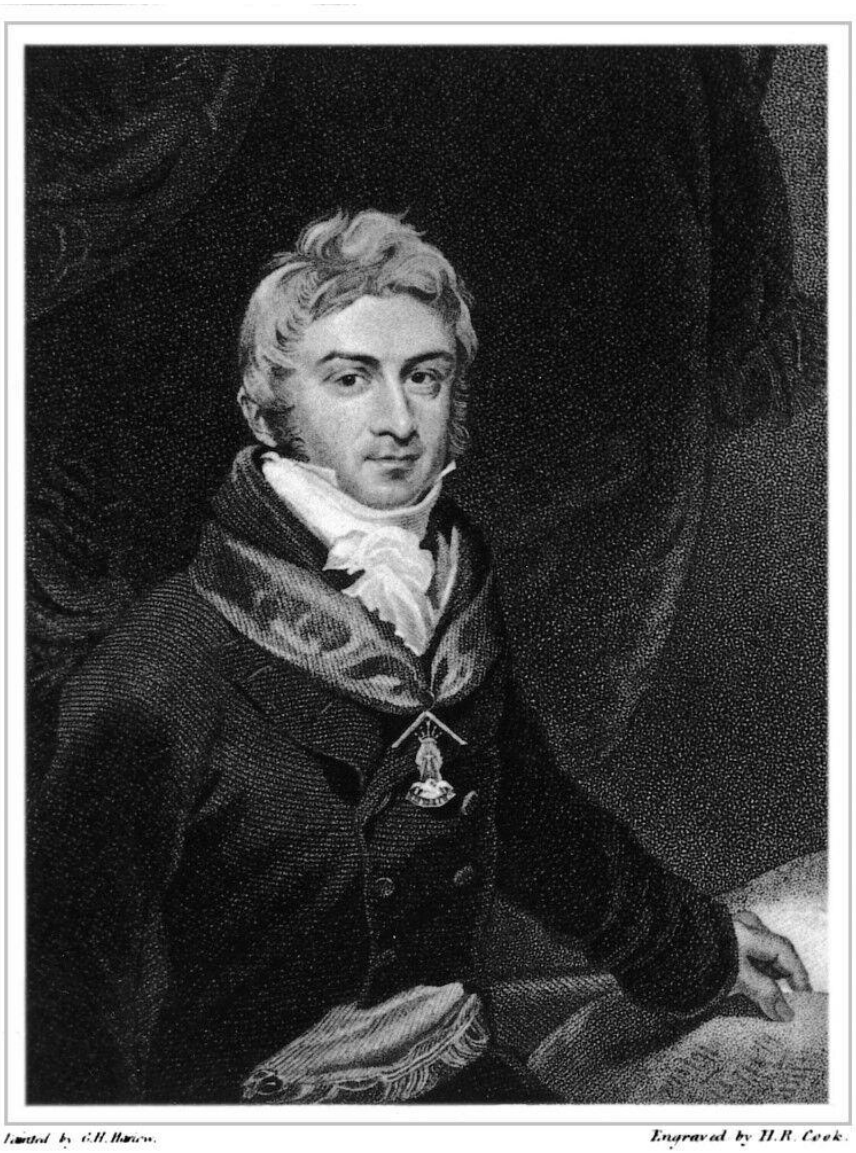
It was in the pages of the *Correio* that Hipólito would give expression to the plans that he had for Brazil, inspired by the political, social, and even cultural model of his host country. Having been educated in the tradition of enlightened reformism that characterized the Regency and the reign of Dom João VI, Hipólito was a British-style constitutional monarchist and completely opposed to the democratic trends that emerged from the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the principles of the French Revolution. He strongly criticized the colonial system in the pages of the *Correio,* arguing in favour of greater autonomy for Brazil. For fourteen years, therefore, a Brazilian who was born in Uruguay and educated in Portugal, knew the United States better than any other Brazilian of his time, and yet he lived most of his life in England, dedicating his life in exile to publishing a review for Brazil.

The professional path of Hipólito da Costa and the London-based Lusophone political community

Hipólito was born on 25 March 1774 in the colony of Sacramento in Cisplatina (now Uruguay), a region that, during the period of colonial rule, was the subject of constant disputes between Portugal and Spain. After the Treaty of San Idelfonso (1777) the region was returned to Spanish rule and people of Portuguese origin were forced to emigrate, including Hipólito's family. After a short stay in Buenos Aires, the family settled in Rio Grande do Sul, where Hipólito lived until he was seventeen years old. He was educated by his maternal uncle Pedro Pereira Fernandes de Mesquita, who was a priest and prepared him for entry to the University of Coimbra in 1792. Hipólito, who was regarded as a brilliant student, obtained a degree in Law and became a Doctor of Philosophy in 1797. The influence of his uncle, Hipólito's academic achievements, his relations with the Prince Regent and the prime

minister, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, led the Portuguese government to send him on a scientific mission to the United States. He stayed there for two years and, in his *Diário de minha viagem a Filadélfia*, recorded the sort of insights on North-American society that already demonstrated the critical spirit and power of observation of the journalist he would later become in London.[8] The journey to the United States left an indelible impression on Hipólito; it helped plant the seeds of his vision of the world and provided him with a set of values in which freedom and the rights of man always played a central role.

Figure 3.1: Hipólito da Costa, drawing by H. R. Cook, printed by G. H. Lewis, published in *A A Narrative of the Persecution of Hippolyto Joseph da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça*, first edition, London: W. Lewis, 1811. © National Library of Rio de Janeiro



Carlos Rizzini has drawn attention to the fact that the entries of *Diário de minha viagem para Filadélfia* stopped on 27 December 1799, roughly one year before Hipólito returned to Portugal in September or October 1800.[9] His diary does not mention his affiliation with Freemasonry. From the seventeenth century, Freemasonry had become a widespread underground force for propagating the ideas of the Enlightenment and bringing together liberals of various denominations, including both French encyclopaedists and English liberals.[10] It spread to the former American colonies and Australia, where it was taken up by English merchants and traders. Its importance for the politics of the English crown had become so obvious that it reached the throne: the three sons of King George III were all Freemasons.

Upon his return to Lisbon in 1800, Hipólito became part of the group of Brazilians who worked in the printing house Arco do Cego, where he carried out translation work. Arco do Cego closed down and its collection was integrated with the Royal Press. Hipólito, along with Mariano da Conceição Vellozo, the celebrated naturalist friar and author of *Florae Fluminensis*, became members of the Board of the Royal Press.[11] Hipólito published two works based on his trip to the United States: *Descripção de huma maquina para tocar a bomba a bordo dos navios sem o trabalho de homens: offerecida a Real Marinha Portuguesa* and *Descripçaõ da arvore assucareira, e da sua utilidade*, both printed by Typographia Chalcographica e Litteraria do Arco do Cego, the original name of the Royal Press.[12] He also devoted himself to the translation into Portuguese of English scientific books, such as *A Memoir Concerning the Disease of Goitre, as it Prevails in Different Parts of North-America* by Benjamin Smith Barton; this was also published by the same printing house, whose name had changed to Typographia Chalcographica, Typoplastica, e Litteraria do Arco do Cego.[13] His growing interest in economic history and the liberal economic model must have been the incentives for translating *A Concise and Authentic History of the Bank of England* by E. F.

Thomas Fortune.[14] Along the same line of interest is the publication in Portuguese, in two volumes, of *Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical* by Sir Benjamin Thompson in 1801-1802.[15]

Hipólito returned from the United States in 1800 and determined to work for the growth and progress of Freemasonry in Portugal.[16] His clandestine activity as a Freemason during 1800 and 1802 is thought to have been the secret cause of his first trip to London in April 1802. The official purpose of this trip was to purchase books and printing machines for the Royal Press, but, in fact, he had been sent on a secret mission to seek protection from English Freemasonry so that Portuguese Freemasons could carry out their activities without relentless persecution from the police and the Portuguese Inquisition. Hipólito remained in England for three months and visited several places in continental Europe. Upon his return to Portugal, he was imprisoned by order of the magistrate Pina Manique. While the formal charge was that he had travelled without a passport, there is much to suggest that the underlying cause was his involvement with the Freemasons.[17]

In *A Narrative of the Persecution*, Hipólito narrates in great detail the circumstances of his arrest and the lengthy interrogations and suffering he underwent. Written to denounce how the inquisitorial system functioned, it became the most vivid account of the Inquisition ever written in Portuguese. It is a valuable source for research on rhetoric as an argumentative tool, on Portuguese Freemasonry, as well as on Hipólito's biography and ideas. The principles of freedom of association and expression, religious and political tolerance of Freemasonry, which he defended during his interrogations, were revolutionary in Portugal, which in the nineteenth century was still subject to Inquisition. Portugal was absolutist and still oblivious to the changes that France and England had undergone in the eighteenth century, despite being geographically close to these two countries. Coupled with his life experience in the United States, the harsh years that the young Hipólito spent in prison and

the defence of the liberal values he sustained under interrogation prepared him for the eighteen years he would spend in England.

In 1805, with the aid of Freemasons, he managed to escape from prison. He lived clandestinely in Portugal for some time until he found an opportunity to embark undercover for England. The exact date of his arrival in London is still unknown. During his first years of exile he depended on the protection and friendship of the Duke of Sussex; he gave lessons and translated commercial documents, journalistic articles, and literary works into Portuguese.

Before launching the *Correio* in 1808, Hipólito published some works in London, such as *Cartas sobre a Framaçonaria*. In the following years, he worked on the English and Portuguese editions of *A Narrative of the Persecution* and contributed to a new edition of *História de Portugal*.[18] He also worked on the *Nova grammatica portuguesa e inglesa*, and in 1820 he published the leaflet *Sketch for the History of Dionysian Artificers*.[19]

Hipólito's skill for writing and dealing with figures, as well as his wide circle of contacts in English society – which stemmed from his close links with the Freemasons – made him a valuable go-between in negotiations involving Brazilian and Portuguese trading houses with representatives in London. After the Portuguese Court settled in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, the Portuguese traders living in (or those who often made trips to) England formed a club that met on a regular basis in the City of London tavern on Bishopsgate Street.[20] Hipólito became an active supporter of the interests of this group. In the pages of *Correio* he protested against the seizure of Portuguese merchant vessels in English ports during the short period – October to November 1807 – when Portugal, under pressure from Napoleon, broke off diplomatic relations with England.[21] This defence was so unrelenting that it led to a breakdown in the relations between Hipólito and the Ambassador of Portugal, D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, Count of Funchal, whom he accused of favouring the interests of

England over those of the Portuguese crown subjects. Moreover, Hipólito's writings sparked off a campaign, led by the Count of Funchal with the support of English authorities, aimed at expelling the Brazilian journalist from England or at least at closing down his review in 1810. At the same time, D. Rodrigo, who was the brother of D. Domingos and a powerful minister of D. João VI, promulgated decrees preventing the circulation of the *Correio* in Brazil and ordered the seizure of the copies that arrived in the Brazilian ports in 1809. Hipólito's relationship with his former protector D. Rodrigo had suffered by the latter's ambiguous position during the series of events that had led to Hipólito's arrest in 1802. The journalist's campaign against the Count of Funchal would also reach his brother.

According to Roderick Barman, the extent of the *Correio*'s influence can be gleaned from the comments on his articles in letters exchanged by his contemporaries, as well as the steps taken against it by the Portuguese crown, which included offering financial support to new, opposing journalistic ventures. This gave rise to the London-based Portugal political press. In 1810, several pamphlets published in Lisbon refuted the arguments put forward by the articles published in the *Correio.*[22] As discussed in greater detail in chapter 4 of this book, D. Domingos de Sousa Coutinho sponsored the creation of the periodical *O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra* (henceforth *O Investigador*) to combat Hipólito's ideas more systematically.[23] *O Investigador* was published from 1811 until 1819, when the Portuguese authorities ceased to sponsor it. Thereafter, the new Portuguese ambassador in London and future Marquis of Palmela, D. Pedro de Sousa Holstein, went on to sponsor *O Padre Amaro ou Sovela, Política, Histórica e Literária* (1820-1829), a periodical which voiced the most scathing and personal criticism of the *Correio*.

The main editor of *O Investigador* was a one-time companion of Hipólito in Portuguese Freemasonry, the former friar José Liberato Freire de Carvalho. Although he was one of those who had given shelter to the Brazilian journalist soon after he had managed to

escape from prison, José Liberato did not welcome his former companion when he arrived in London. This was despite the fact that José Liberato himself had undergone political persecution in Portugal – for having allegedly collaborated with the French invaders – and fled to London. In the years that followed, the two journalists parried constantly with their pens with brief intervals of reconciliation, all encouraged by the members of the Portuguese commercial club, who invested in both journals.[24]

As well as the *Correio* and *Investigador*, the Portuguese press set up in London was enhanced by João Bernardo Rocha Loureiro's move to London. Loureiro was given a warm welcome by Hipólito when he arrived in London in 1812, having escaped the persecution directed at liberal journalists after the expulsion of the French, in 1810. The liberal press, which had been useful in the campaign of defence of Portugal against the Napoleonic troops, became unnecessary and dangerous for the restoration of the absolutist order conducted by the Regency.

The *Correio da Península ou Novo Telegrapho* (1809-1810), a periodical that Loureiro published together with Pato Moniz, was banned from circulation in Portugal and Loureiro left for London, where he wanted to publish another journal. Initially called *O Espelho Politico e Moral*, but soon afterwards renamed *O Português ou Mercúrio Político, Comercial e Literário* (1814-1826), Loureiro's periodical was a great success, not only in the heart of the Portuguese community living in London, but also in Portugal, where it maintained a clandestine presence.[25]

However, the friendship between Hipólito and Loureiro was shaken by their divergent opinions over whether the Portuguese Court should remain in Rio de Janeiro or move back to Lisbon. The debate, which began in a civilized way, took a more radical turn following the decision of D. João VI to elevate Brazil to the status of a kingdom in 1815 and his evident

intention of remaining in Brazil or at least putting off his return for as long as possible. The keynote of Loureiro's articles consisted of attacks against the King, Brazil and Brazilians.

The political disputes that took place in the exile Luso-Brazilian press bore heavily on Brazil's pro-independence agitation. Their debates played a decisive role in stirring up the anti-absolutist feelings of the Portuguese and driving them to carry out a constitutionalist revolution in Porto on 24 August 1820. The Liberal Revolution of 1820 resulted in the return in 1821 of the Portuguese Court to Portugal from Brazil, where it had fled during the Peninsular War. At first it was celebrated by the Brazilian liberals and by Hipólito himself, but eventually led to the independence of Brazil, following a series of constitutional debates which clearly highlighted the incompatibility of the plans and interests of the two kingdoms.

Hipólito liked to lead a peaceful life and his strongest feelings were always bound with questions of a political nature. In 1817 he married an Englishwoman, Mary Ann Glenie, the daughter of a wealthy family, who helped to provide him with greater financial stability. Hipólito also worked as the Duke of Sussex's secretary. The money he possessed in a Scottish bank as well as his relations with the Duke – which, *inter alia*, resulted in him being granted the title of Esquire – allowed him to acquire denizenship status.[26] This spared him several attempts by the Portuguese monarchy to censor his review or even have him expelled from England. Hipólito died in 1823, one year after the Independence of Brazil, while he was negotiating his appointment as the consul of Brazil in London with the Brazilian government. At first, he strove to maintain the unity between Brazil and Portugal, but eventually came to support independence as the only way to prevent the Portuguese deputies from making Brazil retrograde to a colonial status. Given the depth of his dissatisfaction, all that remained for Hipólito was to abandon his former dream of seeing the establishment of a Luso-Brazilian empire with its headquarters in America, and instead accept his Brazilian identity. After

changing his position, he devoted himself to staunch support of the interests of Brazil against Portugal. In the course of a long correspondence with José Bonifácio de Andrada, the most important minister of D. Pedro I, he put forward the bold proposal of setting up a Brazilian courier service, which in his view would be a key factor in bringing unity and progress to the country.

The *Correio Braziliense*, a Brazilian review

With the opening up of the Brazilian ports, the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1810, and the decline of British influence in the North Atlantic following the American War of Independence, London became, in the words of José Tengarrinha, 'the key vertical point in its triangular relationship with Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro'.[27] London had a clear advantage over Lisbon with regard to the circulation of the press: British ships were not subject to inspection by the Portuguese authorities, which made it easier to send periodicals to Brazil via England. José Tengarrinha believes that these factors explain why London, rather than Paris, became the centre for Portuguese-language publishing between 1808 and 1822. Moreover, the strict censorship imposed by the dictatorship of Napoleon and the Bourbon monarchy from 1815 onward made it difficult to reverse Napoleon's legislation and allow a free press. According to Tengarrinha, only three periodicals written in Portuguese were published in Paris in this period: *O Observador Lusitano em Paris ou colecção literária, política e commercial* (January-April 1815), *Annaes das Sciencias, das Artes e das Letras* (1818-1822), and *O Contemporâneo político e literário* (January-September 1820), while over 25 periodicals were published in London in the same period.[28]

The complete collection of the fourteen-year run of the *Correio* comprises 29 bound volumes and includes 175 numbers of 72 to 140 pages, each in an octavo format and printed by W. Lewis, Wych Street.[29] The periodical is divided into four large sections. The section

‘Política’ (Politics) includes transcriptions of official documents about national and foreign business transactions; ‘Comércio e Artes’ (Commerce and the Arts) published news regarding national and international trade; ‘Literatura e Ciências’ (Literature and the Sciences) contained information about new publications that had appeared in England and Portugal as well as news regarding scientific and technological innovations. Most of these articles are long commentaries on books about history, economics, and politics. The bulk of the pages deal with official documents received from Portugal and Brazil and with the reproduction of the most important news coming from American and European periodicals. This was the most up-to-date news bulletin that could reach Brazilians and, without doubt, this window on the world helped to advance the creation of a liberal political culture in the Portuguese Americas.

The section ‘Miscelânea’ (Miscellaneous) is subdivided into two parts: ‘Correspondência’ (Correspondence) with letters sent from readers and ‘Reflexões sobre as novidades do mês’ (Reflections on the novelties of the month), containing Hipólito’s commentaries on the main events. It was in this section that he set out his plans and policies for Brazil in the most systematic and consistent manner, although marginal comments and observations fleetingly occur in other articles. He supported a number of causes: freedom of the press, the end of the Inquisition in Portugal and freedom of religion in general, the transfer of the Brazilian capital to the interior of the country, the immigration of European nationals to Brazil, the gradual abolition of slavery, and the permanent settlement of the Portuguese government in Brazil.

The political views of Hipólito located him on the London-based Latin American political spectrum and made him a key player in transnational anti-colonialist and nationalist debates. He was the first Brazilian intellectual to write about the need to abolish slavery in Brazil. It seemed to him a contradiction in terms that a nation seeking to be free should

maintain an internal regime of slavery: ‘How is it possible for a white human being to express his or her desires having a black slave next to him or her?’ However, he also thought that ‘it would be the desperate measure of a madman’ to abolish slavery at once, since ‘it is linked to the current social system and constitutes part of the country’s prosperity’.[30] For Hipólito, the process of replacing slave labour by free labour should be gradual and based on the immigration of skilled European workers from poor or war-impoverished countries.

Hipólito was always a liberal champion of free trade, freedom of opinion, and the parliamentary system. He loathed absolutism and revolution. His willingness to see adopted in Brazil the English liberal model made Hipólito a great promoter of the English Constitution and of works on this subject. He nevertheless defended the sovereignty of Portugal and Brazil. He criticized the fact that the Royal Charter appointed Marshal Beresford as president of the War Council in Portugal: ‘The fact that the Portuguese have foreigners working in their government is an example that would never be followed by the English, who have no Portuguese working in offices of trust in their government.’

Hipólito also commented on the treaty signed with England in 1810, not only for humiliating Portuguese dignity, but for placing the Brazilians, in their own country, in a position inferior to the English. The so-called Extraterritoriality Clause, Article 10 of the treaty, guaranteed the British the right to appoint their compatriots in Brazil to the position of judge, creating a special forum for English citizens living in Brazil. Hipólito considered the privileges granted to England to be exaggerated when the Portuguese who resided in the English territories did not have the same rights. He would also denounce ‘the efforts of the defenders of that treaty to persuade the people of Brazil that they should not have factories, recalling that in England, on the contrary, an order in Council had been republished in the previous month, prescribing the measures to be applied against those who take from England “machines or artists”‘.

A man of the Enlightenment and confident in the role that men espousing liberal values should have, from the very first issue of his review, Hipólito declared the missionary zeal with which he devoted himself to his journalistic enterprise.

> The first duty of the human being in society is to be useful to its members; and each one should act in accordance with her or his physical and moral strength to improve society through the knowledge or talents with which she or he has been endowed by nature, art, or education. The individual who espouses the general good of society becomes its most distinguished member; the light which she or he casts releases from darkness or illusion those whom ignorance has plunged in a labyrinth of apathy, incompetence, and error.[31]

The format of the *Correio* was inspired by the journalistic model of the great English and Scottish reviews, which were described by Derek Roper as providing 'instalments of a continuous encyclopaedia, recording the advance of knowledge in every field of enterprise'.[32] These were non-specialist publications aimed at readers who were thirsty for information about a wide range of topics. The model arose in the eighteenth century with periodicals such as the *Monthly* (1749), the *Critical* (1756), the *English* (1783), the *Analytical* (1788), and the *British Critic* (1793). They were monthly publications and each edition included a series of articles and essays on current literature and related topics. The *Correio* was launched six years after the appearance of the *Edinburgh Review* (1802-1929), which, together with the *Quarterly Review* (1809-1967), established the model for reviews which prevailed throughout the nineteenth century. With regard to the range of subjects covered, the subtitle 'Armazém Literário' (Literary Storehouse) is proof of the close alignment of Hipólito's objectives with the editorial model of the English and Scottish reviews of the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries. In that period, the word 'literature' covered every area of knowledge from mathematics, physics, and theology to what is strictly speaking literature. However, this was not the case with the *Correio*, which mainly featured articles on political, economic, or scientific issues.

The decision to publish monthly rather than quarterly issues brought the *Correio* closer to the reviews of the eighteenth century. In the first place, this allowed the publication and distribution of the magazine to reflect the flow of information about contemporary events – which sustained the periodical while also assisting in its dissemination – and meant that it could travel to and fro between Latin America and England, since crossing the Atlantic on a steam boat took, on average, 30 days. Moreover, a quarterly review would probably not have had the same repercussions as a monthly periodical: its contemporary flavour would have been diluted because of its inability to follow the course of daily politics quite as closely.

Between the two coexisting models of the reviews – that of the eighteenth century and that consolidated in the *Edinburgh Review* – Hipólito selected the features that seemed best suited to a Brazilian political paper published overseas. Whereas British reviews depended on contributions from several writers who published their articles anonymously, even when they were famous and distinguished authors of a high intellectual calibre like Walter Scott, Thomas Carlyle, and William Hazlitt, the *Correio* appears to have been written mostly by Hipólito himself, who acted as editor, writer, and translator, as he made clear in 1819:

> Now it is essential to our argument to declare here that all the relentless work of writing, editing, correspondence, etc., of this periodical has fallen upon one individual, who is also laden with several other occupations, which are necessary for him to seek the means of subsistence, which one cannot achieve with the meagre

> profits from the literary production of this journal, and to maintain his position in the public circle, in which circumstances compel him to live.[33]

After some time, the *Correio* began to include other contributions, mainly in the form of letters, but always in a random manner and without any change to its format.

The main similarity between the *Correio* and the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Review* is that all three are reviews that express opinions from a well-defined political standpoint. In the nineteenth century, the model for a review evolved from a descriptive and comprehensive monthly periodical to a more selective and critical quarterly, which was 'unashamedly partisan in its politics'.[34] Although it promoted Whig politics, the *Edinburgh Review* was not, strictly speaking, the organ of a political party. As for the conservative *Quarterly Review*, although it supported the Tories, it did not adopt a political position that was servile to the party. Both distinguished clearly between the discussion of political ideas and party political agendas. According to Joanna Shattock, this was one of the factors that separated the reviews from the newspapers, with their 'attendant evils of subservient political affiliation, paid employment and the ungentlemanly aroma of trade, or more precisely profit'.[35]

As some early nineteenth-century Latin American periodicals examined in chapter 1 and 2 of this book, the *Correio* was a book-like publication. It adopted a continuous page numbering system throughout the issues of the same volume, indicating that they were connected and formed a single work. It was also sold in the same places as books for sale. It did not feature the lightweight, disposable format and content that the newspaper would acquire later on. According to Maria Pallares-Burke, in London in the eighteenthcentury, the book and the periodical were not considered as two distinct cultural objects. Since periodicals were produced by book publishers, they were actually seen as 'fragments of books'. Pallares-Burke adds that a typical phenomenon of the time was the binding of individual sheets of

periodicals into one volume. Individual issues were initially sold separately or by subscription, according to their frequency of publication (daily, weekly, biweekly, monthly, etc.), but they could also be made available in bound volumes later, which undoubtedly conferred greater respectability and durability to the new medium.[36]

The *Correio* inherited its periodic frequency from the eighteenth-century reviews , although for entirely different reasons, as well as the practice of summarizing or providing the translation of long passages from important works. Nevertheless, like the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*, as well as offering its readers – in this case the cultural and political Luso-Brazilian and Latin-American elites – a broad view of various areas of knowledge, the *Correio* sought to enhance the debate about the leading political questions of the day, which extended beyond the Luso-Brazilian horizon. It therefore adopted the tendency of contemporary reviews, such as the *Quarterly Review*, to intervene in the realm of political debate, with the aim of forming, informing, and influencing opinion.

In addition, Hipólito developed a clear and objective way of writing that may have been inspired by the lightness of touch and colloquial style of the English newspapers and reviews. According to Antonio Candido, the journalist brought 'a vitality and seemly decorum' to Brazilian prose, which contrasted with the 'grandiloquence' of the sacred orators predominant at that time.

> Hipólito was the first Brazilian to employ a modern, clear, vibrant, and concise prose style that was full of ideas. It was so stripped of excessive detail that it came to us in a form that was intact, fresh and delightful, more modern than most of what has been bequeathed to us by the nineteenth century and the first quarter of this century. He was the greatest journalist that Brazil has ever had and the only one whose work is read today with interest and profit. He was a writer and a thinker who, better than anyone else, expressed the central concerns of our age of enlightenment.[37]

A new capital for a new Brazil

What inspired the creation of the *Correio* was the decision made by the Prince Regent and future king D. João VI to move to Brazil in 1808. Hipólito saw the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil as an opportunity for progress and development for Portuguese America. In contrast to those who wanted the separation of Brazil from Portugal, Hipólito argued strongly in favour of keeping the court in Rio de Janeiro permanently, thereby ensuring the supremacy of Brazil over the Portuguese kingdom. From the very first issues of the *Correio*, he insisted that Rio de Janeiro, as the new fortress of the Portuguese monarchy, should play a leading role in consolidating the Portuguese domains in Brazil once and for all. In his view, this was an opportunity to ensure the progress and unification of Brazil. His plan was to preserve and strengthen the unity of the two parts of the Portuguese kingdom across the Atlantic, but to give the leading role to the American side. To make this scheme viable, Hipólito thought that it was essential to establish a central administrative authority so that all regions could comply with the same laws.

The concentration of power in the hands of the governors of the Brazilian captaincies, that is to say, the administrative divisions and hereditary fiefs of Portugal in Brazil, and the lack of a unified system for controlling financial expenditure tended to derail the unity of the country and to weaken the power of Rio de Janeiro. Hipólito argued that, given the size of the territory, it was necessary to plan the expansion of Brazilian finances and bring the treasury under a central administrative authority established in the Court. The central administration would be linked to the various regions of the country through correspondence with all the public tax collectors in the different captaincies. Hipólito strenuously criticized the fact that the Portuguese government in Rio de Janeiro had been restricted to replicating the same

institutions that had been in force in Portugal, therefore allowing the continuation of the administrative mismanagement which had caused the ruin of that kingdom. He believed that what Brazil really needed for its development was a detailed study of its rivers to determine whether it was possible to navigate them, as well as to set up a mining committee, a survey for the opening up of roads, and a map-design service.

Throughout the period when the *Correio* was published, Hipólito fiercely attacked the Portuguese government's traditional practice of granting monopolies, always bearing in mind that the United States did not have any kind of monopoly system.

> There is not any sort of monopoly in the United States: of diamonds, Brazil wood, playing cards. No one holds any type of privilege nor any rights to export either. On the contrary, there is a difference in the rights of weighting for American and foreign ships, which gives the national ones an advantage.[38]

In April 1818, he criticized the fact that the courier service between Rio Grande (today Rio Grande do Sul) and São Paulo had been allocated to an individual in the form of a monopoly. He regarded it as 'unwise to grant a particular enjoyment of a monopoly over which the Government should have the administrative control'.[39] In his view, the essential public services should be under the control of the State and he added: 'It is thus necessary to include the courier system among the number of those public services, which can only be exercised by the Government.'[40]

He kept returning to the need for rules and regulations that could persuade the 'world' that the political institutions of Brazil were favourable. In December 1810, he stated that it was necessary to ensure personal freedom and the property rights of immigrants, through laws that were 'fixed and permanent, and not decrees and charters that a secretary of State

makes in the morning and another secretary of State exempts from by a written note in the afternoon of the same day'.[41] He always cited the United States as an example of a country with a successful immigration policy, because it had managed to attract large numbers of Europeans. He reminded his readers that immigrants preferred the United States to Brazil because of the absence of such rights.

Hipólito insisted on the importance of training elite cadres able to serve the State. In July 1814, he stated that 'the growth of the national character could be achieved through measures such as the founding of a university in Brazil, the introduction of schools to teach reading and writing and the widespread circulation of national and foreign periodicals'[42] – these were measures that would provide men with the qualifications needed to govern. He looked at education from an economic perspective and always stressed the need 'to spread useful instruction in Brazil'[43] through a rise in the number of periodicals. The example of England as a country that trained good professionals for public service is cited in July 1810, when he states that 'all its nobility are devoted to studies and a large number go to universities and afterwards compete to fill the most important posts'.[44]

Hipólito's project of a Luso-Brazilian nation pivots on the relocation of the capital of Brazil from the coast to the interior of Brazil. It was one of the projects on which Hipólito insisted time and again in his review. With a view to persuading the government and the public of the importance of bringing the various parts of the country together, in March 1813, he invoked the patriotic spirit of the Portuguese:

> If the Portuguese have any patriotism and really want to express their gratitude to Brazil for welcoming them, they should settle in a central region, in the interior near the cradle of the great rivers. They should build a new city there and open up roadways that lead to all the ports on the coast and clear away any obstacles that

might prevent the rivers from being navigable. In this way, they could lay the foundations for the most extensive, interlinked, well defended, and powerful empire that existed on the surface of the globe, in the present state of the nations that populate it.[45]

Hipólito da Costa and the *Libertadores*

Hipólito actively pursued the liberation of the Spanish colonies, as an intermediary in the negotiations to purchase ships and armaments for use in the wars of independence in America. Furthermore, the support that the *Correio* gave to Francisco Miranda before and during his brief government in Venezuela was prolonged through its defence of the independence struggle later led by Bolivar.[46] Hipólito allocated an entire section of his review to events unfolding in the Latin American Spanish colonies. In the pages of the *Correio,* he disclosed documentary material about the progress of the independence movement – without always being warmly sympathetic to it, since he regarded it as the natural consequence of the colonial policies of the Spanish monarchy.

Hipólito's attitude towards the Revolution of Pernambuco of 1817 (Revolução Pernambucana) was nevertheless very different. It was an emancipatory movement that broke out on 6 March 1817, during the then captaincy of Pernambuco, in the northeast of Brazil. He had personal ties with one of the leaders of the Revolution of Pernambuco, the Brazilian merchant Domingos Martins, with whom he had been in contact in London, travelled to Paris, and whose business he had helped to set up, including by publishing favourable news about his enterprise. Despite those personal ties, Hipólito strongly condemned the way that the revolution was conducted, and the fact that its aim was to establish a republic in Brazil.

He considered it purely fortuitous, 'the result of a thoughtless, non-consensual plan'. In 1817 he wrote that:

> From the latest news from Lisbon, it is known that the Pernambuco revolution has been completely suppressed. The troops that marched from Bahia towards the rebels defeated them in the vicinities of Pernambuco. At the same time, some people who had disembarked from the squadron of the blockage, together with those of the land, took possession of the city on 20 or 21 May, the Provisional Government having lasted 74 days. After the defeat, the leaders of the insurgents fled to the interior, with 200 or 300 henchmen.
>
> No other end was to be expected from an insurrection, which, although it may have had ancient elements, was the work of the moment, the result of a thoughtless, non-consensual plan: for all it shows is not only the precipitation, errors, and injustice of its leaders, but also their total ignorance in matters of government, administration, and conduct of public affairs. In a word, they showed no other desirable quality, except energy, which is the daughter of the enthusiast, in all cases of revolutions.[47]

For Hipólito, the independence movements in the Spanish Americas were carried out against a monarchy facing a constitutional crisis. Carlos IV (the father of Carlota Joaquina, a queen consort of Portugal as wife of D. João VI) attempted a reconciliation policy with Napoleon Bonaparte, who had kidnapped him and forced him to abdicate. The heir to the throne, his son Fernando VII, also ended up a prisoner of Bonaparte, was forced to abdicate, and was replaced by Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's older brother. Hipólito would always condemn absolutism and the Inquisition that prevailed in Spain as well as its submission to the successive French governments after 1789. The attitude of reactionary Spain to

revolutionary France was always, in his view, one of compromise and submissiveness. The alliance between the two countries merged the two forms of extremism that Hipólito loathed: absolutism and revolution complementing each other, almost as a means of revealing their close kinship. He supported the constitutionalization of Spain by the Courts in the port of Cadiz in 1812.[48] It was the constitutionalist government of Cadiz that led resistance to the French, which allowed the return of Fernando VII to the throne. Nevertheless, the return of the king also meant a return to absolutism and the inquisition. It was with a real sense of horror that Hipólito referred to the violence that characterized the reign of Fernando VII between 1814 and 1820. Fernando VII annulled the measures of the Court, persecuted, arrested, tortured, and killed many of his deputies. In the face of this, Hipólito regarded the men of civilization and modernity to be Miranda, Bolívar, O'Higgens, and San Martin. These figures laid the foundation of liberal ideas in their countries and produced the first Spanish American Constitution. By tearing up the first liberal constitution, Fernando VII was, in the journalist's view, acting in a primitive way.

Hipólito was not a revolutionary. His arguments against revolution can be found in almost all the issues of the *Correio*. The English and Spanish Americas waged wars of Independence because they felt they were outsiders who were not included in the Spanish state. In his view, Brazil was already an independent country, given that D. João VI had established himself in Rio de Janeiro. A reform of the State, based on the British parliamentary system and ruled by a monarch as erudite and tolerant as D. João VI, fulfilled the journalist's dream for Brazil. Furthermore, the opportunity was there: it was a case of taking the opportunity provided by the seat of government being relocated from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro to ensure that the Portuguese monarchy would adapt to the political reality of modern times and be, from then on, essentially constitutional.

Hipólito was not anti-monarchist and at no time expressed any opposition to D. João VI in his periodical. As he made clear when castigating the Pernambuco revolutionaries in 1817, he was in truth an intransigent critic of the ministers and their corrupt activities, which undermined the Portuguese State and were already beginning to cripple the newly fledged Kingdom of Brazil. The king and the monarchy should be maintained; what needed to be changed was the administration and its policies. The political, social, and even cultural model that he put forward was the English one: his host country, with its free press and a government that allowed opposition parties to confront each other without undermining the system. In his view, it was a place of tolerance, culture, and respect, where the government and judicial system were characterized by decisive action and transparency. Nonetheless, it was a place where the king still retained some authority and could make use of his share of power. Hipólito was able to witness George III change Parliament to prevent the passing of laws in favour of the Catholics, but also advised the Duke of Sussex on his speech in support of their rights.

In the *Diário de minha viagem à Filadélfia* Hipólito da Costa drew attention to the human qualities of the North American people and the way they organized their institutions: their natural friendliness and enterprising spirit; the unostentatious and austere beauty of American women; the order and hygienic conditions of the prisons run by the Quakers; the electoral system; the freedom of the press, trade, and industry, etc. However, his admiration for the United States did not make him a democrat. A degree of formality and a hierarchical system were congenial to him, as was also a political system similar to that which he witnessed in Northern American society, yet not coinciding with the federal republican model.

Hipólito shared the anti-revolutionary feelings of most English people of the time, which the philosophical work and especially the parliamentary action of Edmund Burke

managed to spread in the country. The long war against France led to feelings amounting to xenophobia, which are translated in references to the 'volubility of the French character' in contrast to the rigour and coherence of the English.[49] According to the journalist – in an analysis tinged with prejudice and national rivalry – Napoleon and 'his co-revolutionists' had retained power 'by offering every year some novelty to the French in order to amuse them. When the source of the novelties dried up,' Hipólito continued, 'Bonaparte had nothing more to display except defeats; the monotony dissatisfied the French and led them to cry "Long live the Bourbons".'[50]Hiscontempt for France is made clear at the end of the article: 'It doesn't matter if the French form a perpetual committee for drawing up a new Constitution every week, so long as they do not interfere with other nations.'[51]

Conclusion

One of the few pages of the *Correio* devoted to describing a large dinner party in London was published in January 1813, in volume 10, section 'Miscelânia', in an article called 'Festividade dos Framassões em obséquio de Lorde Moira'. It was a masonic festivity held on 27 January 1813 in homage of Lord Moira, who effectively acted as the masonic Grand Master for 25 years, while the Prince of Wales, the future King George IV, was the official Grand Master. The opening proceedings were presided over by the Duke of Sussex, who was accompanied by his brothers the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, and Cumberland, the sons of George III. In the Freemasons' Hall in Great Queen Street, about 600 guests could be accommodated for dinner without any discomfort. Hipólito noted the elegance of the ladies in attendance and the excellence of the music provided by the Duke of Kent's renowned orchestra and some of the singers. Dinner was followed by toasts and an exchange of tributes. In his speech, the Duke of Sussex paid homage to Lord Moira by outlining significant aspects of his political and social career and recapitulating his services to the Order. He concluded by

presenting Lord Moira with 'a magnificent jewel'.[52] After this tribute to Lord Moira, the banquet itself got underway and whatever else happened, wrote Hipólito, is best consigned to silence.[53]

What is surprising in this record is the enthusiasm displayed by the Brazilian journalist, who, in general, was quite restrained with regard to the mundane aspects of life. Hipólito clearly describes the dinner party in which he took part, in terms that are brimming with enthusiasm, both because it was a masonic feast and because of the central role played by his friend, Prince Augustus Frederick, the Duke of Sussex. In December of that year, the Duke of Sussex became the new Grand Master of the English Freemasons.

In the 1950s, Carlos Rizzini discovered that the descendants of Hipólito da Costa in London possessed some objects that had been presented to him by the Duke of Sussex – a silver coffeepot and a gold clock. He also discovered that they had a portrait of the journalist, which decorated one of the walls of Kensington Palace, where the Duke of Sussex used to live. After his death, the portrait was offered to Hipólito da Costa's widow. In addition to this, Rizzini discovered a letter from the Duke to an old friend, in which the Duke excused himself for not having been able to attend a dinner given earlier, on the grounds that he was devastated by the news of the death of Hipólito seven days earlier.[54] After the death of his friend, the Duke attempted to obtain a pension for his godson, Augusto Frederico Hipólito da Costa, whom he also assisted by enabling him to pursue a military career.[55]

The following epitaph, attributed the Duke of Sussex by the *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1839, is engraved under the Lioz marble grave of the Brazilian Hipólito José da Costa, at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Hurley, in Berkshire:

> Sacred to the memory of Le Commandeur Hyppolyto Joseph da Costa, who died on the XII day of September MDCCCXXIII, aged XLVI years.[56] A man no less distinguished by the vigour of his intellect, and his proficiency in science and

> literature, than by the integrity of his manners and character. He was descended from a noble family in Brazil. In this country he resided for the last XVIII years, and from hence by his numerous and valuable writings diffused among the inhabitants of that extensive empire a taste for useful knowledge, for the arts which embellish life, and a love of constitutional liberty, founded in obedience to wholesome laws, and in the principles of mutual benevolence and good will. A friend who knew and admired his virtues has thus recorded them for the benefit of posterity.[57]

This epitaph sums up the feelings of someone saying farewell to a friend but also reveals the qualities which even his most hard-hearted adversaries could not fail to see in the Brazilian journalist. In effect, from 1808 onwards, with the publication of the *Correio*, Hipólito was devoted to bestowing on Brazilians 'a taste for useful knowledge', but mainly 'the love of constitutional liberty, founded in obedience to wholesome laws and the principles of mutual benevolence and good will'.[58] This was his life mission and it can be said that he was successful. According to Barman, 'the *Correio*'s most important achievement was inculcating its readers with a common vocabulary, shared symbols, and familiar ideas which the public in turn incorporated into its thought and speech. Such a common outlook and vocabulary was an indispensable step toward the creation of an independent political community'.[59] Barman also states that the *Correio* worked upon the guiding assumption that 'its readers possessed the right to be informed of, to discuss, and even criticise their government's policies and actions'.[60] It was owing to the *Correio* that an active public readership began to be established, desirous of information but also of being permitted to express opinions of their own. Barman argues that this was how a public opinion was formed, albeit only among a small section of society, and this gave rise to views being expressed among all the dominant classes in Portuguese America.

Hipólito was fully conscious of his mission and proud to be the precursor of a free press in the Lusophone world. However, his main objective was to ensure that Brazil could make progress by having a free parliament and a government that was accountable for its finances and could guarantee freedom of the press. It was not part of his plans to die in a foreign land, as we learn from a letter sent to his brother in 1821, in which the emigrant journalist expressed his wish to settle down in Serro de Santana, in Pelotas, on the land inherited from his father, after '20 years lingering in foreign lands'. If that land had already been sold, he would ask his brother Saturnino to make inquiries about whether it was possible to recover it because, 'as soon as I can sort out my family affairs and collect what I have here, I am going to settle down in Brazil, because there is nowhere in the world I like better than Rio Grande'.[61] On that day it would be possible for the journalist to set up the school for poor boys in Rio Grande do Sul about which he had always dreamed since the age of 24.[62]

This was the grand scheme of his life: to return one day to and see again the beautiful landscape of Rio Grande, which he had never forgotten, and help Brazil to improve and progress under a system of government like that of Britain. Despite having only lived in Brazil during his childhood and adolescence, Hipólito was certainly, among the men of his generation, the one who wrote the most about Brazil. Not only did he write about Brazil; through his writings, he also became involved in campaigns aiming for its political, economic, and social progress. The extent to which he was committed to supporting Brazil is the greatest proof that the homeland is much more than simply a geographical space. Despite considering himself Portuguese until the Independence, he formed his dream of a faraway place and called his review *Correio Braziliense*, because Brazil was what embodied for him the beloved homeland in the poetry of the time. It was for this and because he believed in the power of the written word that he ventured forth on this mad undertaking of writing from the

other side of the Atlantic for improbable readers who, in addition to being a tiny minority, lived under the strictest form of censorship.

[1] Hipólito da Costa is very often referred to only as Hipólito in academic publications, including in this chapter.
[2] *O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra* May 1816: 339. See chapter 4 for more on *O Investigador Portuguez em Inglaterra.*
[3] David Francis, *Portugal 1715-1808: Joanine, Pombaline and Rococo Portugal as seen by British Diplomats and Traders* (London: Tamesis, 1985), 256.
[4] Jurandir Malerba, *A Corte no Exílio. Civilização e Poder no Brasil às Vésperas da Independência (1808 a 1821* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000), 126.
[5] José Murilo de Carvalho, *Construção da Ordem e Teatro das Sombras* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003).

[6] More recent research has shown that more books and periodicals were available in colonial Brazil than previously thought. They were found in private collections and many had been smuggled into the country to circumvent official bans. See, for example, Márcia Abreu, *Os Caminhos dos Livros* (Campinas: ALB/Mercado de Letras; São Paulo: FAPESP, 2003); Luiz Carlos Villalta, 'O que se fala e o que se lê: língua, instrução e leitura', in *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*, in Laura de Mello Souza (ed), 3 vols. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), v. 1, 331-85; and Sandra Vasconcelos and Ana Cláudia Suriani da Silva (eds), *Books and Periodicals in Brazil 1768-1930: A Transatlantic Perspective*, Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Cultures (Oxford: Legenda, 2014).
[7] For a list of early Brazilian periodicals and pamphlets published in Rio de Janeiro from 1808 and 1824, see Isabel Lustosa, *Imprensa se Escreve com I de Independência: os Primeiros Jornais Brasileiros* (São Paulo: Jorge Zahar, 2003). See also Cybelle and Marcelo Ipanema, 'Imprensa na Regência: Observações Estatísticas e de Opinião Pública'. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, v. 307, 1976; Carlos Eduardo França de Oliveira, 'Tipógrafos, Redatores e Leitores: Aspectos da imprensa Periódica no Primeiro Reinado'. *Revista Brasileira de História & Ciências Sociais*. Vol. 2, n. 3, July 2010 (www.rbhcs.com, 02 April 2017; and Lucia Maria Bastos Pereira das Neves, *Corcundas, Constitucionais e Pés-de-chumbo: a Cultura Política da Independência, 1820-1822* (Rio de Janeiro: FAPERJ: Revan, 2003).
[8] Hipólito da Costa, *Diário de Minha Viagem para Filadélfia* (1798-1799) (Brasília: Senado Federal, 2004, http://www.dominiopublico.gov.br/download/texto/sf000034.pdf, 20 October 2016).
[9] Carlos Rizzini, *Hipólito da Costa e o Correio Braziliense*, 5. See also, Costa, *Diário de Minha Viagem*, 155.
[10] Mădălina Calance, 'Reason, Liberty and Science. The Contribution of Freemasonry to the Enlightenment', (https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/hssr.2014.3.issue-2/hssr-2013-0033/hssr-2013-0033.xml, 20 October 2016).
[11] José Mariano da Conceição Vellozo, *Florae fluminensis, seu, Descriptionum plantarum praefectura fluminensi sponte nascentium...* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1825).
12 Hipólito da Costa, *Descripção de huma maquina para tocar a bomba a bordo dos navios sem o trabalho de homens: offerecida a Real Marinha Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Typographia Chalcographica e Litteraria do Arco do Cego, 1800), and *Descripçaõ da arvore assucareira, e da sua utilidade e cultura cultura* (Lisbon: Typographia Chalcographica e Litteraria do Arco do Cego, 1800).
[13] Benjamin Smith Barton, *A Memoir Concerning the Disease of Goitre, as it Prevails in Different Parts of North-America* (Philadelphia: The Author, 1800), published as *Memoria sobre a bronchocelle, ou papo da America Septentrional* (Lisbon: Typographia Chalcographica, Typoplastica, e Litteraria do Arco do Cego, 1801). The name of Hipólito da Costa appears as the translator on the book cover of these books.
[14] E. F. Thomas Fortune, *A Concise and Authentic History of the Bank of England. With Dissertations on Metals and Coin, Banknotes, and Bills of Exchange* (London, 1797), published as *Historia breve e authentica do Banco de Inglaterra, com dissertações sobre os metaes, moeda, e letras de cambio, e a carta de incorporação* (Lisbon: Typographia Chalcographica, e Litteraria do Arco do Cego, 1801).
[15] Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, *Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical* (Dublin: W. Porter; J. Archer, 1796), published as *Ensayos politicos, economicos, e philosophicos*, 'traduzido em vulgar por Hippolyto José da Costa Pereira' ['translated in vulgar language by Hipólito da Costa], volume I (Lisbon: Typographia Chalcographica, Typoplastica, e Litteraria do Arco do Cego, 1801), volume 2 (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1802).
[16] António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, *História da Maçonaria em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editoral Presença, volume 1, 1990 volume 2, 1996, volume 3, 1997), 79.

[17] Hipólito da Costa, *A Narrative of the Persecution of Hippolyto Joseph da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça ... imprisoned and tried in Lisbon, by the Inquisition, for the pretended crime of free-masonry. To which are added, the bye-laws of the Inquisition of Lisbon, both ancient and modern ... taken from the originals in one of the Royal Libraries in London* (London: W. Lewis, 1811). Also published in Portuguese in the same year: *Narrativa de perseguiçaõ de Hippolyto Joseph da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça ... Prezo, e processado em Lisboa pelo pretenso crime de framaçon ou pedreiro livre,* (London: W. Lewis, 1811).

[18] Hipólito da Costa, 'Cartas sobre a Framaçonaria'. In: *Obras Maçônicas de Hipólito José da Costa*, ed. by João Nery Guimarães (Brasília: Grande Oriente do Brasil, 2000); *Historia de Portugal. Composta em inglez por uma sociedade de literatos, trasladada em vulgar com as notas da edição franceza, e do traductor portuguez, Antonio Moraes de Silva; e continuada até os nossos tempos: em nova edição* (London: Offic. de F. Wingrave, T. Boosey, Dulau e Co., and Lackington, Allen e Co., 1809).

[19] *Nova grammatica portuguesa e inglesa*, Nova Edição. Revista e consideravelmente aumentada, por H. J. da Costa (London: Off. Typograf. de F. Wingrave, Strand, 1818). On this grammar, see Pablo Antonio Iglesias Magalhães, 'A Palavra e o Império: Manoel de Freitas Brazilierio e a Nova Grammatica Ingleza e Portugueza' (http://www.revista.ufpe.br/revistaclio/index.php/revista/article/viewFile/283/184, 1 October 2016); Hipólito da Costa, *Sketch for the History of Dyonisian Artificers*: *A Fragment* (Red. J. b. hare, London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones; Paternoster-Row, 1820).

[20] See Luis Francisco Munaro, 'Fofocas, Boatos e Rumores: os Portugueses em Londres (1808-1822)', *Mosaico* IV, no. 7 (2014) (http://cpdoc.fgv.br/mosaico/?q=artigo/fofocas-boatos-e-rumores-os-portugueses-em-londres-1808-1822, 20 October 2016), and 'A taverna City of London e o Jornalismos Luso-Português (1808-1822) (https://www.academia.edu/7488341/A_taverna_City_of_London_e_o_jornalismo_luso-brasileiro_1808-1822, 20 October 2016).

[21] See, in particular, *Correio Braziliense* 1 (1808): 384-392, where this issue is analysed in detail. All translations of original quotes are by the authors.

[22] Roderick Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

[23] For a list of Portuguese periodicals published in London, see chapter 4, page 00000.

[24] See José Tengarrinha, 'Os Comerciantes e a Imprensa Portuguesa da Primeira Emigração', 1080, and Luís Munaro, *O Jornalismo Português em Londres* (1808-1822), PhD thesis (http://www.historia.uff.br/stricto/td/1634.pdf, 20 October 2016), 317. The book reference is *O Jornalismo Português em Londres (1808-1822): Retrato de um Tempo e uma Profissão* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Publit, 2014).

[25] See José Tengarrinha, 'Jornalismo de Convergências e de Confrontos', (http://observatoriodaimprensa.com.br/primeiras-edicoes/jornalismo-de-convergncias-e-de-confrontos-2/, 20 October 2016).

[26] Mecenas Dourado, *Hipólito da Costa e o Correio Braziliense* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército Editora, 1957), t. 1, 241.

[27] José Tengarrinha, 'Os Comerciantes e a Imprensa Portuguesa da Primeira Emigração' (http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/5037.pdf, 20 October 2016), 1072.

[28] See chapter 4 of this book and José Tengarrinha, 'Os Comerciantes e a Imprensa Portuguesa da Primeira Emigração', 1072.

[29] For a list of the printing houses used by the Portuguese papers published in London, see Luís Munaro, *O Jornalismo Português em Londres*, 83.

[30] *Correio Braziliense* 29 (1822): 574-575.

[31] Hipólito da Costa, 'Introdução', *Correio Braziliense* 1 (1808): 3.

[32] Derek Roper, *Reviewing before the 'Edinburgh', 1788-1802* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1978), 36-37.

[33] *Correio Braziliense* 23 (1819): 174-175.

[34] Joanna Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers: the Edinburgh and the Quarterly in the early Victorian Age* (Leicester and New York: Leicester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1989), 4.

[35] Joanna Shattock, *Politics and Reviewers,* 6.

[36] Maria Lúcia G. Pallares-Burke, *The Spectator, o Teatro das Luzes: Diálogo e Imprensa no Século XVIII* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1995), 14.

[37] Antonio Candido, *Formação da Literatura Brasileira (Momentos Decisivos)* (São Paulo: Martins, 1962), 254.

[38] *Correio Braziliense* 14 (1809): 49.

[39] *Correio Braziliense* 20 (1818): 425.

[40] *Correio Braziliense* 20 (1818): 425.

[41] *Correio Braziliense* 5 (1810): 653.

[42] *Correio Braziliense* 13 (1814): 95.

[43] *Correio Braziliense* 12 (1819): 318.
[44] *Correio Braziliense* 5 (1810): 566.
[45] *Correio Braziliense* 10 (1813): 374.
[46] On the relationship between Hipólito da Costa and Francisco Miranda, see Thais Helena dos Santos Buvalovas, 'Hipólito da Costa em Londres: Libertadores, Whiggs e Radicais no Discurso Político do *Correio Braziliense* (1808-1812)', PhD Thesis file:///C:/Users/Ana/Downloads/2012_ThaisHelenaDosSantosBuvalovas_VCorr%20(1).pdf, 20 October 2016). We thank Karen Racine for drawing to my attention a number of documents that prove Hipólito da Costa and Francisco Miranda were connected.
[47] *Correio Braziliense* 19 (1817): 105.
[48] See chapter 3 on this process.
[49] *Correio Braziliense* 12 (1814): 466.
[50] *Correio Braziliense* 12 (1814): 467.
[51] *Correio Braziliense* 12 (1814): 467.
[52] *Correio Braziliense* 10 (1813): 99.
[53] *Correio Braziliense* 10 (1813): 101.
[54] Carlos Rizzini, *Hipólito da Costa e o Correio Braziliense* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1957), 18.
[55] Carlos Rizzini, *Hipólito da Costa e o Correio Braziliense*, 22.
[56] Hipólito da Costa was born on 25 March 1774 and was in fact was 49 years old when he died.
[57] *The Gentleman´s Magazine* 12, New Series (July to December 1839), London: William Pickering; John Bower Nichols and Son, 1839, 139-140.
[58] Alexandre José Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, *Hipólito da Costa, Pioneiro da Independência do Brasil* (Brasília, Fundação Assis Chateaubriand, 1996), 121.
[59] Roderick Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation*, 52-53.
[60] Roderick Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation*, 52.
[61] Currently the State of Rio Grande do Sul, which shares a border with Uruguay.
[62] Letter by Hipólito da Costa quoted by Alcebíades Furtado, in 'Biographia de Hippolito José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça', *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* 17 (1912).